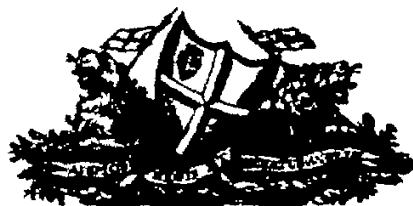


THE
ASIATIC
ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the Year 1802.

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THE
ASIATIC
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR,
A VIEW OF THE HISTORY
OF
HINDUSTAN,
AND OF THE
POLITICS, COMMERCE AND LITERATURE
OF
ASIA,
For the Year 1802



LONDON,
PRINTED FOR J. DEBRET, PICCADILLY, AND T. CADELL JUN
AND W. DAVIES, STRAND

PREFACE.

THE portion of the History of India which we this year present to the Public, is less comprehensive than the Chapter that preceded it. In the multifarious variety of events and circumstances which we have undertaken to relate and illustrate, it seems more useful to arrange our materials in that manner which shall exhibit them to the Reader, in the most clear and distinct point of view, than to divide them according to an exact chronological order, which would crowd together the affairs and occurrences of all India within certain periods of time, and thereby ren-

der the narrative perplexed and confused. The early commerce and establishments of the Dutch in India being confined, almost exclusively, to Ceylon and the Eastern Archipelago, we thought it expedient to separate our account of their rise and progress from every circumstance not in some way connected with them, and consequently to reserve, for a subsequent Chapter, the contemporaneous History of the Mogul Empire. This mode of arrangement necessarily gives to our Chapters very unequal degrees of dignity or of interest, but we trust that the benefit to be derived from it, will make ample compensation.

Our Readers will peruse the Political and Commercial occurrences of Asia, during the Year 1802, with great satisfaction. They will observe the extensive influence which the British Government possesses in

that quarter of the globe, and the salutary purposes for which that influence is exercised. The public events of the year, and the important State-Papers which we have inserted, abundantly shew, that the British Government, acting on the soundest principles of political expediency, employs its authority in preserving tranquillity amongst neighbouring nations,—in rescuing the Peasantry of the Provinces under its protection from the wasteful domination of despotism,—in promoting the happiness of its own Subjects, by administering to them their ancient Laws, softened and purified by the mild spirit of English jurisprudence, and by securing to them the full fruits of their patient industry;—and, finally, in endeavouring to extend to the Mother Country all the advantages flowing from the vast stream of Commerce, of which that industry is the inexhaustible source.

This situation of affairs is the natural result of that comprehensive and generous system of policy, which it has been the glory of MARQUIS WELLESLEY to adopt and pursue, and which has established his character as a statesman, by the truest and noblest evidence, the universal prosperity of the People whom he governs

The numerous public documents of the year have greatly extended the Political, and thereby obliged us to contract the Literary departments of this Volume : But for this there exists no remedy, as the bulk of the political part of our work must always be proportioned to the materials of which the year is productive. We trust, however, our Readers will allow, that we have not neglected the interests of Asiatic Literature, the advancement of which is one of the principal objects of our undertaking.

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ASIANIC ANNUAL REGISTER,

THE

HISTORY OF INDIA.

CHAP. IV

A View of the commercial Relations of the Dutch previous to their engaging in the Indian Trade.—The Cause which led them to engage in it.—Their Attempts to discover a Passage to China round the North of Borneo.—The Failure of these Attempts determines them to find a Fleet to India, by way of the Cape of Good Hope.—That Determination fortified and carried into Execution by Cornelius Houtman.—The Establishment of a Company of Merchants at Amsterdam.—Houtman's first Voyage to India, in the Service of that Company, and his Difficulties and dangerous Consequences by the King of Benares.—Houtman's safe Return to Amsterdam occasions universal Satisfaction.—A great many Associations formed in different Parts of the United Provinces for the Purpose of carrying on the Trade to India.—The new and old Amsterdam Companies united.—Houtman and Van Noth sail in command of their first Fleet.—The Batavia Company the next held out enterprise.—Send a Fleet to the Spice Islands by way of the Straits of Malacca.—Van Noth returns to the Coast with a valuable Cargo.—The amazing Success of the Amsterdam Company in consequence of the Success of the Company of Merchant Adventurers settled at Amsterdam, and engaged in the Indian Trade.—The good Understanding which subsisted between the different Indian Companies in Malacca.—The prodigious Increase of the Dutch Trade to India.—The Amusement with which the Europeans viewed it.—Philip of Spain resolves to counteract the Effects.—The Decline of the Portuguese in India.—A Spanish Fleet, of 30 Sail, sent out by Philip, defeated by the Dutch.—Difficulties sustained on the Coast by the Spaniards in the Philippine Islands.—An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Spanish Colonies in East India.—The flourishing State of the Dutch Commerce in the Spice Islands.—The Dutch success against the Merchants in Malacca.—The Formation of a new Company, with a Scheme, from the States-General, granting them the monopoly of trading to the

dis—War between the Dutch and the Spaniards and Portuguese in India—The Dutch Embassy to the King of Candy in Ceylon—The Expedition to that Island under Scheld de Waert—Disputes with the English in Java—War with the King of Bantam—The Expulsion of the Dutch from that Island—The Affairs in Java restored—And the Foundation of the celebrated City of Batavia.

THE jealousy which the rapid advancement of the English trade and influence in India had excited in the minds of the Dutch settlers in the spice islands, was at last productive of one of the most atrocious and horrid actions that ever disgraced and degraded humanity. But before we notice the immediate circumstances which led to that event, it is necessary to unfold the history of the commercial intercourse between the United Provinces and India.

Amongst the nations of modern Europe, the inhabitants of these provinces were early distinguished for their love of trade, and their skill in nautical affairs, and the habits of industry and economy which they thereby acquired, animated with the noble spirit of independence, which they inherited from their Batavian ancestors, gradually rendered them a sensible, intelligent, and enterprising people. While they were yet under the government of their ancient barons, who were tributaries of the German empire and the crown of France, they had made considerable progress in commerce and navigation. About the middle of the twelfth century they established their fishing fishery, in which several hundred youths were kept in constant employment, and trained up in the duties and hardships of a seafaring life. By this means the Dutch seamen became so bold and expert in navigating their vessels, that surrounding nations were inspired with a great degree of confidence in their skill, and the Hanseatic merchants,

who then formed that memorable league found them no considerable rivals as the carriers of valuable commodities between the southern and northern countries of Europe. Before the close of the thirteenth century upwards of five hundred Dutch vessels were engaged annually in that lucrative trade. The opulence of the Hanse towns, however, enabled them to maintain a naval force, which effectually secured to them the exclusive commerce of the Baltic, and restrained, though it could not subvert the growing prosperity of the Dutch. For more than two centuries the Hanseatic confederation preserved that monopoly, as well as the entire supremacy of the northern seas; but their quarrel with Denmark, in A. D. 1400, opened the Baltic to the Dutch, whose maritime strength thenceforward increased with such rapidity, that, in 1442, they fitted out an armed fleet, to protect their trade against the depredations of the Vandaliic Hanse ships, a large squadron of which they engaged, and either captured or destroyed. Encouraged by this exploit, which made them feel their strength, and fortified them with a just confidence in their exertions, the merchants of Holland began to trade on their own account, and to extend their voyages to the most distant parts of Europe. Soon after the establishment of the Portuguese trade to India, these merchants resorted to Lisbon, for the purchase of Indian commodities, of which they became the principal carriers to the ports of France, the Netherlands, and

and the Baltic. In the prosecution of this traffic they observed, with an inquiring and envious eye, the vast advantages the Portuguese derived from their direct intercourse with India, which, together with the alluring accounts they received of the riches of that country, awakened a high spirit of emulation and enterprise, and they aspired to a participation of the commerce and wealth of the East. But mingling the prudent policy, for which the Dutch have in all times been distinguished, with that passion for nautical discovery which characterised the age, they resolved not to interfere with the right, however absurd and presumptuous, which the Portuguese had assumed, of monopolizing the trade to India by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, but to attempt to open a communication with Japan and China by sailing round the north of Europe. The execution of this scheme was, however, delayed by some important circumstances, which, though they threatened for a short time to annihilate the commerce of this industrious people, were eventually the causes of that greatness which it afterwards attained.

Upon the abdication of the emperor Charles the Fifth, he was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his son Philip of Spain, and the persecution of the Protestants in the Netherlands, which the former had commenced with a very vigorous and dreadful severity, was enforced by the latter with a systematic, remorse, and unrelenting cruelty. Philip had a deliberate scheme for the extermination of his Protestant subjects, and in order to make his worldly aggrandisement and ambitious policy mutually strengthen and promote

each other, he established by an edict, in all the provinces of the Low Countries, those civil institutions and privileges which, in a long course of ages, had been formed and acquired, established in their stead a military government; prohibited the exercise of the Protestant religion, and introduced the inquisition, to detect and punish the enemies of the Roman Catholic faith. Nor was the commerce of the Dutch exempted from this proscription. Having conquered Portugal, he interdicted the Dutch from the port of Lisbon, thereby depriving both them and the Portuguese of the benefit of their valuable trade to that capital. He even carried his bigotted hatred of them to so great a length, when he found they resisted these enormous acts of tyranny, that he vainly resolved to reduce them to unconditional submission, by stripping them of the whole fruits of their industry, and accordingly exacted the twentieth part of all immovable, and the tenth of all moveable goods. The discontent, indignation, and resentment that had been for some years kindling in their minds, now burst forth into a furious rebellion, which, in spite of the great military power of Spain, exerted to suppress it, gloriously terminated in the establishment of their independence, and of the federal republic of the United Provinces.

Freed from those oppressions and restraints which had damped and confined their speculative spirit, the Dutch henceforward advanced in commerce with that rapid but steady course which is the natural result of undefinable industry, when left to its spontaneous exertions. In A. D. 1594, fifteen years after their deliverance from the yoke of Spain, they carried into

execution ~~the~~ *franciscan* project which they had formed, atempting to sail to China by way of the northern ocean, and as they were debarr'd the privilege of purchasing Indian commodities from the Portuguese, they looked forward, with much additional solicitude to the success of a project which would open to them a direct passage to India, greatly shorter than the one round the Cape of Good Hope, and which would consequently enable them to supply the European market with the products of the East at not only more expeditious, but at a lower rate than had ever before been obtained. The merchants of Holland, elated with the hope of attaining an object so brilliant and advantageous, overlooked the failures which former Dutch navigators had recently experienced in attempting the same passage, as well as the various and apparent intermeddling obstacles to its success, which the voyages of these navigators had brought to light. A small fleet was accordingly equipped, and the command of it given to William Barentz, a man equally distinguished by his intrepidity and skill. He sailed from Amsterdam in the beginning of 1594, but after he had reached the latitude of 78 degrees, his squadron was surrounded with mountains of ice, which threatened its destruction. His crew, alarmed at their situation, refused on returning to Holland, and insisting that his intreaties and exhortations did not avail either to recall their confidence in him, or to kindle their own zeal, he reluctantly complied with their demand, and arrived in the Texel, after an absence of only five months. The zealous Barentz, however, was not to be dissuaded by this unsuccessful voyage, the failure of which he at-

tributed to the unfortunate partnership with which his people were seized, rather than to the physical impediments which had opposed his progress, and which he thought an intrepid perseverance would at last have surmounted. Persuaded of this notion, he drew up a memorial to the States General, proposing to make another attempt to discover a north-east passage by entering the strait of Wager, where he expected to meet with less discouraging obstacles than those which attended him in his former voyage. His proposal being approved by the urgent sollicitudes of the merchants who now employed him, was readily acceded to, and he got the command of a squadron of five vessels, with which he sailed for the North Sea in January 1595. This fleet being routed out at the rude expense, the expectations which it undertook gradually responded with the result. Encouraged by the Donation of the willdom of their government, and with the more extremely sanguine with the return of Barentz, four months subsequent to his departure, without having made one new discovery, filled the nation with disappointment.

These failures convinced the Dutch that even, if a north-east passage to India were practicable, the numerous difficulties and perils which not unavoiably attend it would render it of little or no utility in a commercial view. They therefore turned all their attention and activity towards acquiring a knowledge of the navigation round the Cape of Good Hope, in which they determined to embark, having now nothing to lose by the hostility of the Portuguese, and not much to dread from the power and the menaces of Spain. This scheme

was

was encouraged and facilitated by Cornelius Houtman, one of those aspiring adventurers of whom the age was so productive, and to whom mankind are so largely indebted, not merely for extending the benefit of commerce, but for having supplied philosophy with such a vast variety of new and important materials. Houtman had been employed by the merchants of Amsterdam in the trade formerly carried on between that city and Lillibon, and had, by that means, the opportunity of forming an acquaintance with some of those intelligent mariners who conducted the Portuguese fleets to India. When this trade was prohibited in 1494, he remained at Lillibon, where having a list attracted the notice of the government, by his narrative furnished respecting the navigation of the Indian sea, he was arrested and confined. Upon this he applied to the merchants of Amsterdam, offering to communicate to them all the valuable facts which he had collected relative to the Indian trade, and the mode of conducting it, if they would redeem him from captivity, by advancing a certain sum of money, which the Portuguese had consented to take for his ransom. This proposal reached Houtman just as the disappointment occasioned by the last abortive enterprise of Barentz had begun to lessen, and it was consequently acceded to with a warm and eager alacrity. Houtman was accordingly released, and on his arrival at Amsterdam, he furnished the merchants with such ample and detailed information, regarding Indian commerce, that a plan for engaging in it was, after mature consideration, formed and adopted.

This plan principally consisted in the establishment of a company

of merchants, intitled, "The Company for trading to remote Countries," and in the equipment by them of a squadron of four ships, for the purpose of proceeding to India, under the direction of Houtman. The expedition with which the pecuniary arrangements of the company, and the preparations for the voyage were forwarded, corresponded with the ardour which the nature of the enterprise and the value of the objects in view were to well adapt to inspire. It left three months after the institution of the company, the squadron was ready to sail, and in the autumn of 1595 Houtman sailed from the Texel. He was instructed not to touch at any port on the continent of India, but to hold a direct course to the Eastern Archipelago, and to trade only at those islands in which the Portuguese had made no settlements. To that would he would have any positive interference with them, he would embrace a very important branch of the Indian trade, which they, since they had fallen under the Spanish empire, had neglected to prosecute with that attention and regularity which were essential, not only to their own interests, but to supply the demand for spices in the markets of Europe.

After a tedious passage of nine months, during which no material circumstance occurred, the Dutch fleet cast anchor on the coast of Bantam, in the island of Java. Contented with its warm climate, and delightful in its situation, the javanese received Houtman on his landing with the most inviting civilities of respect, and with an eagerness equal to his own, offered to supply him with the most valuable products of their island, in exchange for the specie and iron which he had brought from Europe. A bargain was

speedily concluded, and Houtman had began to take on board his cargo, when an unfortunate circumstance produced a disagreement between him and the natives, which not only suspended his intercourse with them, but even involved his personal safety. Suspecting, probably with good reason, that the merchants, with whom he had contracted for the purchase of the finest spices, were giving him a very inferior sort, he reproached them in the strongest terms with their sordid and deceitful conduct, and demanding an audience of the king of Bantam, represented to him the fraudulent manner in which he had been treated, and in a style of menace, to which that potentate had been little accustomed, peremptorily insisted, that a strict and honourable fulfilment of his contract should be immediately enforced. This sort of remonstrance was all calculated to awaken a sense of justice in the chief of a people who, to an inherent propensity to deceive and defraud, unite a proud and vindictive spirit. Houtman's rashness and precipitation, therefore, only served to multiply the grievance of which he complained. The king, startled and enraged at the astonishing boldness with which he urged his complaint, instantly ordered him to be arrested and thrown into confinement, a proceeding which, in the Malay islands, is generally the prelude to assassination. But he saved himself from this last act of violence by offering, as a ransom, part of the money which was appropriated for the purchase of the cargo he had bespoke. This offer softened the resentment of the Malay prince, whose avarice was greater than his pride, and Houtman was accordingly released. On his return on board the fleet, he called together

the commanders of the different vessels, imparted to them his suspicion that treacherous designs were meditated by the Malays against the whole fleet, represented the imminent danger which would consequently be incurred by continuing any longer at Bantam; urged, in strong terms, that it would be accounted by the company a better policy to return home with the few commodities which had been obtained, than to put their lives to hazard in an endeavour to procure more, and he concluded by giving orders to get the ships in immediate readiness to sail. Having in a few days furnished the fleet with a sufficient quantity of provisions and water, without awakening, amongst the Malays, the smallest suspicion of his intended departure, Houtman proceeded to Europe on the 5th of January 1698. In ten months following he arrived in the *Tesol*, and landed at Amsterdam, to the infinite joy of the company, and amidst the acclamations of the people. His account of the unfortunate transactions at Bantam operated as a disappointment to his employers, and gave a momentary depression to the ardour of their pleasure, but it no way affected the general satisfaction at the success of the enterprise, with which the nation was filled. To have conducted the Dutch flag to and from India, and to have displayed it on the shores of that country, were alone accounted circumstances of congratulation and triumph. Houtman was, therefore, considered as one of the greatest benefactors of his country, and the important trade, which he had thus opened, was thereupon prosecuted with a degree of enthusiasm, which the love of gain, naturally a quiet, though an active passion, has been seldom

seldom known to produce. Yet this enthusiasm elevated, but did not misguide the commercial spirit of the Dutch, which was tempered by the discretion, and directed by the prudence, of sensible merchants.

The desire to embark in the Indian trade now called forth an ardent emulation amongst the merchants of the United Provinces, without exciting that envy, much less that animosity, which too frequently accompanies it. Various mercantile associations were formed, that vied with each other in the rapid equipment of ships to send to India, and their exertions were strenuously seconded by the adventurous seamen of Holland, who were incited as much by the novelty of the voyage, as by the allurements which it held out. The original Amsterdam company, amidst this general eagerness to advance in eastern commerce, received a considerable accession of credit, power, and influence, by forming an union with a new company, which had been instituted in that city since the period of Houtman's return. The united company possessed all the advantages over their rivals which greater opulence could confer, and, consequently, they had a fleet ready for sea many months before any of the other companies. This fleet consisted of eight ships, and was commanded by Houtman and Van Neck. The latter was a man of much experience and distinguished intrepidity.

They proceeded on their voyage in the beginning of 1599, and arrived at Acheen, in the island Sumatra, towards the latter end of that year. About three months after their departure from Holland, the Zealand company dispatched a squadron of four ships to the southern parts of Java, to which the dominions of the king of Bantam did not extend;

so that the Dutch flag might not again be exposed to the insults of that prince, or the objects of the voyage frustrated by the fraud and treachery of his people.

But of all the mercantile companies which were at this period formed in the United Provinces, that which was established by the merchants of Rotterdam appears to have been the most bold and enterprising. Animated by the example of the Portuguese, whose brilliant exploits and important discoveries they were emulous to equal, they resolved to send a fleet to the spice islands by way of the Straits of Magellan, and thereby add the fame of having encompassed the globe, to the more solid acquisition of commercial advantages. The fleet, which was equipped for this purpose, consisted of five ships, the chief command of which was given to James Mahu, a native of Antwerp, who had been employed in the Spanish service, and who had made several voyages to the South Sea. According to his instructions he sailed on this hazardous expedition in July 1599, and, after encountering the most imminent dangers, and surmounting innumerable difficulties, reached the Moluccas in nineteen months, but with the loss of two of his ships.

The united company of Amsterdam, in the mean while, carried on their trade, and pushed forward their schemes with indefatigable industry and unrelenting activity. Without waiting for the return of the fleet which had been sent out under Houtman and Van Neck, they dispatched a squadron of three ships, commanded by Stephen Vander Hagen, in the autumn of 1599. About six months subsequent to the departure of this squadron, Van Neck arrived in the Texel with four

four ships richly laden with various valuable commodities, which he had obtained at Acheen. The success with which this voyage had been crowned was at once the most gratifying reward of the toil in a career, and the strongest incentive to the future exertions of the company. No time was consumed in idle and unprofitable rejoicings, but in the true spirit of trade, business was carried on with an undeviating attention, enlightened without being interrupted by the pleasure which good fortune had inspired. Within four months after Van Neck's arrival, his ships were unloaded, completely refitted, and again dispatched to Acheen.

Towards the latter end of this year another squadron, of four ships, was hired out and sent to India by a company of Bazarat merchants, who resided in Amsterdam, and who came thither with the view of participating in the alluring commerce of the East. In March 1800, this new company dispatched two ships to the Moluccas, which sailed under command of a considerable fleet belonging to the old Amsterdam company, commanded by Van Neck. This circumstance is a striking proof that, before the late association, there did not exist any of that jealousy which mercantile rivalry usually creates, and it, therefore, places in a very clear and glorious light, the sober sense and generous policy of those merchants to whom the Dutch commonwealth was indebted for all its opulence and power. It is, indeed, a curious fact in the history of commerce, that the various rival East India companies at this period, instead of the feared Province, maintained with each other a cordial good will and uninterrupted intercourse, whilst, at the same time, each of them strenuously

strived for the attainment of the same objects, and the palm of commercial pre-eminence.

The prodigious increase of the Dutch trade to India, in the short period of five years, was a natural consequence of his good understanding, that subsisted among the several companies engaged in it, of the enlarged principles on which they acted, and of the stimulating industry which stimulated their exertions. In a year 1800, ships sailed for Java from Amsterdam to the East Indies, amounting to the sum of two years with a double cargo, for that sum if the whole of the spice trade was now in the hands of the Dutch.

The Portuguese merchants beheld this great advancement of their rivals with a mixture of amazement and despair. Dejected and convinced by the suggestion of their country, they neglected to watch the progress of the Dutch in the Indian trade, and were little aware of its extraordinary rapidity, and of the second, compared with many of more immediate importance, and about which his personal ambition was infinitely more concerned, was equally inattentive to the increasing power and consequence of his resolved subjects. The recognition of the Cause which he regarded as the great object of his ambition, he neglected to make with a religious rather than a political or commercial eye, and accordingly neglected the victory of Coos to establish an acquisition in that city, and to render all his public measures subservient to the interests of the crown. Hence all the Portuguese settlements in India were filled with legislators, who ruled over both the civil and military power with a very arrogant sway, and who employed

plowed all their resources in fruitless endeavours to convert the natives to the doctrines of Christianity. In this state of things, the affairs of commerce were no longer conducted with that spirit and regularity which is essential to their prosperity, and the small establishments in the Eastern Archipelago, which owed not only their strength, but their existence to the lucrative trade carried on in those parts, felt severely this relaxation of commercial vigour, and sunk gradually into weakness, inactivity, and sloth.

None of these circumstances escaped the perspicacity of the Dutch traders, who turned them to their own advantage with a dexterous address. They represented to the Malays that the benefits to be derived from trading with humble and unassuming merchants like themselves, were greatly superior to those which flowed from their intercourse with the Portuguese, who partook more of the character of warriors than of traders who came amongst them with views of conquest, rather than of commerce, and whose real object was not merely to reduce them to slavery, but also to compel them to abandon the religion of Mahomed, and to embrace the church of Christ. This representation was secretly made to the Malay chiefs at all the distant islands on which the Portuguese had formed settlements, and insidiously circulated amongst the people. The effect which it produced corresponded with the intention, and fulfilled the wishes of the Dutch. The Malays, naturally of a suspicious temper, had long been apprehensive of the designs of the Portuguese, of which the remembrance of their former hostilities warned them to beware, and which the information they now received determined them to anticipate and

resist. Accordingly, in A D 1600, the Portuguese settlers in some of the Malacca islands were attacked by the Malays with remarkable impetuosity, and being at that period not at all prepared to repulse so unexpected and desperate an assault they abandoned their houses and property, and fled to the ships in the utmost confusion. In the island of Sumatra, the king of Acheen assembled a formidable force, into which several Dutchmen entered as volunteers, and marched against the small fortress which the Portuguese had erected at the bottom of the bay of Acheen. This place was neither protected by regular works, nor by a sufficient garrison, but the governor relying on the ignorance of his enemy, as well as on the tried bravery of his own troops, resolved to defend it, although he might easily have effected a secure retreat, as there were several Portuguese ships lying at a small distance from the shore. The Malay king, however, promoted by the intrigues of the Dutch, allowed him little time for preparation. On the third night after the governor had received intelligence of his hostile intention, the Malays arrived at the fortress unobserved, and having, according to their mode of attack, armed themselves only with *creels*, or long daggers they crept in perfect silence along the ground, and formed a lodge near in the ditch, from whence they scaled the walls, and stormed the garrison, who, unapprised of their approach, were killed with dismay, and yielded to their fury without resistance. But no submission could disarm the rage of the Malays, the blood of the Portuguese could alone appease it, and every European belonging to the garrison was put to death. The commanders of the Portuguese ships

ships in the road, astonished and alarmed at this event, and more fearful of the secret machinations of the Dutch, than the open hostility of the Malays, set sail for Malacca, and communicated to the governor of that settlement the fatal account of what had happened at Acheen.

The combined force of these events gave a blow to the Portuguese power in the Eastern islands, from which it never recovered. It was in vain that the governor of Malacca, and the principal officers at the other settlements, endeavoured to regain their influence over the Malay chiefs. By means of the constant intercourse between the different islands, intelligence of the affair at Acheen was speedily spread throughout the greatest part of the Archipelago, and fully satisfied the Malays that the Portuguese were no longer that formidable people, whose military skill and personal prowess, it had been deemed impossible to discover and subdue. Hence the terror of their name no more existed either to inspire confidence in the chiefs who had espoused their interests, or to intimidate into obedience those who ventured to oppose them. The former now treated them with indifference, and the latter glowed with impatience to avenge the wrongs they had suffered. The Dutch were, therefore, received with stronger marks of favour and distinction than the Malays had hitherto thought it prudent to shew. In the islands of Celebes and Ternate, as well as at the Moluccas, the inhabitants not only supplied them with spices of a much finer quality than any they had yet seen, but readily agreed to reserve for them alone these exquisite aromatics.

The Portuguese settlers thus saw themselves supplanted by their for-

tunate rivals in one of the most valuable branches of the Indian trade; and the mortification which it gave them was augmented and embittered by a consciousness of the imbecility of their condition, which totally disabbed them from adopting any effectual measures to retrieve their affairs. Their only resource was to represent to the viceroys of Goa the surprising events which had occurred, the humiliating situation to which they were reduced, and the vast loss which their country had thereby sustained. But that governor, however much he might have felt himself called upon, on this important occasion, to protect the interests of commerce, possessed not a naval force sufficient to encounter, with any probability of success, the numerous squadrons of the Dutch, which, though consisting only of trading vessels, were well manned and strongly armed. And the Dutch traders consequently pursued their good fortune, and gave full scope to their schemes without the smallest molestation.

Upon intelligence of these proceedings in India being communicated to the court of Madrid, Philip's resentment against the Dutch, which, in the gratification of other passions, had for a while lain dormant and forgotten, was revived with all its former violence. The measure that he adopted in consequence fully justly depicts the state of mind in which it was concerted. It was evidently the effect of a sudden ebullition of rage, and was carried into execution with corresponding precipitation. Orders were issued for all armed ships then in the ports of Spain and Portugal to put to sea without a moment's delay, for the purpose of intercepting the Dutch squadron on their way to India. Accordingly a fleet, consisting

sisting of upwards of thirty ships, of various sizes, was soon assembled off Lisbon, and proceeded from thence towards the islands of Cape Verde, near which the outward bound Dutch ships usually passed. The Dutch had no previous knowledge of this design on the part of Spain, and of the large armament which had been fitted out against them. But aware of the unappeasable enmity of Philip, as well as of the rancorous jealousy of the Portuguese, they never permitted their fleets to leave Holland unprepared to avenge an insult, or resist an attack. In the month of May 1601 a fleet of eight ships, belonging to the old Amsterdam company, fell in with the Spanish armament. Each of the Dutch ships mounted sixteen guns of a small caliber, and was manned with sixty seamen, and a considerable number of soldiers. Such a vast disproportion in the apparent force of the two fleets raised the hopes of the Spaniards, and seemed to promise them not only a certain, but an easy conquest. The Dutch, on the other hand, were neither disconcerted by the unexpected sight of an enemy, nor dismayed by their formidable aspect. Commodore George Spilbergen, who had already distinguished himself in maintaining the honour of the republican flag, at once determined either to fight his way through the enemy's fleet, or perish in the attempt. Conformably with this gallant resolution, he formed his ships into a close line of battle, and with undaunted steadiness continued his course. The Spanish fleet being to windward, bore down in three divisions, with a view to surround the Dutch, and expose them to a double fire. But the great irregularity with which they performed this manœuvre

threw them into confusion. Spilbergen, immediately taking the advantage of this circumstance, opened a well directed cannonade, which did such considerable damage to the enemy, that after an action of two hours, they were compelled to desert, and the Dutch pursued their voyage in triumph and security.

Such was the issue of the mighty plan of Philip to humble the power of the Dutch, a natural result both of the narrow views which it embraced, and the inconsiderate manner in which it was framed. When the Spanish fleet returned home with the tidings and the evidences of its own discomfiture, he saw too late the fatal error he had committed in having consulted his feelings rather than his judgement. He likewise was convinced that the Dutch seamen were far too skilful both in navigating and in fighting their ships, and that their ships were too well equipped for all the purposes of hostility, to afford any rational hope of being able to repress the growing greatness of the Indian trade, except by employing the whole resources of his country to carry on against it a systematic naval war on the most enlarged scale of attack. But as he was already engaged in a war in which he had a much deeper interest, and which required the greatest part of his immense treasures to support, he felt it impossible to entertain that design, and consequently abandoned the Dutch commerce, as well as his own possessions in India, to the different destinies which awaited them.

The Portuguese governors in India, finding their representations availed not to obtain any support from their sovereign, devised various stratagems to counteract the progressive

progressive ascendancy of the Dutch, and to disturb, at least, if not to destroy the friendly intercourse which subsisted between them and the Malay prince. Some of these artifices, though intensely base and ignoble, were counteracted with much ingenuity, and practised with peculiar address. The one which was most successful, but which most reflected on the shame of men who valued themselves so highly on their religious purity, was the sending emissaries to the king of Achén in the character of pious proselytes, who had abjured the Christian and adopted the Musselman faith. Under this specious guise, the Acheensé monarch, who was a weak man, and a bigotted Mahomedan, received them with distinguished favour, and readily listened to the artful insinuations with which they endeavoured to lessen his respect for the Dutch, and to awaken his jealousy of their views. By degrees he began to show considerable distrust and apprehension in his communications with the Dutch commanders then at the port of Achén. Amongst these was the celebrated Houtman, who soon observed this change in the king's manner, and who was sensible even of the real cause from which it arose; but he wanted the discretion and self-command necessary to prevent the consequences which it was intended to produce. He yielded to the first impulse of his feelings, and, in a high tone of indignation, demanded from the Malay prince an explanation of the motives which led to this destruction of their wonted confidence and friendship. To this no answer was made; but on the succeeding night several armed Europeans boarded Houtman's ship, and attempted to board her a different vessel on board, which waited for

upwards of two hours, when the Malays were constrained to relinquish their object, and return precipitately to the shore. The slaughter of the assailants was inconsiderable; but they had the misfortune to lose their gallant commander, whose courage, generosity, and public spirit merited a more distinguished fate.

A few days subsequent to this event, Spilbergen arrived at Achén with his victorious fleet; and upon being informed of the reprisals with the king, and the cause to which it was to be attributed, he immediately sent a despatch to him, with a strong remonstrance, requiring ample reparation for the aggression he had committed, the dismissal of the Portuguese emissaries, by whom he had been instigated to such unprovoked and unjustifiable violence, and a renewal of those commercial indulgences which he had found it so beneficial to his own interest to extend to the Dutch, and of which, by the integrity of their conduct, and the fairness of their dealings, they had proved themselves to be highly deserving. After some deliberation the king consented to what appeared to him to be the chief object of the remonstrance. He acknowledged his having been seduced into a belief that the Dutch meditated the conquest of his dominions; but that as he was now convinced they had no such intention, he would give no further countenance to those who had led him to suppose, and would cheerfully re-establish the friendly intercourse which, to their mutual advantage, had subsisted between them. Spilbergen, who, though endowed with a high spirit of independence, was extremely conscious, well satisfied with the success of

of obtaining a cargo; and thus, with the short-sighted selfishness of a narrow mind, compromised the honour of his country for these partial interests of his employers, which that honour could alone effectually secure.

While these occurrences were passing at Achén, the Dutch agents at the Moluccas were much molested by small Spanish privateers, that had been sent thither by the governor of Manila, and the other settlements in the Philippine islands, in order to annoy the Dutch traders, by cruising in the narrow channels and shoal water on the coasts of Gilolo, and cutting off their supplies of spices to places where their larger and less manœuvrable vessels were unable to pursue them. The zealous co-operation of the Portuguese, and the increasing naval force of the Spaniards in the Philippines, gave great facility to the prosecution of this predatory warfare, which obstructed the commerce of their rivals, without exposing themselves to the risk and incurring the expense of direct hostilities.

The Philippine Islands were first discovered to the nations of Europe by the celebrated navigator Ferdinand Magellan, or Magellan, in A.D. 1511. They are situated to the northward of the Moluccas, and extend from the fifth to the nineteenth degree of north latitude. The three principal islands of this extensive group are, Luzon, Mindanao, and Palau. Mindanao, the southernmost of the whole, is distant from Gilolo 150 miles. Between Mindanao and Luzon is within thirty miles of the coast of Borneo, and by the interpretation of Rajahmang, Borneo, and Banguay, forms that chain of islands which bounds the China Sea to the east-

ward. Though Spain certainly considered these islands as an indefensible property, to which the discovery of Magellan had given her a right, yet, until the reign of Philip the Second, only one attempt was made to colonize them, by the viceroy of Mexico, which proved unsuccessful. In 1564, that monarch formed the scheme of sending another armament thither across the Pacific Ocean from Mexico, in order to take possession of the islands in his name, and to establish colonies in those that appeared to be the most fertile and productive. A powerful fleet was accordingly fitted out from the port of Navesty, on the west coast of New Spain, under the command of Don Lopez de Legaspi, a native of that country, who carried with him a commission as adelantado of the Philippine islands. On the arrival of the fleet at its destination, that officer met with little opposition from the natives, who are of a mild and peaceable character; and in the course of a few years he founded settlements in the islands of Zebu and Negros, as well as in those already mentioned. But finding that Luzon abounded with mines of gold, which the Spaniards considered as the source of every earthly blessing, and likewise discovering on its western coast a secure and spacious harbour, Legaspi devoted all his attention to this valuable island. He, therefore, chose a place called Manila, favourably situated at the head of this harbour, as the fittest best suited for the capital of his new establishment. On the 24th of June 1571, being the anniversary of the feast of St. John the Baptist, the foundation of the city of Manila was laid with great religious solemnity; and an accurate plan for the erection of its buildings and

fortifications

the establishment was thenceforward successful in effect. During the progress of this splendid work, the new colony had the misfortune to lose its governor Legaspi, to whose judgement, activity, and zeal its country is indebted for its first prosperities. His successor, Don Oando de Lombazarris, however, being of an enterprising and aspiring mind, followed up with accomplished all his principal schemes. Finding that Chinese traders had, from the earliest times, resorted annually to the island for the sale of some of their coarser manufactures, which they exchanged for gold dust with the Tagallans, who inhabited its shores, and who, since their conversion to Mahomedanism, in the eleventh century, had gained some knowledge of commerce, Lombazarris resolved to give every encouragement to an intercourse from which he foresaw so many advantages would ultimately flow. A considerable number of Chinese merchants were consequently invited to settle at Manila, under the protection of the Spanish government. These industrious people supplied the colony not only with the commodities of their own country, but also with those of Hindostan and of every other nation in Asia. From them Lombazarris learned that, though China contained many rich mines of gold and silver, it had always been the policy of their government not to work them; that these precious metals were, therefore, imported from foreign countries; and that as they were converted gold into money, the precious silver for the people, the demand for the latter was exceedingly great—*nothing could be more gratifying to the Spaniards than this information, which opened to them such a direct and extensive prospect of a*

very profitable trade. The facility with which they could now furnish the Chinese with silver from Mexico, and carry thither to return the valuable productions of the East, where the cheap rate at which they would be able to dispose of them, would insure a ready sale, seemed so justifiy, on rational and solid grounds, all the sanguine expectations that they were led to form, and the speculations in which they were incited to embark. The trade to America was, therefore, commenced with high hopes still proportional ardour. In the beginning of 1580, three ships sailed from Manila to Callao, on the coast of Peru, and Acapulco, on the coast of New Spain; laden with the commodities of China and Hindostan; and their return in the month of two years with a cargo of silver, which the Chinese merchants beheld with satisfaction, and on which they placed a higher value than on any they had ever before seen. This prosperous beginning gave birth to the government of Manila; and from this time the vessel two or three ships were dispatched regularly every year to New Spain, for which province the commodities of the East were, after some years, solely reserved, the Peruvians being excluded, by rigorous edicts, from any participation in the trade. The wealth which the Spanish colonists at Manila soon realized from this traffic, conferred a degree of importance on that settlement, which, from its being subordinate to the government of Mexico, and from its having no direct intercourse with the mother country, it could never otherwise have obtained. That Spain should allow to a settlement of great importance to maintain a dependency of her Asiatic colonies, and that these colonies should

be permitted to enjoy the very considerable advantages arising from it, to the exclusion of all her other subjects, as well as to the obvious detriment of her home manufactures, and in repugnance to the fundamental principles of her colonial policy, are circumstances that can only be explained or accounted for, by a resistance to those political anomalies which abound in the history of every state, and which the combined operation of ignorance, prejudice, individual interests, and the conflicting passions of mankind have a natural tendency to produce.

At the period of which we are treating, the colony of Manila was in a highly flourishing condition, and had arrived at considerable power. Under the auspicious administration of the marquis de Figueroa all the smaller islands, which lie between Magendanao and Luzon, were taken possession of, and settlements formed in each of them, proportioned to the value of its productions and the number of its inhabitants, rather than to its geographical extent. The fierce race of people, who inhabited the interior parts of Magendanao, and who had hitherto resisted the utmost efforts of the Spanish arms, were almost entirely subdued, and that fertile island thereby rendered an effective addition to the strength, instead of being a drain upon the resources of the supreme government. In the expedition to Magendanao, Figueroa died; but being succeeded by an officer no less sagacious and intrepid, the various objects which he had in view for the improvement, as well as the aggrandizement of the Philippine colonies, were happily pursued and achieved. This success resulted from the industry of the colonists, encouraged and directed by a wise and

vigorous government, which, studying the real interests of the people, gave every possible encouragement to commerce, and protected them from the encroachments of ecclesiastical domination, without lessening the moral influence, or violating the dignity of the church. The Jesuit missionaries, who settled at Manila in 1601, were employed usefully and unobtrusively in endeavouring, by the gentlest means, to civilize the rude inhabitants of the Luzonian mountains, and to impress on their untaught minds a belief in the sacred truths of the Christian revelation, but they never possessed the smallest weight in the administration of civil affairs, notwithstanding the refined subtlety of that policy with which they successfully strove to obtain it. There cannot be a more incontestible proof of the civil government of Manila being unimpaired by the priesthood, and of its making the advancement of commerce the ruling principle of its conduct, than the religious toleration which is granted to the foreign merchants who resided in the colony. Soon after the final establishment of the Acapulco trade, fifteen thousand Chinese, and six thousand Japanese, had settled in the city of Manila, where they enjoyed the privileges of citizens, and the free exercise of their religion. This circumstance seems to have arisen from the commercial spirit which actuated this government, aided by its having no direct communication with Spain, and by its being at such a distance from the power and policy of Mexico, as to render it almost independent of any control. Far removed from the pernicious passions and intemperate luxury which governed and disgraced the councils of their foreign sovereign, the colonists in the Philippines

gates pursued their own interests, and cultivated the arts of peace on a system of policy equal, generous, prudent, and beneficial. The striking contrast between their condition and that of the Portuguese, could not fail to make a strong impression on the Dutch, who accordingly resolved to adopt a defensive plan in regard to the former, but, at the same time, to endeavour to rival their power in the Eastern Archipelago, by working the destruction of the latter with all the influence of secret artifice and the force of avowed hostility.

In order, therefore, to carry this resolution into effect, the States-general granted commissions to the commanders of India ships, and made the duties of companies to whom they belonged provide them completely with all the implements of war. By these commissions the Dutch traders were empowered to make reprisals on all nations who should disturb their commerce, or offer the slightest insult to their flag. In the evening of 1600, James Heemskirk, vested with this authority, and honoured with the rank of admiral, sailed from the Texel for Batavia with a squadron of four ships, each carrying twenty guns, and a proper number of men. Having arrived at Batavia, he found the chief of that country still suspicious of the intentions of the Dutch, and unwilling to trade with him on reasonable terms. He, therefore, departed from thence, and proceeded to the island of Celebes. On his passage thither he fell in with a large Portuguese carrack, bound from China to Europe, and, after a feeble defence, compelled her to surrender. This capture was extremely valuable in itself, and of much importance in the

salutary consequences to which it led. The Portuguese had endeavoured to impress the Malays with a notion, that the Dutch were considered in Europe as a band of desperate pirates, who, having thrown off allegiance to their sovereign, and absolved themselves from all religious and moral obligations, were not entitled to quarter as enemies, much less to credit as merchants. Heemskirk, no less solicitous to wipe away than to avenge this calumny, thought the capture of the carrack a situation to shew that the character of the Dutch had been unjustly ascribed. Accordingly he treated his prisoners with peculiar respect, hospitality, and kindness, and, excepting the captain and chaplain, sent the whole of them to Amboyna a ransom, which, in similar cases, it was then the custom of the Portuguese, as well as of the other maritime nations, to exact. This unusual liberality, therefore, grew from the sincerity of a letter of thanks expressive both of his admiration and his gratitude. This letter, which it was the principal object of Heemskirk to obtain, fully answered the purpose it was intended to serve. Having got it translated into the Malay language, he dispatched copies of it to all the native princes, thereby disproving the accusations which had been brought against the Dutch on the most inequival, and, to them, the most honourable evidence.

Whilst the Dutch commerce in India was attended with such prodigious prosperity, the affairs of the different companies at home became involved in difficulties, of which that prosperity was the primary cause. The desire of advancing in the India trade, which pervaded the United Provinces, and which gained

gained strength at the completion of every voyage, at last produced to many rival companies such of them striving to surpass the other in diligence and activity, that the markets were glutted with Indian commodities, and the price of them consequently fell upwards of 40 per cent. This depreciation in the value of goods, which were procured at so great an expense, proved fatal to some of the companies, and was severely felt by all. Even those associations who were the most able to bear this loss, were seized with such apprehension, that they declined embarking in further adventures; and many ships and several hundred seamen, were thrown out of employment. A temporary stagnation, therefore, took place in the India trade, and the whole nation was filled with disappointment, agitation, and alarm. The states general, fearful of the consequences which might arise from this general confusion, deemed it incumbent on them to take measures for the restoration of a branch of commerce about which the public interest was so peculiarly strong, and on the stability of which a great part of the national wealth and power materially depended. After a long and mature deliberation, it appeared to them expedient to exhort the principal companies to join their funds in one general stock, to form them into a body corporate, and thus constituted, to invest them by a patent with the sole privilege of trading to India, to the entire exclusion of all the other subjects of the republic. Repugnant as this measure undoubtedly was to the feelings of the people at large, it proved highly acceptable to those companies who were yet rich enough to partake of the advantages which it held out; and though it occa-

sioned a considerable degree of dissatisfaction and distrust, such was the persuasion which the government entertained of its utility, that it was carried into effect with all the expedition which the nature of its various arrangements would allow. and on the 20th of March 1602, the new corporation, intitled "The Dutch East India Company," was formally instituted at the Hague. The patent, or *charta*, commenced on the same day, and was granted for twenty-one years. Its conditions were, that the company should possess the complete monopoly of the India trade during the term specified; and that the state, in return for this extensive privilege, should have a share in their capital equal to 1,000 florins, and likewise a duty of 3 per cent. on all their exports, except bullion. The whole stock of the new company consisted of 6,000,000 guilders, or about 6,000,000 sterling, which was divided into different shares in the following manner:—One half to the merchants of Amsterdam, one fourth to those of Middelburgh, and 15 to those of Delft, Rotterdam, Enkhusen, and Hoorn, a sixth each. The capital thus allotted was deposited at Amsterdam, where the general business of the company was transacted by sixty directors, chosen by the different classes of proprietors, who proportioned the number of their deputies to the value of their several shares.

The states general, in establishing this monopoly, appear to have been in some degree influenced by the example of England; but as the circumstances which led to the formation of the English India Company were entirely different from those which gave rise to that of the Dutch, the latter cannot be defended on the same principles as the

the former. When Elizabeth granted a charter of exclusive privileges to the London Company, for the purpose of embarking in the India trade, the external commerce of England was yet in the first stage of its progress, and her merchants possessed not sufficient capital to engage in so great and hazardous an undertaking, either singly or in partnerships, without the aid of the credit which the advantages of such a charter could alone procure. This enlightened princess, therefore, with a view to encourage the industry, and call forth the commercial enterprise of her subjects, adopted the only practicable means of inducing them to share in a branch of trade, which had justly become an object of so much rivalry amongst the mercantile nations of Europe. But the establishment of an exclusive company in Holland was not called for by an expediency of that nature, nor on grounds so laudable as just. The Dutch, who were the most active, and, in comparison with their frugal habits of life, the most opulent merchants in Europe, had previously carried on the India trade for upwards of six years with astonishing success, and the grievance complained of, that had occasioned such embarrassment, arose not from a deficiency, but from a superabundance of capital, which, by holding out an incitement to import Indian commodities to an indefinite extent, necessarily produced an immense overflow in the market. This evil, however, carried its own remedy along with it. The loss which the different companies sustained by the depreciation of their goods, was of itself the strongest possible motive for them to repair it by pursuing their trade with a prudence informed by the experience, and a zeal moderated by the dis-

cretion they had bought. If, therefore, those companies had been left to their own natural resources, the alarm, without its having done any injury to the nation, would soon have subsided, and the India trade returned within its original channel, would have continued to flow in a steady and regular course. By this means the freedom of commerce, so essential to the integrity and well-being of a nation that substituted by merchandize, would have been preserved whole, by government interpoling its authority, and granting to a particular body of merchants a monopoly of that valuable trade, the liberal maxims on which it had hitherto been conducted were abandoned, and a sordid selfish system introduced in their stead. The company, it is true, brought immense wealth into Holland, and acquired considerable political consequence in India; but it is no less true that, in proportion as their power extended, their principles became contracted and debased.

The new company commenced the operations with great alacrity, and carried them on with uncommon expedition. Within four months after they received their charter, they had a fleet of fourteen large ships fully equipped and ready for sea. In the beginning of June 1602, this fleet sailed from the Texel, under the command of admiral Wybraut van Waerwyk, and arrived at the Moluccas, in the February following, after a prosperous though tedious voyage. The arrival of so formidable a force very seasonably relieved the Dutch factors in the spice islands from the repudiation and alarm in which the constant aggressions of the Spaniards and Portuguese had for some time kept them. Their only protection

had been Van Neck's Squadron, consisting of three ships, which, being totally surprised a defeat of the rest of the fleet, was distanced from sailing any farther upon their return. On the 10th of June the Van Weel fleet, the Spanish cruizers sail from the Moluccas, and the Portuguese returned to their dominions in the Spice Islands, from whence they did not venture to depart. Thus, without adopting an offensive measures, or even striking a single blow, Van Weel's fleet restored tranquility to the islands, and thereby enabled the factors to renew their trade with the natives, and to complete the cargo of Van Neck's Squadron. Before the departure of this command for Europe, another fleet, consisting of thirty sail, arrived in the East commanded by Stephen Andriessen, who brought with him a considerable body of troops, and instructed them in the duties of a company to endeavour to reduce the five settlements which the Portuguese maintained in the Moluccas, and to hold out every possible inducement to persuade the Moluccas to join them in this enterprise, but to obtain their permission to erect fortifications, in order to prevent the Dutch from establishing themselves in the Spice Islands, which he mentioned as it would be a civil provocation, which his furious determination of Philip the Second had prepared him to expect. The declaration was contrary to the decree published in the beginning of 1603, prohibiting the inhabitants of the United Province to trade to any part of the dominions of Spain, either in America or India, under pain of the most rigorous punishment, and nothing could have been more happily calculated to rouse the

ardour of the Dutch people, to remove all differences amongst them, to strengthen and consolidate the power of the company, and to give them with an energy and inspire them with an animation equal to the justness of their cause, to the magnitude of the danger with which it was menaced, and to the enormous insolence of their enemy. Accordingly they determined, by one bold and decisive measure, to anticipate the threatened blow, and thereby not only secure to themselves the exclusive trade of the Spice Islands, but likewise such a favourable position as would enable them to carry on the operations of war with the greatest probability of success. In order to ensure the accomplishment of these advantages, two additional fleets were fitted out and dispatched to the Spice Islands, for the purpose of forming a junction with those already there. The first of these consisted of eleven ships, and the other of eight, both of them were well equipped for warlike services, and on board of each one thousand veteran soldiers were embarked, commanded by gallant and experienced officers. On their arrival at the Moluccas, Admiral Vande Haghe proceeded, with a delay, to invest and bombard the Portuguese settlements at Amboyna and Jailore, and as these places were ill calculated to resist the regular assaults of so large an armament, the batteries by which they were defended were soon silenced, and the garrisons constrained to capitulate, together with a number of Portuguese vessels richly laden with spice, that lay at anchor at both islands, under cover of the fortresses. Thus the Portuguese lost the whole of their possessions in the Moluccas, and the Dutch having landed their troops, and,

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by their success, gained the favour of the native chiefs, they encountered no difficulty in establishing themselves in the conquered places, the fortifications of which they consequently repaired, enlarged, and improved.

Vander Hagen, who was no less attentive to the commercial concerns of the company than to the military operations in which he had been engaged, in a few months after the reduction of Ambona and Tidore, provided a quantity of spices sufficient to load twelve of the largest ships, at a very reasonable rate, and of a quality by far the finest for flavour and delicacy which had yet been sent to Holland. Having shipped this valuable cargo, he intrusted it to the care of Van Waterwyk, who conveyed it safe to the Texel, together with the increasing intelligence of the success with which the company's arms had been crowned. One obstacle, however, still remained to the attainment of that complete monopoly of the spice trade which Vander Hagen had in view. The English had obtained a footing in the island of Banda, and, by their indefatigable exertions, enjoyed a considerable portion of this inestimable branch of the Indian commerce; and the close friendship and alliance which then subsisted between his country and England, precluded the adoption of any measure of immediate hostility in order to remove them. But such was the nature of the jealousy maintained not only by this office, but by his masters, of any rival whatever in this trade, that they refused to shew any artifice to frustrate the views, and injure the interests of the English, which, in our last chapter, we unfolded and explained.

At this period the progress of

the Dutch in the Archipelago met with a severe check, and their affairs were in consequence reduced to a very critical situation, by the inconsiderate ardour with which Vander Hagen pushed forward his operations against the Portuguese. As soon as that officer had compromised his difference with the English factors at Banda, he formed the project of fitting out an expedition against Malacca, which was now the only place of strength that the Portuguese retained on this side of India. Accordingly he equipped an armament, consisting of the whole naval, and nearly the whole military force which he had in the Moluccas, and giving the chief command of it to Cornelius Martelief, an officer in his confidence, directed him to proceed to Malacca. But the Portuguese, apprised of this design, had made such preparations for a vigorous resistance, that, after an obstinate contest of five weeks, maintained on both sides with equal bravery and skill, the assailants were obliged to raise the siege, with the loss of one-third of their whole force. The failure of this expedition, however, was but an inconsiderable evil to the Dutch, in comparison with the signal misfortune to which the providence of the project itself had given rise. Vander Hagen, though certainly animated in a high degree with an ardent zeal for the aggrandizement of his country, nevertheless neglected not to adapt all his schemes for that purpose to those objects which appeared to him most conducive to the attainment of private wealth, and to the advancement of his personal ambition. In forming his plan for the reduction of Malacca, the combined force of these motives made him overlook any consideration of prudent po-

lity.

fiev. He was not aware that, by sending so large an armament to Malacca, he in effect invited the Spaniards at Manila to attack, or rather to take possession of his newly acquired settlements in the spice islands. The Spanish admiral, stationed at the Philippines, received early information from the small armed vessels, which he had sent to watch the motions of the Dutch, both of the faulding of their formidable expedition, and of the defenceless state in which their garrisons in the Moluccas were thereby left. He, therefore, lost not a moment in taking advantage of these circumstances, and dispatched a large detachment of his fleet to Amboyna, under the command of Don Pedro d'Acuna, who, in the course of three days, compelled Vander Hagen to surrender, and then proceeded against the other possessions of the Dutch in those islands, of which he soon made a complete and a bloodless conquest.

In the contests which, at this period, took place between the European powers in the Indian islands, the Malays generally espoused the cause of the ascendant party; and on the present occasion the native chiefs of the Moluccas acquiesced without reluctance in the success of the Spaniards. But the Spanish admiral, more solicitous about plunder and pillage, than in securing to his country the fruits of his achievement, was not only indifferent to the disposition which the Malays evinced in his favour, but neglectful of the common means of maintaining the honour of his national standard at the fortresses on which he had planted it. In each of the settlements he left about fifty men, under the command of naval officers, who, though well skilled in their profession, were utterly un-

qualified to hold the trusts committed to their charge. Don d'Acuna, having dispatched two ships to Manila with Vander Hagen and the other prisoners, set sail with his fleet to the coast of Java, in quest of a Dutch squadron, of which he had received intelligence. In less than a week after his departure, Cornelius Martief returned to Amboyna from his unsuccessful enterprise, and, totally ignorant of the events which had happened in his absence, consoled himself with the pleasing idea of once again casting anchor on a friendly shore. What then must have been his surprise, embarrassment, disappointment, and mortification, on being saluted on his arrival with a discharge of heavy shot, and on seeing the Spanish colours displayed from the batteries. His men, however, soon recovered from the consternation into which these unexpected circumstances had thrown them, and their panic was succeeded by the strongest emotions of rage and resentment. They felt exasperated not less at the triumph of an enemy, for whom they bore the most deadly hatred, than at being shut out of a place to which they had looked with a fond assurance of finding refreshment and relaxation, after all their hardships and fatigues. Prompted by these feelings, they conjured their commander to conduct them instantly on shore, and that, however powerful the garrison might be, they would either carry the place by escalade, or fall gloriously in the attempt. Martief, though he deemed it an undertaking of infinite peril, at last yielded to the importunate spirit of his crew, and having manned the boats of the fleet, he landed at the head of three hundred men, of tried intrepidity

and valour. The Spaniards, on the other hand, alarmed at the boldness, as much as at the numbers of the assailants, fell into confusion, and disputed with each other whether they should at once capitulate or resolutely resist the assault. Whilst they continued in this perplexity, the Dutch pushed forward to the walls, and being provided with scaling ladders, they mounted them with a dexterous celerity, which the feeble efforts of the besieged served to invigorate rather than oppose, and having gained the ramparts, they tore down the Spanish flag, and put the whole of the garrison to the sword. and the Malays, according to their policy, welcomed the conquerors, on whose superior bravery they lavished their praise, and whose return they greeted with the most profuse congratulations. Encouraged by this exploit, and being informed that the other settlements in these isles had likewise fallen a sacrifice to the Spanish fleet, he resolved to recover them without delay. Having, therefore, entrusted the defence of the fortress at Amboyna to those gallant veterans who retook it, he proceeded to the other islands, and in two months wrested from the Spaniards all the places which Don d'Acuña had reduced.

Whilst the Dutch and the Spaniards were thus occupied in India, the states-general and the court of Madrid had opened a negotiation for concluding a treaty of peace, of which both nations had become equally desirous, and the India company, with a view to give the world an high opinion of their patriotism, and thereby to induce the states to attend to their interests in the negotiation, equipped an armed fleet of thirteen large ships, which they kept in readiness for sea: at

the same time they presented a memorial to government, setting forth the vast advantages which the country derived from their commerce, the number of persons of both sexes which it employed and maintained, the immense sums of money which their sales produced, and the great probability that existed of their being able, with proper support and encouragement, to extend their trade and augment their profits. The public spirit evinced, and the arguments thus urged by the company, made a strong impression on the states-general, and convinced them of the propriety of maintaining the interests of a body so powerful and so useful. But these interests were so much at variance with the views of the Spanish court, that no address on the part of the negotiations availed to obviate the difficulties that occurred in discussing the affairs of India; and both parties finding from thence that no cordial peace could be concluded, whilst preliminary points of such importance remained unadjusted, a truce was at last agreed to, on the condition that Spain should not molest the commerce of the Dutch with independent and neutral nations in India, but that the Dutch should not be permitted to enter any of the Portuguese or Spanish ports in that country. The company, in the mean while, had dispatched several squadrons to India with reinforcements for the garrisons in the Moluccas, and Malacca, by that means, had been enabled to dispossess the Portuguese of two small but valuable settlements in the island of Celebes, before the intelligence of the truce arrived to put a period to his operations.

This truce, however, was not long preserved in India. both parties

ties submitted to it with reluctance, and the Dutch had many temptations to break it. They had at this time in the Indian seas fifty ships from six to eight hundred tons each, and all of them equally well adapted for the purposes of commerce and war. Possessed of such powerful means of extending their influence and acquiring wealth, and stimulated to fresh enterprises by a rapacious avarice, they could not refrain themselves from the hostile pursuit of advantages which appeared to be within their reach, and which, by pacific measures, they could never hope to obtain. The commanders of the different squadrons, therefore, declared, that the states general had not consulted the interests of their subjects in India, in the stipulations they had made with Spain; that, however beneficial the trade might be in Europe, it was prejudicial to the Indian settlements; and that for these reasons they were resolved to recommence the war. They were the more urged to this determination by the alluring accounts of the island of Ceylon, which had been brought to Amboyna by Joris Spilbergen, an officer of rank and abilities, who had been deputed by the company on a special mission to the king of Candy, for the purpose of discovering the sentiments which that monarch entertained of the Portuguese, and of sounding his intentions in regard to the encroachments they had made on his dominions. The reception he met with, and the information he obtained, opened the most encouraging prospect, and it was accordingly now agreed, that he should proceed to Holland with this favourable account, and that a squadron of seven ships should be immediately dispatched to Battacola, a port on the

east coast of Ceylon, conveniently situated for carrying on an intercourse with the city of Candy. The chief command of this squadron was entrusted to Sebald de Weert, an officer who had been engaged in all the recent enterprises in the eastern islands, and who had on those occasions displayed abilities which gained him the applause of his superior officers, and which amply justified them in appointing him to the important situation he now filled.

In March 1605, he sailed from Amboyna, and proceeded by way of the Straits of Malacca to Achem, where he received a supply of ammunition from the Dutch factors settled there, and a reinforcement of two hundred Malay soldiers from the king. His armament being thus strengthened, he continued his voyage, and, about the middle of June, cast anchor in the bay of Battacola.

The conquests of the Portuguese in Ceylon, and the extent of their territorial possessions there, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, have been described in the second chapter of this history. A profound peace had subsisted between them and the king of Candy for some years previous to the Dutch ambassador's arrival at the court of that monarch. But this tranquillity was not founded on any understood principle of public benefit, or sentiment of mutual confidence and concord. The Portuguese desisted only from carrying on war against Candy on account of the extreme difficulty and danger of penetrating the vast woods by which the country was protected; and the resentment of the Candians against the Portuguese was only repressed by a dread of their superior skill in military operations. Hence the

proffered alliance of the Dutch proved highly acceptable to the king of Candy, who appears to have possessed a considerable share of political sagacity. This prince had succeeded his uncle in the year 1600, and was elevated to the throne by the title of *Rajah Larnu Suree*. His dominions comprised the whole of the interior districts of Ceylon, together with that part of the eastern coast which extends from *Battacola* to *Magame*. In fertility and population these districts greatly surpassed all the rest of the island, and the internal resources of the kingdom of Candy were, of course, proportionally extensive. The people, though not of a warlike character, were resolute and intrepid: the authority of the monarch, like that of other Asiatic princes, was completely absolute; the whole of the land in his dominions was, from immemorial custom, his undivided property, and his revenues, which were almost entirely derived from the land, consisted of such a proportion of its gross produce as he chose from time to time to demand from the cultivators, or as the circumstances of the state, in extraordinary emergencies, might require. His effective forces amounted to about 30,000 men, all of whom looked up to him with reverence, and obeyed his commands with promptitude and alacrity. By these means, added to the almost inaccessible forests that surrounded his dominions, this prince prevented, and his predecessors were enabled to resist, the incursions of the Portuguese, who were detested by them and by their subjects, not so much for having invaded their country, and for the wars which they had so

often waged against it, as for the atrocious cruelty with which they treated their prisoners, and for professing the propagation of the Christian religion to be the sole object of those wars, and of that cruelty. The Candians are worshippers of *Buddha*, which superstition was probably introduced amongst them about the period of the Christian era, when it had attained a considerable ascendancy throughout Hindustan, and in many parts of the continent, as well as in Ceylon*, supplanted the Brahmanical system. Though less rigid than the Hindus, they have always maintained their religious tenets with an equal degree of enthusiasm, and as these tenets, like those they abjured, are interwoven with the whole of their civil institutions and domestic economy, neither the arguments nor the arms of the Portuguese availed to convert them.

Such being the relative condition of the king of Candy and the Portuguese at this time, the arrival of the armament under *Sebalde de Weert* filled the former with no less joy than it gave the latter uneasiness. A deputation was immediately sent to *Battacola*, to invite the Dutch admiral to court, who accordingly proceeded thither, and was received with signal marks of distinction. The first object of *de Weert* was to gain a footing in the island, and for that purpose to obtain permission from the king to erect a small fortress at *Battacola*, under the pretext of preventing the Portuguese from taking possession of that valuable port, and of thereby securing a channel of communication with Candy. But finding, in his first interview,

* The towns and villages of Ceylon being named after the Hindu deities, and the numerous remains of Brahmanical temples still existing in the island, are incontestable proofs that the religion of Brahmins once prevailed amongst its inhabitants.

Interview, that the king concealed, under the forms of respect and civility, an extreme jealousy of strangers, and was in reality very suspicious of his views, he prudently determined to postpone any solicitation on that head, until he should have established himself in his confidence, by obtaining some signal advantage over the Portuguese. Having, therefore, conversed with the rajah about the measures which he designed to pursue, he returned to his fleet, accompanied by two Indian officers of rank, who were specially appointed to attend him in his expedition against the Portuguese. After fresh victualling his ships, he proceeded to sea, with an intention of making a descent on the Portuguese settlement of Negombo; but when he approached near that place, he fell in with a squadron of the enemy, the greatest part of which, after a desperate conflict, he compelled to surrender, and his prizes proving to be of considerable value, he resolved to secure them, by immediately returning to Battacola, and abandoning, for the present, his meditated attack. Upon the intelligence of this action reaching Candy, the rajah was impressed with a conviction of the vast superiority of the Dutch, but he was, nevertheless, very much dissatisfied with De Weert, for having relinquished the expedition to Negombo, which he considered as an object of paramount importance, at a moment so fortunately favourable to its success. From the solicitude of the Dutch admiral to secure the ships he had captured, he perceived that avarice was his ruling passion, and he justly concluded, that where that passion predominates in any great degree, it not only absorbs every other motive of action, but abandons every sentiment of faith

and friendship. It, therefore, appeared to him highly impolitic, if not dangerous, to continue in alliance with a man who would only promote their mutual views as far as they suited his own particular interests, and whose interests were of a nature so different from his, that they would frequently, as on this occasion, tend to obstruct them. In this opinion the rajah was still more confirmed by the account which he received from the officers whom he sent with De Weert, of the manner in which the Portuguese prisoners were treated. It was represented to him, that the greatest part of them had been released, that those who remained seemed to be considered as friends rather than enemies, and that many of the officers even lived with the admiral himself. Of this sort of civility and apparent kindness between enemies, the Candians could form no conception, though they glowed with indignation at prisoners being subjected to cruelties on account of their religion, the only notion they had of treating them humanely was to leave them unmolested in strict and perpetual confinement, and hence they naturally enough inferred, from the conduct observed by De Weert to his prisoners, that the Dutch and Portuguese were in reality secret friends, and that they only professed enmity to each other in order to betray him, and thereby facilitate the subjugation of his country. De Weert, elated with his good fortune, and totally unconscious of having given any cause of offence to his ally, no sooner landed at Battacola than he hastened to Candy, to receive his congratulations, and to make new arrangements for their future operations. But he was no less astonished than mortified

justified at the cold and distant reception he met with, and still more so when the rajah accused him of breach of faith, in having released the Portuguese prisoners, and of a disregard at least, if not a dereliction of their common cause, in giving up an enterprise, which would have redounded so much to its advantage, for the fordid purpose of preventing the possible loss to himself of any of the prizes which had been taken. It was in vain that De Weert endeavoured to persuade him that, according to the usages of European nations, he was bound in honour to treat his prisoners in the manner he had done. The rajah replied, that as the Portuguese, in their wars with Candy, had absolved themselves not only of that obligation, but of every tie of humanity, he thought no faithful ally of his should have adhered to it in regard to them. His apology for relinquishing the expedition against Negombo was urged with still less effect for the Candian monarch, who had never seen a ship, could not comprehend the meaning of the alleged necessity of returning into harbour to repair the damages which the fleet sustained in the action.

After many ineffectual attempts to convince the rajah of the rectitude of his intentions, and his unshaken fidelity, he thought it unsafe to continue longer at Candy, and accordingly returned on board his fleet, having first, however, obtained permission to purchase as much cinnamon as would load two of his ships, upon the express condition of his reducing the Portuguese settlement of Punto Gallo, situated on the southern coast of the island. But De Weert managed this matter with such address, that he procured the cinnamon in the first instance,

and then delayed fulfilling his part of the agreement, under various and specious pretexis, in the hope of ultimately bringing the rajah to renew the treaty of alliance. With this view he ventured once more to visit the court of Candy, where his unexpected appearance excited the utmost surprise. It was inconceivable to the courtiers of Candy that any man should have the boldness and effrontery to present himself to their sovereign, after having so grossly deceived him by the non-performance of a positive stipulation. De Weert, however, upon being conducted to his presence, made a candid confession of the motives which had induced him to postpone the promised expedition against Punto Gallo; and told him that upon a re-consideration of the contract by which he had obtained the cinnamon, he could not consent to fulfil it, unless their former friendship was re-established. Enraged at the insolence of this avowal, and unaccustomed to be spoken to in so explicit a manner, the rajah instantly retired, ordering his attendants to seize De Weert, and confine him in a dungeon. To this ignominious treatment the valiant admiral refused to submit, and drawing his sword, defended himself for a considerable time, till at last being surrounded by armed men, and exhausted with fatigue, he received a stroke from a scimitar, which laid him dead on the ground. The agitation and disturbance which this event produced, soon spread the intelligence of De Weert's fate beyond the walls of the palace, and having reached the officers of his suite, they immediately sallied forth with a resolute determination to make a sacrifice of their own lives, in order to avenge the death of their commander. Though only

ten in number, they cut their way through the crowds that thronged the streets of the city, and in a frenzy of grief and rage, entered the gates of the palace, to the utter astonishment of the multitude, who, stupified with wonder at so daring an act, made no effort to oppose them. Their object was to make the rajah suffer at their hands the same death which he had inflicted on their commander. But they had no sooner reached the inner apartments, than they were encompassed on all sides, and a furious conflict ensued, in which every one of these brave men fell a victim to a virtuous but misguided zeal.

Some weeks elapsed before the officers of the fleet obtained any account of the calamity which had befallen De Weert and his attendants. The rajah, aware of the power, and fearful of the retaliation of the Dutch, had given strict orders throughout his dominions to keep the affair a profound secret, and he particularly commanded his people in the district of Battacola to shew the Dutch the utmost civility and attention: at the same time he sent an ambassador to the Portuguese governor of Colombo, with proposals to restore the good understanding between them, of which the artful conduct of the Dutch had produced a suspension. This artifice succeeded according to his wishes. Nothing transpired regarding the fate of De Weert: and the governor of Columbo readily consented to renew a treaty to which it suited his present interest to adhere.

The rajah, having thus accomplished his purpose, marched an army of 10,000 men into the neighbourhood of Battacola. On its arrival there, the commander sent a message to the Dutch, informing

them that De Weert had treated the sovereign of Candy with a degree of contumely which it was incompatible with his dignity to forgive, that he had, therefore, been ordered into confinement, but that not choosing to submit to this just punishment, he had fallen a sacrifice to his own tenacity: and that in consequence of these circumstances, the rajah commanded the Dutch fleet to depart from his country, being finally resolved never again to have any communication with a people, who appeared to him alike destitute of that fidelity which is essential in all alliances, and of that respect and reverence which is due to the monarch of an independent nation.

The Dutch officers and seamen, by whom De Weert was cordially beloved, and whose fears for his safety had been excited by their not hearing from him, were thrown into the greatest distress on receiving this message. Filled with mingled sensations of regret and resentment, their inclination prompted them to land in full force, to proceed against the Candians at all hazards, and to give them no quarter, until they had completely frustrated their revenge. But though their passions powerfully urged them to this measure, and though they were restrained not by any motives either of policy or prudence, it was a singular circumstance that no leader could be found amongst them who would undertake the conduct of so daring an enterprise. There were not wanting in the fleet officers of spirit and abilities, but such was the damp which the loss of De Weert had cast over them, and such the high opinion they had been led to form of his superior talents, that they were struck with a consciousness of their own inferiority, and though

through each of them was eagerly solicited for the honour of commanding on so glorious an occasion, not one of them would venture to offer his services, and the seamen had not sufficient confidence in any of them to make a particular choice. Whilst they remained in this state of suspense and perplexity, an Arab trader brought them intelligence that the governor of Colombo had concluded a treaty of alliance with the king of Candy, and that a Portuguese fleet of ten sail was on its way to attack them. There was now no question left of the line of conduct to be pursued. Having dispatched two ships to Holland with cinnamon, their squadron only consisted of five, and with such a disparity in point of numbers it was deemed advisable to avoid an action with the Portuguese fleet, if it could be done with honour. They accordingly weighed anchor before the Portuguese appeared in sight, and proceeded to the Straits of Sunda, and from thence to Amboyna.

The Dutch squadron arrived at the Moluccas at a very seasonable period; for the settlements there were again left in an unprotected condition, owing to the several small armaments which, in the course of this year (1802), had been sent from thence to Java, and an attack was daily expected from Don Juan de Sylva, the governor of Manila; who, with a powerful fleet, was cruising on the coast of Borneo, with a view to intercept a Dutch squadron on its return from Japan, with which country a commercial intercourse had been recently opened. At this critical juncture, it appeared expedient to the naval and military officers at Amboyna to send a squadron to the sea, to watch the motions

of the Spaniards, and, if possible, to form a junction with the Japan fleet. Accordingly admiral Wittet set sail to the west coast of Borneo, with six ships, mounting twenty guns each, and having on board two hundred soldiers. The officer who commanded the Japan fleet, however, conceiving it probable that the Spaniards would endeavour to intercept him, if he passed the usual channel between Borneo and Banca, held his course along the shores of Tonquin and Cochin China, and from thence through the Straits of Malacca to Acheen. Admiral Wittet, without being aware of this circumstance, proceeded to his destination, where, in the night subsequent to his arrival, he fell in with the Spanish fleet. The vast superiority of the enemy's force, and the fall of Wittet at the commencement of the action, soon decided the fate of the Dutch squadron. In the space of an hour three ships were captured, one sunk, and the other two with great difficulty effected an escape.

Don Juan de Sylva being informed by the prisoners that this squadron had been equipped from the Moluccas, justly concluded that the Dutch settlements there must necessarily be in a weak and vulnerable state, and therefore determined to proceed immediately against them. In the beginning of July 1803, he appeared before Amboyna with his formidable fleet, and summoned the Dutch garrison to surrender. The governor's answer breathed a truly gallant and heroic spirit. "Till the Spanish admiral," said he, "shall be in his duty to conquer, but never to defend; and that a brave surrender would not only be dishonourable to me, but injurious to himself." De Sylva, who was of a generous and elevated mind, could

could not but be peculiarly struck with this emphatic reply and as he issued his orders for the attack, his sympathy was powerfully excited for an enemy, whose noble bravery so well entitled him to a more exalted command, and to gain renown in a more disguised theatre of war. The Spaniards landed under a brisk cannonade, which did considerable execution, but which did not prevent them from taking possession of an eminence about a mile from the shore, and out of the reach of the shot from the batteries. Here De Sylva remained at the head of five hundred men, until the fire from the fleet had completely silenced the enemy, and made a breach in the fortifications, which, from their imperfect structure, was soon effected. He then descended from the acclivity with great impetuosity, and led his troops to the breach, at the entrance of which they were met by an intrepid band, consisting of two hundred men, and headed by the gallant governor. A terrible conflict ensued, which was carried on by the assailants with a determined perseverance, and maintained by the besieged with the furious and obstinate valour of despair. At length the Dutch commander fell, and his faithful followers, who by that time were reduced to fifty, as if by an irresistible impulse, rushed forward with fresh ardour, disdaining every offer of quarter, and resolved to perish along with their heroic leader, rather than not gratify their feelings by revenging his death. De Sylva, with the genuine generosity of a high spirit, deeply lamented the necessity which those brave men had imposed upon him. He had in vain attempted to disarm in order to save them: in vain he dissuaded them to accept of quarter on their own terms. Nothing,

therefore, of self-reproach mingled with his regret for their fall, a regret by which his triumph was ennobled and adorned.

Having taken possession of his conquest, and stationed a sufficient garrison to defend it, he victualled his fleet, and proceeded to some of the other Dutch settlements in the Moluccas, which, being unprotected by any military force, surrendered at discretion. These places he deemed it inexpedient to retain, being unable to spare any more men from his ships for that purpose but he carried away with him the whole of the property, as well as the persons, of the Dutch factors, and returned to Manila, after the most profitable and brilliant expedition which the Spaniards had hitherto made against the Dutch in the eastern seas.

Such, however, were the rapid vicissitudes of fortune in those times, that the Moluccas were, within nine months after their reduction, again restored to the Dutch. The Spanish garrison at Amboyna, released from the cares and labours of an active life, and without any interesting object in view, indulged in the most luxurious indolence; and by this means, and still more by the diseases and consequent mortality which it produced amongst them, their strength was so much wasted in the course of seven months, as to render them an easy prey to the first enemy that should attack them. In this enfeebled condition they lounged away their time in thoughtless and fallen apathy, without any sense of the dangers to which they were exposed, and with a total indifference to the friendly overtures of the English factors residing in the island, through whose influence with the Malays they might have acquired the most effectual assistance.

Upon

Upon the arrival, therefore, of *admiral Pier Borth* with a Dutch *fleet* from Holland, of thirteen sail, in May 1611, the garrison was thrown into the utmost consternation, and surrendered without firing a single shot. The Dutch admiral having brought along with him a large reinforcement of troops, and a considerable supply of military stores, no time was lost in re-establishing the different settlements in the Moluccas, and in erecting additional fortifications for their defence so that before the end of this year, the whole face of affairs in these islands was completely changed.

But this year was productive of still farther benefits to the Dutch. A splendid embassy was despatched by the company, but in the name of the prince of Orange and the states general, to the *kubō*, or emperor, of Japan, from whom important commercial privileges were in consequence obtained, and a regular trade established between that interesting country and the Dutch possessions in the spice islands; but this success is attributed, both by the Dutch and Portuguese historians, to the inconsiderate manner in which the Spanish and Portuguese merchants, settled in Japan, endeavoured to frustrate the object of the mission, rather than to any superior address in the ambassador. The Japanese, who are distinguished amongst the nations of Asia for their high spirit of independence, were naturally filled with indignation at a few foreign traders presuming to give advice to their sovereign, on a subject of so much importance as a commercial treaty with another people, which is always of mutual advantage to both; and the emperor, entering into similar sentiments, dismissed

with disdain the Spanish missionary employed on this occasion to warn him of the danger of forming a connexion with the Dutch. This dismissal was followed by the proclamation of an edict, prohibiting, under the severest penalties, the Spaniards and Portuguese from entering any part of the empire of Japan, except the town of Nagasaki where the latter had been allowed to build a factory. And at the same time a grant was made to the Dutch of a small island contiguous to the town of Firando, with permission to erect on it such buildings as would enable them to prosecute their trade with the utmost facility and advantage.

The Spanish merchants lost no time in dispatching a vessel to Manila, with advice of the extraordinary favour which the Japanese monarch had shewn to the Dutch embassy, and of the restraints which had in consequence been imposed on them and the Portuguese. On the arrival of this intelligence, *De Silva* immediately proceeded to Malacca, with a fleet of considerable force, in order to form, in concert with the governor of that settlement, an extensive plan of operations against the commerce of the Dutch. But so little confidence did the Portuguese place in their allies, and so much jealousy did they entertain of their views, that, though they were equally solicited with *De Sylva* to oppose the advancement of their common enemy, they were fearful of joining him in any enterprise of which he was to have the command, and the governor of Malacca consequently declined to co-operate, under various frivolous and silly pretences. Distrusted and deserted at this critical juncture, *De Sylva* declared that he should no longer consider the Portuguese

Portuguese as allies of his country, that he had hitherto espoused their interests with as much zeal as he bestowed on those of his own colony, but that a people so destitute of all manly decision, were unworthy of his support, and he should, therefore, abandon them to that fate which awaited the, and which their pusillanimous conduct so richly deserved. He accordingly prepared to depart from Malacca, but before his fleet was ready for sea, he was seized with a fever, of which he died, after an illness of a few days. The Spanish historians have bestowed very high encomiums on this officer, as well for the wisdom with which he administered the domestic affairs of the colony at Malacca, as for the judgement and bravery he displayed in his warlike exploits.

The loss of the Spanish commander was followed by a disaster which befel the fleet, and from which his abilities would probably have saved it. A Dutch fleet, of sixteen sail, appeared off Malacca on the very day which the Spaniards had chosen for their departure, and before the latter had time to place their ships in a position of defence, or even to prepare them for action, they were attacked with an impetuosity, which, from the confusion it threw them into, they felt themselves unable to resist. Several of the Spanish ships, therefore, cut their cables, and ran on shore, and those that remained were either sunk or captured. This brilliant achievement was the result of a scheme which had been formed by the Dutch admiral Pier Borth, who had been appointed governor general of the whole of the Dutch settlements in India, and who, having heard that De Sylva had sailed from Malacca, with a view to form a

union with the Portuguese fleet at Malacca, dispatched thither commodore Verhagen, with the force already mentioned, either to frustrate that design, by preventing the Spaniards from entering the port, or if they should have reached it before him, to oppose, at all hazards, the sailing of the combined fleet. As soon, therefore, as the joyful tidings of the accomplishment of his scheme were communicated to Borth at Amboyna, he was encouraged to undertake another enterprise, the objects of which were of more extensive importance. It appeared to him, upon a review of De Weert's proceedings at Ceylon, that his expedition to that island had failed from his own precipitation and rashness, rather than from any intentional enmity on the part of the Candian king. He, therefore, concluded, that if an officer of a cool decisive judgement and conciliatory address were sent to that monarch, as the representative of the prince of Orange, a treaty of alliance might yet be formed with him, that would secure to the Dutch the possession of a harbour in Ceylon, and thereby enable them not only to participate in the cinnamon trade, but likewise to open a commercial intercourse with the great nations of Hindustan, in which, without such a harbour, it would be a very perilous policy to engage far, as the whole strength of the Portuguese power now lay on the west side of India, no trade could be carried on thereby the Dutch without being subject to a systematic hostility, which it would require their most arduous efforts, as well as the advantage of a convenient and safe port to retreat to in cases of emergency, to resist with vigour and effect. But in deputing an officer of this description,

it seemed essential to give him the command of an armament powerful enough either to act against the Portuguese, or to establish a new settlement, without being so formidable in its appearance as to awaken amongst the Candians any suspicion of a sinister design. This matter, together with all the details requisite for the equipment of the expedition, was arranged by Borth with equal skill, dexterity, and dispatch: but the choice of a person endowed with those qualities which the nature of such a command required, and in whose fidelity he could repose an implicit confidence, was extremely perplexing, and occupied a considerable time. At length he fixed on Marcellos Boschkouweur, an officer who had served with great credit in several expeditions, and who had shared the glory of many a gallant exploit: but it was his firmness, moderation, and good sense that particularly recommended him to the Baron to whom he was now advanced.

On the 12 of March 1612, Boschkouweur received his instructions, and took the command of his fleet, which consisted of five ships, each carrying twenty-five guns, and one hundred soldiers, besides the usual complement of seamen. Having urged forward his preparations for the voyage, he set sail from Amboyna on the 4th of March, and, passing through the Straits of Sunda, arrived at Battagola in Ceylon, after a passage of six weeks. The people, on his landing, received him in a cold distant manner, refused to supply his fleet with any refreshments, and avowed that they had been strictly interdicted by their sovereign from holding any intercourse with the Dutch. The vexation

that arose from this discouraging circumstance was, however, considerably lessened on his being informed that the rajah Larau Sarce was dead, and that he had been succeeded on the throne by his brother, rajah Comaratas Aruayan, a youth much beloved by his subjects for the benevolence and mildness of his disposition: and Boschkouweur hesitated not a moment about the mode of soliciting the rajah to admit him to his presence. He addressed a letter to him, couched in the warmest terms of adulation, assuring him of the esteem and reverence entertained for him both by the prince his master and the whole Dutch nation, whose representatives he was, and in whose name he employed the forgiveness of his highness for the gross misconduct of De Weert, and he concluded by intreating that he might be permitted to throw himself at the foot of the throne, in proof of the sincerity of his professions, and the earnestness of his supplication. But he experienced some difficulty in getting this letter conveyed to Candy. The sadoore, or deputy governor of the district of Battagola, was extremely unwilling to transmit to his sovereign any communication from the Dutch; nor would he by any means be persuaded to send the letter, until Boschkouweur's interpreter had made him acquainted with its contents.

This well-dissembled artifice was crowned with the happiest success. The warm generous feelings, and unsuspecting integrity of the young prince, glowed with pleasure at receiving from an independent nation such an unequivocal testimony of its respect and friendship, as well as of its desire to wipe the past injuries; and impressed with a conviction of Boschkouweur's sincerity, from

from the unrestrained candour of his sentiments, he at once determined to comply with his request. Accordingly a deputation was sent to Battacola to invite and conduct him to court.

Boschkouvenr, on his being introduced to the rajah, fully confirmed by his gentle and assuasive manners the favourable impression which his letter had made, and he was treated both by the monarch and his courtiers with a degree of kindness which surpassed his most sanguine hopes. Nevertheless, he prudently resolved to proceed by gradual steps to the disclosure of those propositions, to which it was his grand object to prevail on the king to accede. But his views were unexpectedly favoured and forwarded by an event no less seasonable than fortunate. A party of Portuguese from Colombo having made an incursion into the Candian dominions, in search of cinnamon, they were attacked by the natives, and driven back to their own territory, with the loss of half their original number. This affair the governor of Colombo considered as a sufficient justification for declaring war, for which he had for some months been making preparations, and which he only waited for a fit occasion to commence. Unacquainted with the circumstance of a Dutch fleet having arrived at Battacola, little suspecting that an officer of Boschkouvenr's talents was actually at Candy, and in full possession of the confidence of the rajah, and founding his hopes of success on that prince's unwarylike character, he cut a passage through the woods of Attregode, and entered the kingdom of Candy at the head of three thousand men, consisting of Europeans, and of negroes brought from Mozambique, and had made considerable progress in his

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march before the intelligence of his approach reached the capital. On the arrival of these fatal tidings, the wildest consternation and dismay filled every bosom, and was depicted in every countenance. The Portuguese had in former wars been often successful, but they had never before penetrated through those forests which the Candians deemed impassable by any human force, and to which, therefore, as the natural bulwark of their independence, they attached peculiar reverence. Their most inveterate enemy was now in the heart of their country, he had passed the barriers designed by heaven for their defence, and superstition mingling with their fears and magnifying their danger, they conceived that the gods had conspired against them; that all opposition would be useless, and that they must submit to their destiny. It was not merely the populace whom these notions were of force to sway, they intimidated the prince and his courtiers, they even shook the resolution of the most experienced generals.

Amidst this scene of distress and despair, Boschkouvenr foresew the ultimate completion of his scheme. The service that he had now an opportunity of rendering the rajah, would give him a claim on his gratitude, which, coming in aid of the friendship already existing between them, could not fail to insure a cordial compliance with his wishes in all the points he so anxiously sought to obtain. Animated with this gratifying prospect, and little doubting of success in the undertaking, by which he proposed to realize it, he hastened to the palace, assured the rajah that the danger was much less imminent than he imagined, exhorted him, in the most forcible terms, to call together

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his troops, and not suffer his country to be ravaged and profaned by a despicable band of robbers, expressed his permission to send to Battacola for three hundred of his crew, and finally pledged himself in the mean while to arrest the progress of the enemy with 6000 Canadian soldiers. The generous mind of the prince was roused and inspired by this enthusiastic appeal to his pride and his patriotism, which, though he wanted the energy to call into action, he possessed the sensibility to feel. In a burst of gratitude and admiration, he assented to Boshkoveur's proposals, assembled his ministers and generals, to augment them with his determinations, and gave orders to get his troops in readiness to march with all practicable expedition. The example of the monarch, which, in all countries, has a powerful influence, in Asiatic States gives life and motion to the whole body of the people. Hence this new spirit which the rajah imbibed was diffused through the Canadians with electric swiftness, and their aspect, which had been overpowered with despondency, now gladdened with animation. Such was the ardour that prevailed, and such the uncommon promptitude and efficiency with which the royal mandates were carried into execution, that in three days an army of 6000 men was prepared to take the field. By Boshkoveur's advice this force was divided into two parts, one of which was committed by the rajah in person, the other by himself and each was accompanied by thirty elephants.

The Portuguese, in the mean time, had advanced within fifteen miles of Candy, and had begun to ascend the range of mountains on which that city is situated. They

had hitherto met with no opposition; and from the accounts they received of the confusion into which the court of Candy was thrown at their sudden intrusion into the country, they were led to expect an easy conquest. Their progress up the mountains was necessarily slow, and the physical difficulties they had to encounter were greatly augmented by their carrying with them six pieces of artillery, which, with infinite labour, they dragged up the acclivities, so that before they reached the summit of the first ridge, Boshkoveur, with his division of the Canadians, had taken possession of a narrow defile in the ascent of the second, through which the enemy could not avoid to pass. In this advantageous position he judiciously resolved to wait for the attack of the Portuguese, unless his own men, whom he had sent for to the coast, should join him previous to their approach. But whilst he looked with a solicitous eye for the arrival of his countrymen, the appearance of the Portuguese summoned him to prepare for action.

The impatience of the Canadians to engage them he was totally unable to restrain. They rushed upon them with such fury, that, notwithstanding their superior discipline, their ranks were broken, and a conflict was maintained with great obstinacy and an immense slaughter on both sides for a considerable time. At length the Portuguese were rallied; and having also brought their field pieces to bear, a heavy discharge of grape shot was opened on the Canadians, which at first compelled them to fall back, and finally to fly on all sides with the utmost precipitation. A few hundred chosen men only remained with Boshkoveur at the entrance of the pass, which, however, after dis-

hesitating for some time, they were about to abandon, when, to the great astonishment and confusion of the Portuguese, a body of Europeans appeared at their rear. Bosch-kouweur soon recognised his own troops; and inflamed with fresh ardour at so stimulating a sight, he exhorted the Candians to maintain their ground, telling them that a steady perseverance would yet ensure a decisive victory. Encouraged by this exhortation, but still more by the arrival of the reinforcement, from which they expected to receive such powerful assistance, they redoubled both their zeal and their efforts, and sustained the combat with surprising fortitude. The Dutch, on the other hand, having closed with the enemy, intrepidly pressed forward the attack, and resolved to get possession of the artillery, which was planted in front of the Candians, they forced their way through the ranks with resistless impetuosity, and, after an obstinate conflict, effected their purpose. The enemy's artillery was then pointed against themselves, and the rajah at the same moment coming up with the remainder of the Candians, a dreadful carnage ensued, which would have terminated only with the complete destruction of the Portuguese, had not Bosch-kouweur prevailed on the rajah to accept of their submission, which they now offered with earnest solicitation. Between hundred and forty men were all that remained to receive the clemency, and grace the triumph of the conquerors.

The exultation of the Candians at this event could only be equalled by the profusion of their gratitude to the deliverer of their country, by their admiration of his heroic courage, and by their reverence of his prophetic sagacity. As he passed along

the ranks of the army towards the rajah, who was seated on an elephant, at a short distance from the scene of action, the Candians crowded around him with a sort of mysterious curiosity, as if he belonged to a superior order of beings; and, in the fervour of their feelings, threw themselves before him, in prostration, paying him that homage with which they approach their sovereign. The manner in which the rajah received him corresponded with these extraordinary marks of respect and veneration. As soon as he saw Bosch-kouweur advance, he descended from his elephant, and stepping forward to meet him, embraced him with the most cordial ardour. He addressed him in a strain of encomiastic hyperbole, natural to an Asiatic prince, but nevertheless expressive of the genuine sentiments by which he was actuated, and which breathed the warmest and most grateful acknowledgment of the imminent service he had rendered him. He presented him with a vast variety of costly presents, and assured him that his friendship for him and his nation was such, and the obligation he owed them so strong, that neither time nor circumstances should ever impair the one, or dissolve the other. This was too favourable a moment for the success of Bosch-kouweur's scheme to be permitted to pass in fruitless compliments. He, therefore, told the rajah that, in order to cement their friendship, and to render it reciprocally useful, he should propose to have certain stipulations drawn up in writing, whereby the Dutch would engage to furnish the Candians whenever either to carry on war against the Portuguese, or for any other purpose; and that he, on his part,

should grant them permission to erect a fortification at Battacola, or any other convenient port on the east coast of the island, and likewise to supply them annually with as much cinnamon as they might require, in exchange for gold and silver bullion and the manufactures of Hindustan. To these propositions the rajah readily acceded, and a treaty of alliance, written both in the Dutch and Candian languages, was accordingly ratified.

In consequence of this circumstance, Boschkeuveur dispatched a messenger to the Fleet, to communicate the glad tidings of the final attainment of the principal objects of the expedition: and, at the same time, to direct the officer in command to proceed immediately to Colombo, in order to co-operate with him in the reduction of that settlement. Having imparted to the rajah the purport of the orders he had transmitted to the Fleet, he represented to him the expediency of following up the advantages they had derived from their victory, by laying siege to Colombo, which, though the strength of its fortifications might defeat their utmost efforts to reduce it, they would nevertheless find little difficulty in subjugating the valuable district in which it is situated, and thereby constrain the Portuguese to accept of such terms of pacification as were best calculated to secure the Candian monarchy against future insults and aggressions. In a situation so well adapted to promote his interests and testify his independence, the prince could not hesitate to concur, especially as it was to be carried into execution by the same enterprising sailors which had overthrown the ruin, and elevated the military reputation of his country. He, there-

fore, gave orders to supply the army with every necessary for marching to Colombo; and by the arduous exertions of Boschkeuveur, they were in a few days enabled to proceed. In the course of a week they reached the Portuguese territory, which having taken possession of, without resistance, they advanced within a mile of Colombo, and summoned the garrison to surrender. The Dutch Squadron had arrived two days earlier, and lay at anchor on the north side of the fortress, a short distance beyond the reach of the enemy's shot.

The news of the total discomfiture of the Portuguese army had only preceded its conquerors three or four days, and the alarm and distress which it occasioned in the garrison, in addition to the vast loss they had sustained, damped their spirits, and inclined them rather to offer terms of accommodation to the king of Candy, than to oppose the powerful force by which the place was invested. They were the more induced to adopt this prudent line of policy, from the consideration, that they were already deprived of the surrounding district, by which the settlement was alone rendered valuable, and without which it deserved not to be retained. In answer, therefore, to the summons to surrender, the commander of the garrison said, that though he was capable of maintaining the place for a great length of time, in defiance of the utmost efforts of the besiegers, yet as he was more ambitious to have the credit of concluding a permanent peace with the king of Candy, than to gain applause in carrying on the most successful hostilities against him, he was prepared to enter into any stipulations compatible with the honour and dignity of his com-

try. To this the rajah, by the advice of Boschkoueur, immediately agreed, and a treaty, highly advantageous to the Candians, was accordingly concluded. As the Dutch and Portuguese were at war in other parts of India, Boschkoueur declared that he could not, without the authority of the governor-general, become a party in that treaty; but he consented to a truce of two years with the settlements in Ceylon, on the condition of giving him a sufficient quantity of the best cinnamon to load one of his ships.

Thus terminated the Portuguese invasion of the kingdom of Candy, which, in a moment of supineness and intimidation, must have been successful, had not the abilities of Boschkoueur, seconded by the active bravery of his troops, been exerted with such peculiar energy to oppose it. And thus, by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, the Dutch obtained an establishment in the island of Ceylon, from which so many benefits were destined to flow.

The different stipulations of the treaty being finally adjusted and fulfilled, Boschkoueur ordered his fleet to return to Battacola, and he accompanied the rajah to Candy, who honoured him with the extraordinary distinction of placing him on his right hand on the seat of the royal assemply, which was decorated for the occasion with peculiar magnificence. The monarch's entry into the capital was marked with corresponding splendour, and the rejoicings of his subjects were attended with every circumstance of loyalty and regard which could exalt and dignify his triumph. The honours paid to Boschkoueur by the populace even surpassed those which he had already received from

the army, and such was the personal esteem with which his great and generous actions had inspired the prince, and such was his notion of the importance of his services, that he granted him an assignment of two small districts, and bestowed on him the title of rajah, with its appropriate dignities.

Though proud of these distinctions, Boschkoueur did not neglect his public duty and the interests of his country. After passing some weeks at Candy, and taking possession of his principality, he repaired to his fleet at Battacola, and from thence proceeded along the eastern coast of the island, in order to survey the different bays and inlets of the sea, and to fix on the most advantageous situation for establishing a commercial settlement. The spacious harbour of Trincomalee, being already occupied by the Portuguese, he had not much choice left; but upon comparing Battacola with the other ports, he pitched on the bay of Cotarum as the most convenient station. He lost no time in collecting materials for building a fortification, which, by the ample assistance afforded him from Candy, he was in eighteen months enabled to complete. He then landed from the fleet all the men that could be spared, and by that means formed a garrison sufficiently strong to defend the town against any force which the Portuguese, in the declining state of their Indian empire, seemed capable of bringing against it.

On the 1st of March 1614, every regulation and arrangement for the government of the new settlement was finished, and Boschkoueur dispatched a ship to Ambayna with a detailed account of the series of fortunate events which

had attended the progress of his expedition, and of the beneficial result to which these had finally led. He also sent two ships to Holland, laden with cinnamon, to communicate the same satisfactory intelligence to the company and the nation.

Whilst Boschkoop was thus employed in establishing the influence and the commerce of the Dutch in Ceylon, the governor general, Pier Borth, was advancing them in various other parts of India with equal success. In 1613, he sent an expedition against the Portuguese settlement in *Sinore**, which, after a long and obstinate defence, was forced to capitulate, and a treaty of alliance was thereupon concluded with the chief of that island, by which the Dutch obtained the grant of a considerable portion of land. In the following year an embassy was sent to the king of Siam, who in consequence entered into an agreement with the Dutch, whereby permission to build a factory in that country, and other important commercial privileges, were acquired. The same year

✓ Borth dispatched a squadron of three ships to the port of *Mulupatam*, on the coast of *Coromandel*, with a view to open a trade between the Dutch settlements in the Archipelago and that interesting mart. The commander of the squadron being a person of good address and considerable discernment, he not only succeeded in the immediate purpose of his voyage, but likewise in gaining objects of permanent importance. By visiting the

reign of *Ellore*†, of whose dominions *Mulupatam* then formed a part, and by making him large presents of the finest aromatics, he insinuated himself into his favour, and was allowed to erect an extensive warehouse, together with a dwelling house for a factor in the vicinity of the town, a convenience peculiarly requisite for carrying on with advantage the trade in cotton cloths, in which the staple of that place entirely consists.

On the return of the squadron from *Mulupatam* to the space islands, it touched at *Colarum* in Ceylon, where its commander informed Boschkoop of the new and valuable branch of trade which he had so successfully commenced, and also supplied the settlement with some of the fine white cottons and beautiful calicoes of *Ellore*. Forcibly struck with this intelligence, and perceiving the advantages which his settlement would derive from opening an intercourse with *Mulupatam*, Boschkoop resolved to proceed thither without delay. Accordingly, he put on board one of his ships a quantity of cinnamon, which was the only commodity he had, to offer in exchange for the manufactures of *Ellore*, and set sail for *Mulupatam*. But the mercantile knowledge of this distinguished adventurer bore no proportion to his other endowments. He did not advert to the probability of the inhabitants of *Mulupatam* being supplied with cinnamon through other channels; nor was he aware of the injudiciousness of trusting the success of his specula-

* One of the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, situated between the latitudes of nine and ten north, about 500 miles south of the southern extremity of Java, and thirty the same distance from Amboyna. It is 200 miles long, and 60 broad.

† The *Ellore* above was then under the government of its archbishop, who was not subjected to the Mussulman laws until the reign of Aurangzeb, in A.D. 1667.

tion to the sale of a single article, of which he had no accurate account of the extent of the demand. On his arrival at Musulipatam, therefore, he was thrown into the utmost embarrassment, upon finding that the demand for cinnamon was at all times inconsiderable, and at that particular period extremely small, that the inhabitants of the different towns of Coromandel were supplied with this article from Jassnapatam, whence it was conveyed to them by the small fishing vessels that traded along the coast, and that these traders disposed of it at a much lower rate than he could possibly afford. The merchants of Musulipatam told him, that gold and silver were in their country the only instruments of commerce, and, therefore, if he wished to purchase their manufactures, he must come provided with those precious metals. The Dutch agent, who had been left by the Molacca fleet in charge of the factory, with difficulty procured for Boschkoureur a few pieces of calico in exchange for some of his cinnamon.

Vexed and irritated at these unexpected circumstances, he determined to return to Holland, in order to lay before the company an extensive scheme for establishing a trade with all the principal marts in the Bay of Bengal. With this view he proceeded to Cuttaram, and from thence to Candy, where, having taken leave of the rajah, and appointed a confidential person to manage the affairs of his principality during his absence, he went back to Cochin, and having made every requisite arrangement for his departure, set sail in October 1615, and arrived at Amsterdam in the spring of the following year. The reception he met with from the directors was far

different from that which his meritorious and important services so well entitled him to expect. Instead of those honours and rewards which his successful heroism had nobly earned amidst so many difficulties and dangers, and which were due to him from the justice as well as the gratitude of his employers, he received nothing but those frigid repulsive civilities, no less natural to men whose faculties and feelings were engrossed in the pursuit of gain, than they were disgusting to the sensibility of a gallant mind, conscious of its own worthiness. The directors estimated the merits of their servants in India by the number and value of the cargoes which they sent to Holland, rather than by the talents displayed in the most brilliant military exploits, or by the sagacity evinced in the most successful political negotiations. The views of those directors being, for the most part, confined to objects of immediate profit, they were disposed to appreciate very lightly those acquisitions, of which the commercial benefits, however certain or important, were apparently remote. Hence little value was set on Boschkoureur's successes in Ceylon, as he had only sent from thence four ship loads of cinnamon in the course of three years. And by acting on these narrow sordid principles, the company lost the services of this deserving officer, and thereby incurred the reproach not only of every generous, but of every sensible man.

Indignant at the neglect with which he was treated, he quitted his native country, and repaired to Denmark, where he presented to the merchants of Copenhagen a plan for engaging in the India trade, in which he undertook to convey their ships to parts of India still un-

frequented by the Portuguese, the English, or the Dutch, and more opulent than those to which any of these nations traded. But before he received an answer to his proposal, he was suddenly cut off by a malignant distemper.

The example of Boschkonvent was followed by other officers, and by a great number of seamen, who finding no disposition in the company to recompence acknowledged merit, or even to provide for those that had spent their youth and impaired their health in the noxious climates of India, were prompted to abandon their ungenerous masters, and to seek employment in foreign states. This circumstance struck so deeply at the reputation and credit of the company, that it roused the directors to some sense of the obligation they owed to the brave men whom they had thus neglected, and if it did not inspire them with any sentiment of generosity, it at least served to convince them that the welfare of their concerns essentially depended on securing the attachment and fidelity of their servants in India, by a munificent distribution of personal honours and rewards. They, therefore, augmented the pay both of their troops in India, and the mariners employed in their ships, and at the same time issued a proclamation, offering a considerable bounty to those who should enter their service. But in order still more effectually to secure their trade against those losses which the disaffection of their mariners might occasion, they prevailed on the States-general to enact a penal law, by which the severest punishments were denounced against seamen who should desert the company's service.

By these means the directors were

enabled to fit out a large armament, for the purpose of reducing to obedience the princes of Bantam and Jacatra, whose independent spirit, and jealousy of foreign nations had hitherto frustrated every pacific attempt to form a permanent settlement in the island of Java. The command of this expedition was entrusted to Lawrence Reaal, an officer who had served nine years in India, and who was equally distinguished for his prudence and his valour. He was likewise appointed to succeed eventually to Barth, as governor general of the Dutch possessions in the east.

From the time of Cornelius Houtman till the beginning of the year 1617, the affairs of the Dutch in the island of Java were too trivial and unimportant to demand our attention. The difference which arose between the prince of Bantam and that celebrated adventurer, and the consequences of which it was productive, deterred the Dutch for several years from visiting the coast of Java, along which it was supposed the kingdom of Bantam extended. They, however, touched occasionally at various places on the northern coast of the island, which they found under the dominion of several petty chiefs, entirely independent of each other but all equally hostile to the prince of Bantam. These chiefs informed them, that the richest part of Java belonged to the prince of Jacatra, whose kingdom extended along the north side, from the territory of Bantam to the eastern extremity of the island, and from the sea to the ridge of mountains, by which it is longitudinally divided from the southern parts. This information determined the Dutch to commence an intercourse with this potentate, and to endeavour to obtain a footing

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ing in his country. Accordingly, in the year 1603, a squadron of three ships proceeded to Jacatra, which was found to be a commodious and safe port, admirably adapted for all the purposes of an extensive foreign commerce. The commander of that squadron was so successful in his negotiations with the prince, that he not only procured a valuable cargo, and concluded an agreement for carrying on a regular trade, but was permitted to build a factory in the town of Jacatra. And the following year similar privileges were obtained at Bantam. The Dutch having thus established themselves in both these places, exerted all their ingenuity, and put in force every artifice, however low and ignoble, to acquire influence and power. Habituated to such practices, and having just feeling enough left to be ashamed of them, they could not tolerate the idea of their conduct being censured by any European nation, much less by the English, who aimed at a participation of their trade and they were, therefore, impelled by shame, as well as avarice, to oppose the views and interests of their rivals with all those malignant machinations which have left an indelible stain on their character.

The proceedings against the English at Bantam were noticed in our last chapter: those at Jacatra manifested still greater malignance, and were conducted with less reserve. Knowing that such conduct must ultimately provoke retaliation, they secretly and gradually increased the number of their agents, and these agents at last ventured to throw up an intrenchment round their factory, so that they were secured against any sudden attack either from an English squadron, or from

the natives. The prince, astonished at their having presumed to construct any work of defence, or even to make any alteration in their factory, without his previous permission, ordered it to be immediately destroyed. But by intreaties and promises, and presents, they mollified his displeasure, and by assuring him that the intrenchment was intended solely for their protection against the English, he suffered it to remain. Having gained this important point, the agents communicated their good fortune to the governor-general, Pier Borth, who, with that promptitude and decision which characterised all his actions, instantly dispatched from Amboyna a small squadron, commanded by an intelligent officer, to propose, in the name of the prince of Orange, a treaty of amity and alliance with the king of Jacatra, and, at the same time, to convey to the factory a few pieces of cannon, and a supply of military stores. This mission was managed with dexterity, and crowned with the happiest success. A treaty was concluded with Vidac Rama, king of Jacatra, by which the Dutch were allowed to build another small fortified factory, on the express condition of paying him a certain sum of money. The building of this new factory, which was in reality a small fortress, was accordingly commenced without delay, and when Borth resigned his government to general Reruff, in 1616, it was almost completed.

The administration of Reruff was short, feeble, and inactive, and the affairs of the Dutch in Java were reduced, during that period, to the last extremity of distress. The English, impatient at the calumnious artifices by which their rivals obstructed their commerce, and

and endeavoured to arm the natives against them, only waited for a favourable occasion to demand and enforce the most ample reparation. When, therefore, they heard of the departure of Borth for Europe, and of the pacific character of his successor, they began to avow their sentiments in regard to the Dutch, and a squadron of five ships being in the roads of Jacatra, the commander of it called on the governor of the factory to make an immediate recantation before the prince, of all the calumnies against the English, to which he and his countrymen had so assiduously laboured to give credit and currency, and be likewise satisfied on his entering into a stipulation, whereby he should be bound under the penalty of forfeiting a considerable sum of money, to obtain not only from any attempt to impress the natives with an unfavourable opinion of the character or conduct of the English, but from any sort of interference whatever with their commercial concerns that the rivalry between the two nations should thenceforward be regulated on principles of justice, and be made a fair and honourable competition. To this the governor returned a refusal, expressed in the most haughty and insolent terms; and the English commander, who was prepared for such an answer, immediately attacked the Dutch fleet, then anchored in the bay, over which, after a gallant action of several hours, he gained a decisive victory. Some of the Dutch ships were captured, some destroyed, and the remainder, in a disabled condition, proceeded to Amboyna to seek refuge, the English having sustained too much damage to pursue them. This event powerfully influenced Vidua Rama,

who, with the pliant policy of a Malay prince, renounced the friendship of the vanquished, and formed an alliance with the conquerors. The arrival of a fleet of eleven ships from England, under the command of Sir Thomas Dale, seemed to confirm the propriety of those prudential motives which induced the prince to forsake his allies, and take for decided a part against them.

In this evolution of their affairs the Dutch factories engaged themselves within their fortresses, which, with unremitting labour, they employed all their art to strengthen, and which thus told the English admiral that he would find order only with their lives. These fortresses were advantageously situated on each side of the town of Jacatra, which they partly commanded, but neither of them were calculated to resist a regular attack: for the works were not only constructed with bad materials, but unprovided with sufficient artillery. One of the towers had twelve, the other only, served pieces of cannon, and both the positions consisted of two hundred and seventy men, of which one hundred were negro slaves. But the deficiency of the Dutch in these respects was in some measure compensated by their daring fortitude, and by the number, the discipline, and the arms of Vanden Broeke, their commander. The fortress was, they were surrounded and distressed was in relation to them, of a magnitude and description calculated to render their situation exceedingly perilous and alarming. The town of Jacatra contained about 20,000 inhabitants, of which 4000 were Chinese merchants*, and the king had upwards of 6000 men in arms, be-

* A colony of Chinese had been settled at Jacatra, according to the tradition of the Javanese.

sides a body of Chinese, who joined his standard. On an eminence, in the centre of the town, the English had been permitted to erect a redoubt, on which a considerable number of heavy cannon were planted. The number of the English settlers amounted only to fifty, but they were reinforced by a strong detachment of sailors from the fleet.

Such was the relative state of the belligerent parties at Jacatra, when Lawrence Real arrived at Amboyna, with the armament destined for the subjugation of the Javatese potentates, and for laying the foundation of an extensive establishment in their country. But that officer being disabled by sickness from continuing in India, the command of the expedition to Java devolved on Jean Pieterfz Coen, a man eminently fitted with all those endowments which qualified him for an undertaking of such importance.

The expedition was delayed for some weeks, on account of the damage which the fleet had met with in a storm, and of a malignant fever which had spread its ravages among the crew. Having, however, got six ships in a condition for warlike operations, Coen set sail for Jacatra, with a view to engage the English fleet, and at the same time make a descent on the town, by which means he conceived he should at least be able to throw in succours to the Dutch garrison, if not to reduce the place, or constrain the king to submit. On the 1st of January 1619, he reached the bay of Jacatra, and to his infinite surprise and disappointment, found that the English fleet consisted of fourteen large ships, all apparently

in high order, and prepared for action. In opposition to a force so greatly superior, it would have been equally imprudent and useless to attempt to execute any part of his meditated plan. He, therefore, stood out to sea, and returned to Amboyna for a reinforcement, having first found means to convey a letter to Vanden Broecke, in which he exhorted him to maintain his post to the utmost extremity, to listen to no proposals of peace or accommodation from Vidar Rana, and that when it appeared to him impracticable any longer to resist the enemy, he should endeavour to obtain honourable terms of capitulation from the English admiral; but that, if these were refused, to resolve to perish in the ruins of the fortifications, rather than make an unconditional and disgraceful surrender.

The gallant Vanden Broecke felt his resolution fortified, and his whole mind glow with additional ardour, on receiving an exhortation from his superior officer, which expressed sentiments and breathed a spirit so entirely congenial with his own. It was not long before the high qualities he possessed were called into action, and put to the severest trial. On the 11th of January, a cannonade was opened from the English redoubt on the Dutch fort, and the Jacatrans following the example of their allies, began to fire from all quarters of the town. Vanden Broecke, in order to throw the assailants off their guard, by inspiring them with an ill grounded confidence in their own superiority, kept up, during the whole of the day, a languid and irregular fire, and by this well-
 continued

Java, upwards of 1200 years antecedent to the period of which we are treating. That several thousand Chinese merchants resided there in the 9th century of the Christian era, is factually proved by the important voyage of the two Arabian travellers, performed by Abu Zaid al Husaini of Shera.

raised stratagem not only the Jacatrans, but the English, were decuded into a supposition that the Dutch were either destitute of ammunition, or discontented and divided amongst themselves. They, therefore discontinued firing early in the evening, with a firm persuasion of its being unnecessary, and retired to rest, in perfect assurance that they would the next morning find little difficulty in bringing the enemy to terms of capitulation. But their astonishment must have been equal to their consternation, when, in the silence and darkness of the night, they were suddenly roused by the fire which they were in a moment enveloped. Having sallied from his torrets with sixty shot, Vanden Broecke had set fire to the Chinese quarters of the town, which, being entirely built of cane, wood, and reeds, burned with great fury, and the conflagration spread with proportional celerity. Frustrating in the success of his scheme, he then attempted to storm the English redoubt, from which, however, he was repulsed with some loss, and obliged to make a precipitate retreat to his own fort. The flames in the mean while had been communicated to nearly one half of the town, and the inhabitants, partly appalled with the terrific nature of the scene, and partly engaged in rescuing their women and children, whose frantic screams at once invoked compassion and excited horror, were incapable of making any efforts to quench the fire, or to calm its rage. But it was extinguished at last by the spirited exertions of the seamen from the English fleet, aided by a torrent of rain which fell at the same time, though before this was effected the best part of the town was consumed, and

several hundred inhabitants had perished.

This dreadful expedient of Vanden Broecke greatly embittered the enmity which the Jacatrans previously bore to the Dutch, and from this time forward it appears to have been rooted and rancorous. But his situation rendered desperate measures indispensable, not merely to the defence of his fortrefs, but to the preservation of his garrison, and though humanity revolts at such deeds, we cannot condemn them by the laws of war, when they are justified by the dictates of prudence, and the force of an imperious necessity. Vanden Broecke found the garrison so much reduced both in ammunition and provisions, that he could not possibly hold out above ten days longer, and he therefore, determined, by striking some decisive blow, to compel the king to sue for a renewal of peace on equitable terms. With this view he did not allow the confirmation produced by the fire to subside, before he commenced a well-directed cannonade on the palace, and the other stone buildings adjacent to it, by which the king was so annoyed and alarmed, that he proposed a cessation of hostilities, signified his willingness to negotiate for a definitive pacification, and even offered to pay a considerable sum of money, as a testimonial of his sincerity. Vanden Broecke, in one of those aberrations, from which the most sagacious minds are not exempt, was deluded with the speciousness of that proposal, and, without any suspicion of the treachery which it was designed to conceal, not only agreed to treat, but, on a second message from the king, consented to wait on him in person for that purpose. Accordingly, on the following day, he proceeded

proceeded to the palace, accompanied only by one officer and five soldiers, whom he took with him rather as a guard of honour indicative of his rank, than from any apprehension of his personal safety. The king received him with every mark of respect and complaisance, and conducted him into an inner apartment in the palace, where he submitted to him the stipulation of the proposed treaty of peace: but whilst they were employed in discussing the different articles, a party of armed men, as if by signal, rushed into the apartment, and seizing Vanden Broecke, dragged him as a prisoner to a place of greater security, where he was threatened with the severest tortures if he did not send an immediate order to his garrison to surrender unconditionally, and confide in the clemency of the king. The soldiers who attended him were at the same moment disarmed, bound hand and foot, and thrown into a noisome dungeon, where they were treated with all the ignominious cruelties that the most ingenious baseless could invent, or the most dauntless spirits inflict. Nor was Vanden Broecke himself exempted from the grossest indignities, which were offered to him in the presence of the king and the English commander, and which, to the eternal disgrace of the latter, he used no endeavours to prevent. Yet neither insults nor threats could move the undaunted firmness of his mind, or inspire it with any other feeling than that of indignation, at the forbidd and unmanly artifice by which he had been entrapped. With a calm and dignified composure he

told them, that being their prisoner, the Dutch garrison would certainly not obey the order which it was desired he should give. Unsatisfied, however, with what he said, and considering it as an evasion, they put a halter round his neck, and directed him to be conducted, by two English soldiers, under the ramparts of the fortress, so that the Dutch might see the danger to which their commander was exposed, and be assured that his life depended on their complying with his orders. In this manner, and for such a purpose, was this officer led by Englishmen, under those walls which he had defended with such invincible bravery. But the astonishment of his conductors must have been equal to their torpidity, when, upon getting within hearing of the people on the ramparts, he exhorted them, in an impressive strain, to maintain their post with courageous perseverance. Such an instance of virtuous heroism would by an enemy, warned with kindred sentiments, have been considered as a glorious atonement for the deception which had enabled it to be displayed: but it did not elicit a single spark of generosity, or call forth one sympathetic emotion in the cold obdurate hearts of those wretches by whom Vanden Broecke was guarded, on the contrary, it excited their anger, and prompted them to the most brutal resentment. They struck him to the ground, and dragged him along the pavement back to the palace.*

Sir Thomas Dale, however, on being made acquainted with this event,

* We should have doubted the truth of this fact, so disgraceful to our countrymen, had we not found it circumstantially mentioned in Vanden Broecke's own narrative of the expedition at Java—a production which is entitled to credit not merely from its simplicity, but from the character of the writer. On this point, however, also, see the *Gezantschap's Afschrijven van Indië. Verhaal van J. J. J. De Ba*

event, was struck with pity and admiration for this brave man, and began to feel some compunction at having been a party to the treachery, cruelty, and ignominy with which he had been treated. Urged by this change in his sentiments, he prevailed on the king to spare the life of Vanden Broecke, and likewise to consent to his offering to the Dutch garrison, such terms of capitulation as they might with honour accept of, and as should secure to him, all the substantial advantages at which their absolute subjugation could put him in possession. Accordingly, he sent a letter into each of the forts by means of an arrow, in which he proposed, that the garrison should surrender with the honours of war to the English, who would engage to protect them from any violence that might be offered by the Jacatras; that they should embark, together with their artillery and private property, on board the English fleet, which would convey them to Cochin in Ceylon; but that all their merchandise and public effects should be delivered up to the king. Being by this time reduced to the utmost distress, from having exhausted their ammunition, and having only provisions left for another day, they reluctantly acceded to these terms. But whilst this convention was on the point of being carried into execution, a sudden event took place, which totally changed the whole face of affairs.

Vanden Broecke having found means, after his imprisonment, to dispatch a confidential messenger to the Pangoran, or prince of Bartram, it was represented to him, that if he would espouse the cause of the Dutch, and release their governor from the dungeon in which he was

imprisoned, they, in their turn, would undertake to assist him in subduing the kingdom of Jacatra, without requiring for themselves any part of the conquest, except a portion of land contiguous to the forts they already possessed. This proposition was made to that chief before Vanden Broecke had any knowledge whatever of the terms submitted to the garrisons by Sir Thomas Dale, so that the non-fulfilment of the convention on the part of the Dutch, was solely the effect of accidental circumstances.

The Pangoran had sufficient discernment to perceive that the real view of Vanden Broecke, in thus soliciting his alliance, was to strengthen the Dutch establishment in the island, and to found it on a basis so broad, as to preclude its ever being overturned either by him, or any other native power; and though he was fully sensible it was his true policy to prevent the Dutch from accomplishing this object, and to abet, rather than oppose their expulsion, yet the immediate benefits which would accrue to him from the proposed alliance, the opportunity which it would afford of gratifying his hatred of the Jacatras, and the chance it would offer of getting Vanden Broecke into his possession, and thereby bringing him ultimately to his own terms, were considerations which operated very powerfully on his mind, and finally determined him to join the Dutch. He, therefore, sent an officer, with two thousand men, to Jacatra, under the pretext of co-operating with the king against the Dutch, so that he might be admitted to his presence without difficulty. The unexpected appearance of so large a body of men occasioned universal surprise;

surprise, but as there was no sufficient reason to question the sincerity of the Pangoran's professions, the king did not hesitate to grant a private audience to the officer in command of his troops. Yet it is strange that a Malay prince, habituated to treachery and murder, should not have been more on his guard. The Bantamese officer was no sooner alone with the king, than he put a dagger to his bosom, and demanded an instantaneous assent to whatever he should propose.

The unhappy prince, naturally of a pusillanimous disposition, made no attempt to extricate himself, but yielded an implicit compliance, and orders were accordingly given in his name to allow the Bantamese troops to march into the town, and to guard the avenue to the palace, to dissolve all connexion with the English, to proclaim peace and amity with the Dutch, and to restore them to all the privileges that they before enjoyed. Though the Jacatrans were amazed at this sudden change in the sentiments of their sovereign, yet so much were they accustomed to respect every mandate issued by him, that these orders were executed with the utmost promptitude and alacrity. And Sir Thomas Dale, finding it in vain to resist them, retired on board his Boat, carrying with him all the merchandize belonging to the English factory, and seeing no probability of deriving any advantage from continuing longer before Batavia, he set sail for the coast of Malabar.

The Bantamese general having by this stratagem attained the objects of his expedition, secretly sent off the king to a distant part of the island, got Vanden Broecke con-

veyed, under a strong escort, to Batavia, and then informed the Jacatrans that he had deposed their sovereign, and was resolved to retain possession of their country.

The rage which this information produced in the minds of these deluded people was, however, repressed by a dread of the Dutch, whose favour the Bantamese general conciliated by valuable presents, by ardent professions of regard, and by persuading them that he had released Vanden Broecke from his captivity, who had thought fit to proceed to Batavia to negotiate and settle a treaty of friendship with the Pangoran.

Whilst the Jacatrans were secretly concerting measures for throwing off the yoke of the Bantamese and the Dutch, the arrival of Coen, with an armament of seventeen ships, and six thousand troops, put a period to all their projects, and finally sealed their subjection. On the 14th of March, he landed with the whole of his military force, dislodged the Bantamese without opposition, and took possession of the place, in right of conquest, for the Dutch East India company. And finding reason to suspect that Vanden Broecke was detained by the Pangoran as a prisoner, he sent a detachment of twelve hundred men to Batavia, to demand his immediate release, together with a sum of money as a compensation for having dared to confine him, and at the same time to compel that prince to make a formal acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Dutch power in the island of Java. The Pangoran being in no condition to oppose so strong a body of Dutch troops, with infinite chagrin and vexation complied with these demands.

demands, and Vanden Broecke was restored to the gratitude and the thanks of his countrymen, to which his sufferings, as well as his bravery, so highly entitled him.

Coen, having thus completed the conquest of Jacatra, and established his authority over the principal part of the island, proceeded to lay the foundation of a city destined to be the capital of the Dutch empire in Asia, and to perpetuate, in that quarter of the globe, the achievements and triumphs of the Batavian arms. The site of the new city of Jacatra appears to be the most suitable position for the new city. He, therefore, removed all the inhabitants, except the Chinese merchants, to different parts of the country, where he built large villages for their reception, and then raised the whole of the ancient town. He was induced to adopt this harsh measure, on account of the situation being so well calculated both to resist an enemy, and to facilitate the intercourse of commerce. Jacatra was situated at the bottom of a capacious, though not a deep bay, shut in from the sea by a number of small islands, which ran across its entrance, and which rendered it a place of great security as well against the violence of tempests as the aggression of the ocean. On the east and west sides the town was bounded by two fine though small rivers, capable of admitting large boats and other vessels of a similar size, and furnishing a perpetual supply of fresh water. The ground on which it stood is perfectly flat, and the surrounding country presents a level and extensive vale of rice which in a circumference, covered with wood, and watered by those rivers and their

several tributary streams. The advantages of such a situation, for the purposes we have mentioned, easily counterbalanced, in the mind of a Dutchman, naturally partial to low countries, some considerations respecting its insalubrity, which a sickness that prevailed amongst his troops had suggested. Even, therefore, lost no time in forming the plan, and in commencing the building of the city. Having chosen a favourable spot on the banks of the eastern river, for the erection of a citadel, he marked out an extensive ground for the town comprehending a space of two miles in circumference, through the centre of which that river took its course, and in which the two forts already built were included. On the east and north side this boundary was covered by an almost impenetrable wood, and on the west it was defended by the other river. Streets of considerable breadth were then laid out in straight lines, crossing each other at right angles, and through the centre of many of them commodious canals were cut, which formed channels of communication between the two rivers, and which were thereby supplied with a clear and constant stream. On each side of these canals rows of trees were planted, which, in the present state of the city, exclude the rays of a vertical sun, and spread a broad and cool shade over the houses as well as the passengers. Yet this apparent convenience was, in reality, a very pernicious ornament, for, by adding to the noxious vapours naturally arising from a humid soil, in an immense plain covered with wood, and situated in the torrid zone, it greatly contributes to promote the unwholesomeness of the climate.

THE HISTORY OF INDIA

mate. The experience of nearly two centuries must have sufficiently convinced the Dutch of this fact, though their patriotic predilection for flat countries, and canals, and shady walks, has induced them to gratify their taste at the expense of their health.

On the 10th of August 1619, the foundation of the city was laid, and in the course of three years the splendid plan we have described was almost completed. The citadel formed a small square, guarded by fortified bastions, the spaciousness of the public buildings, and the regularity of the dwelling houses, gave the town a striking and beautiful appearance, and the whole enclosed by a lofty wall, defended by eighteen bastions, and twenty pieces of cannon, seemed to afford to the inhabitants a powerful security against an hostile attack. To this magnificent place Coen gave the name of **BATAVIA**, and here the seat of the supreme government of the Dutch possessions in India was permanently fixed.

Those possessions were now very numerous. In the earlier times they extended over the greatest part of the archipelago, and a Japan and Siam considerable factories were established. On the western side of India their settlement in Ceylon was rapidly gaining that strength and consequence by which it was at last enabled to expel the Portuguese from the island. On the continent, they had hitherto attained no footing, except at Mouliputram, where their factors possessed some influence, and carried on a lucrative trade. The little progress which the Dutch had made in Hindustan arose not so much from an insensibility to the advantages to be

derived from that important country, as from the superior conduct and address of the English, by whom they were foiled in many attempts to obtain commercial privileges from the Mogul government and the native princes of the peninsula. A circumstance so mortifying to the pride of the Dutch, served to embitter the animosity which they bore their rivals, and determined them to pursue the gratification of the resentment by every means which their ingenuity, inspired by their rancour, could devise. This was not, however, without regard to prudence, and cautiously adapted to their system of policy, which aimed at the monopolization of the English commerce in India, by artifice rather than by arms. They not only considered war as the least effectual mode of frustrating the interest of their rivals, whose naval power was equal to their own, but they were averse to that remedy, because it would prevent them from prosecuting their operations against the Portuguese. The hostilities which took place in Java, though provoked by the intrigues of the Dutch, were actually commenced by the English; and Coen, whilst he was employed in the building of Batavia, restored, by a formal treaty of peace with the English factors at the Moluccas, that interchange of mutual civilities which previously subsisted between the two nations. In these circumstances may be observed much of the insidious craft, and cold deliberate duplicity, which marked the policy and the conduct of the Dutch, which enabled them to diminish their restless jealousy, and by which they endeavoured to ally, on the

153' In the imputation of treachery
2 The extraordinary examination
3 that preceded the murder of Am-
4 benna. How far the unhappy suf-
5 fers on that dreadful occasion can
6 be fully blamed, and how far the
7 conduct of their murderers can ad-
8 mit of extenuation, will appear in
9 the next chapter

Expenditure to the Ministry of India

PAGE 3, COLUMN 1, LINE 2, FOR "A" READ AICOROL

CHRONICLE.

BENGAL Occurrences for MAY 1801

Captain J. Malcolm, late envoy to the court of Persia, has been appointed an honorary aid-du-camp to his excellency the most noble the Governor general, and private secretary to his excellency during the absence of the hon. Henry Wellesley on the public service from Fort William.

Capture of Serampore.

On the 8th instant, a detachment of the garrison of Fort William proceeded from the cantonment of Barrackpore, under the command of colonel Dickson, accompanied by capt Shawe and lieut Armstrong, aids-du-camp to the Governor general, to the Danish settlement of Fredericksnagore or Serampore, and took possession of that settlement without opposition. Immediately after which the colonel detached a party of sepoy to liberah, under the command of capt Morris, accompanied by the captain of the Danish Company's ship *Herpe*, or *Norway*, and who delivered up the ship to capt. Morris, in conformity to his word of honour given to the colonel when taken prisoner.

Capture of the Ambonya, by La Gloire, with some Particulars of the Detention and ill Treatment of Capt. Alms and his Crew, by the Rajah of Cheduba.

The engagement between the *Ambonya* and *La Gloire* lasted one
vol. 4.

hour and thirty minutes, at length the privateer came close under the *Ambonya's* stern, with her sweeps, and was on the point of boarding with 100 picked men, when she struck. The first gun the privateer fired, the syrang immediately disappeared, and twelve of his gang lay flat down upon the deck, all endeavours to raise them from their prostrate position were in vain, three of the seacornets on board the *Ambonya* were discovered to be Frenchmen, and who, it is reported, had wilfully put the shot into the guns before the cartridges, and it was also afterwards known that it was their intention to have joined the privateer's men, and to have massacred capt Alms, with his officers. Two of these wretches, on the *Ambonya's* striking, immediately entered on board the enemy's ship, the third died at Ava.

Thus situated, without wind, and consequently no command of the vessel, further resistance was ineffectual, particularly when capt. Alms, three officers, four seacornets, six sepoy alone remained on deck to repel 150 desperadoes armed at all points for boarding.

Capt Alms of the *Ambonya*, who was landed with his crew at Cheduba, from *La Gloire* privateer, has lately sailed from Rangoon to France of Wales's Island, on the *Corre* ketch their detention by the rajah of the island appears most

+ A

extra.

extraordinary. Soon after the departure of the *Leila*, capt Young, an order arrived from Ava, for capt Alms, his officers and crew to be immediately sent up there — All remonstrances on their part were fruitless and unavailing, no alternative presented itself but compliance, or a resolute attempt to endeavour to cut off the boats on which they were to proceed on their journey, the many difficulties and dangers attendant on the latter expedient were canvassed over, and it was determined to submit peaceably and after a tedious, disagreeable and dangerous journey of near 500 miles, they arrived at the capital of the Burmah dominions.

It was now first discovered what the English prisoners had been forced to undertake so unpleasant a journey, the rajah of Chedoua had circulated a report, that the French had given captain Alms and his crew as slaves to his majesty of Ava.

After a great deal of trouble and a few presents to the king, capt Alms and his crew obtained permission to proceed from Ava to Rangoon, after a detention of twenty days, fortunately for these sufferers the shabundance of Rangoon as at Ava at the time of their arrival there, and it was through his intercession alone that they were enabled to depart — they were fifteen days on their passage to Rangoon where they arrived in a most deplorable state, through uncertainties of mind, and the bad quality of the provisions, being allowed only one quarter of a seer of rice per day.

Letter of the Shih Lalla, Capt Young

The ship *Leila*, capt Young, of and from Bombay, in proceeding up the river to Calcutta, and having on the morning of the 27th inst and

vanced nearly to Garden Reach, unfortunately caught fire about six o'clock, and was totally consumed. Some valuable horses which were on board most nobly shared her fate — We do not hear that any property whatever was preserved. The crew are saved.

MADRAS

Occurrences for May

On Tuesday the 28th inst Lieut general James Stuart was sworn a member of the supreme board, and a salute of 17 guns was fired on the occasion.

[We have great pleasure in laying before our readers the following letter from A Mural Lord Keirru being an answer addressed to his lordship by P Roxburgh Esq on the behalf of the Underwriters of Madras.]

Madras: 10th April 1802

I, yesterday, received your letter of the 7th of August last, acquainting me that the different insurance offices of Madras had resolved on presenting to the representative of the late Capt Cooke, of his majesty's ship *Le Sybil*, a service of plate of fifteen hundred pounds value, (which had been original, intended to be offered to himself, had he survived,) as a tribute to the memory of so gallant and amiable a man, and that the committee appointed to carry the resolution of the different insurance offices into effect, had directed you to request that you would in their name, present the service of plate, on which capt Cooke's crest is to be engraved, and such an inscription as I may think most suitable to the subject.

I request, Sir, that you will assure the gentleman, who have honoured me by their selection for the conveyance of this tribute of their respect

Yours

respect and regard, that it is a task most acceptable to me, and highly gratifying to my feelings, as an officer, who must view with satisfaction the estimation in which military merit is held as a friend—who cannot fail to be pleased with an active agency on an occasion so honourable to a private character that I respected and esteemed—and the humble servant of those whose confidence has not been limited on the period of my services upon their coasts, but which has, in this flattering manner, accompanied me in to other seas.

In compliance with your desire, I have sent to Mr. Chase the following inscription, to be engraved over the crest.

OCCIDIT PARVUS MULTIS

(Grass)

I & FORT taken — } Dates to be
EDWARD COOKE Ob — } inserted

That I have not been able to determine on one which might have been considered as more appropriate I trust will not be imputed to any want of consciousness of his merits (which I have personally witnessed during his service with me,) or of my inclination to express, in the best manner that I can, the sentiments which I am sure is entertained of him, by the gentlemen who have honoured me with this mark of their confidence on the present occasion.

I feel considerable regret at being unable, in consequence of my absence from Britain, to deliver the present myself; but, as I am unwilling to delegate the charge, I shall write to Capt. Cooke's representative on the subject, and, on my return, take an early opportunity of expressing in person, the sentiments of respect and esteem which his friends at Madras entertain for his memory.

My best acknowledgements are

due to you, sir, for the polite and flattering manner in which you have conveyed their wishes to me, I beg your acceptance of them, and that you will believe me to be with great respect, &c.

(Signed) KEITH

To B. Ro buck Esq

Public Thanks of the Government to Lieut. Col. Innes

Fort St. George May 22d 1801

The right hon. the governor in council, having received the report of Lieut. Colonel Innes, stating the apprehension of the person of the rebel was put in the power of Veerapatchy, and the suppression of the troubles in the province of Dindigul his lordship taken the earliest opportunity of expressing his public thanks to Lieut. Colonel Innes, and to the officers and men who have been employed on field service under his command in that province.

The operations of Lieut. Colonel Innes's detachment have been equally distinguished by the judicious arrangement with which they were planned, and by the great energy and ability which signalized their execution, and the governor in council has viewed with the highest satisfaction the undaunted and persevering ardour with which the difficulties opposed by the united force of the rebels the severity of a fatiguing service, and of an unfavourable climate have been surmounted. The force of the rebels has been subdued their strong holds attacked and taken, and the civil government restored in the rebellious portions with a degree of rapidity, judgement and success which merits his lordship's warmest applause.

The governor in council has derived great satisfaction in the execution of this service, from the zeal and

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and union of public spirit which has animated the civil and military authorities in their mutual exertion for the public good. And the meritorious exertions of the officers of

the detachment which his lordship has had repeated occasion to commend, deserve the particular acknowledgements of the governor in council

BENGAL Occurrences for JUNE 1801

Supreme Court, Calcutta.

On Wednesday the 10th inst the supreme court commenced their first term of Oyer and Terminer for the year. The hon Mr Justice Royds addressed the grand jury, impanelled on this occasion, in a pertinent and impressive manner.

On Friday the following sentences were passed on the culprits, viz

Fredrick Steobon Rollinson, for the murder of Shank Ruffik, a bhacsty—*death*

William Johnson, for the murder of Benjamin Way—*death*

Rogonant Day, for burglary—*death*

Beebee, for burglary.—transferred for life *Snaik Buxo*, for a misdemeanour—to be imprisoned two years *John Thompson*, for an assault—fined one rupee and discharged

Rollinson and Johnson were executed on Monday the 10th, and Day on Friday the 26th inst

Copy of a Letter from the Chairman appointed to manage the Subscription raised for the Benefit of the Sufferers in Lord Nelson's Victory

Lloyd's Coffee-House, London, April 16, 1800.

SIR,

As chairman of the committee appointed to manage the subscription raised for the benefit of the sufferers in Lord Nelson's victory, I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th of November last, enclosing a remittance of 10741 10s on the hon the court of directors of the East

India Company, being the amount so laudably subscribed at your presidency in aid of the fund raised for the relief of the wounded seamen and marines, and the families of those who were killed in the ever glorious engagement of the 1st of August 1798, off the mouth of the Nile

I am desirous to express the thanks of the committee to the subscribers for their liberal and humane conduct towards the gallant defenders of their country, and I take the liberty to add my own acknowledgments on this occasion

I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) J J ANGERSSTERN
To R. W. Cox, Esq. Fort William.

MADRAS

Occurrences for June

PROCLAMATION

The right hon. the governor in council is pleased to direct that the gentlemen of his majesty's and the hon company's civil and military establishments do attend to-morrow morning at sun-rise, being the anniversary of his majesty's birth-day, at the rampart on the sea face, when the union flag of the united kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland will be displayed

Published by order of the right hon. the governor in council.

G BUCHAN.

Att. Chief Sec. to Govt

Fort St. George, 3d June 1801

Pursuant

Pursuant to the above proclamation the gentlemen of the civil and military service, met the right hon the governor on Thursday morning at gun fire, at the ramparts on the sea line, when the union flag was hoisted, under a fire of musquetry and a royal salute from the battery.

The same day was observed with the usual rejoicings. At one o'clock his majesty's and the hon company's ships in the roads fired a royal salute. And 63 guns, a number correspondent with his majesty's years, were fired from the walls of the garrison.

In the evening the right hon the governor, gave a splendid ball and supper to the ladies and gentlemen of the settlement, which was very numerously attended.

BOMBAY Occurrences for June

Ceremony of displaying the Union Flag

On Thursday the 4th inst being the anniversary of his majesty's birth day, and appointed by the hon the governor in council, to signalize the display of the Imperial Union Flag at the presidency, the following troops were paraded at an early hour. His majesty's 74th, 86th, and a detachment of the 88th reg the 2d batt 7th native regt and the native Portuguese militia.

About six o'clock the hon the governor, accompanied by sir W

Syer, major general Nicholson, the secretary, the general's staff, all the officers off duty, and the gentlemen in the civil service, came on the parade, when his majesty's order in council of the 5th of November last, settling the royal style and titles and the ensigns armorial, &c was read by the secretary on horse-back. The former union flag which had been hoisted in the castle at sun rise, was then hauled down, and the new one substituted in its place, under a royal salute, during which the troops remained with presented arms, the drums beating and the music playing *God save the King*.

The 74th regiment, in returning to their barracks, marched past the governor in close order and slow time. The "war worn" standards and steady appearance of this corps called up a lively recollection of the distinguished part which they have acted on the theatre of Asia, and of the gallantry and discipline with which they have, during a series of nearly fourteen years, contributed to the honour of the British arms.

The ceremony of displaying the flag of the united kingdom was observed at Surat on the 4th instant agreeably to orders, all the troops off duty having paraded at gun fire on the castle parade with their front to the castle, commanded by lieutenant colonel Anderson, who issued the orders necessary on the occasion.

BENGAL Occurrences for JULY 1801

Admiralty Sessions

On Friday the 17th inst. an admiralty session was held by the supreme court, when *Yasb Elaris*, a native of Manila, was tried as a

principal in the second degree, for aiding and assisting in the murder of capt Joseph George, &c on board the ship *Marianne*, in January last.

Elaris is the only survivor of
† A § the

the four seacoastmen who perpetrated the dreadful deed. The jury after having heard the witnesses, and receiving a charge from the chief justice, retired, and in a few minutes returned their verdict *guilty*. His lordship proceeded in a most solemn and impressive manner to pronounce sentence of *death* on the criminal.

The culprit was executed on Monday the 20th inst. at the Old Fort Chaut agreeably to his sentence, and the body afterwards conveyed down the river, to be hung in chains at Buddetollah, on the banks of the Hooghly. — (See further particulars in *Asiat. Reg.* vol. 3, *Letter* p. 61.)

Presentation of a Sword to Capt Meik

The members of the Bengal Phoenix Insurance Society, on the 20th inst. presented an elegant sword, valued at 1600 sicca rupees, to capt. Meik, as a tribute of their applause. On the hilt of the weapon, which they have so judiciously committed to his charge, they have caused the following inscription to be engraven:

“Presented by the Bengal Insurance Society to capt. Thomas Meik as an honorary testimony of his gallant conduct in defending until hurt or resist-
“ance became vain his ship the *Arcturion*
“against a French privateer the *Citoyenne*,
“of very superior force. — (See further particulars of the engagement in *Asiat. Reg.* vol. 3, *Letter* p. 23.)

MADRAS

Occurrences for July

Installation of the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, on the Musnud of the Carnatic

In pursuance of an order from the right hon. lord Curzon, the whole of the civil, naval, military, and the gentlemen of the presidency, as-

sembled at Chepauk house on the 21st inst. at noon. A little after one o'clock his highness, accompanied by the right hon. the governor, their excellencies vice admiral Raper and general Stuart, with the members of council, arrived at the palace, where they were received by sir Thomas Strange, Mr. Gwillim and Mr. Sullivan.

The troops, cavalry and infantry, formed a street from the entrance of the gardens to the veranda of the palace, through which the procession passed.

His highness entered the darbar between the right hon. the governor and his excellency vice admiral Raper, preceded by Jonah Webb, esq. the chief secretary to government, and followed by his excellency lieutenant general Stuart, and the other members of council. He was then invested with the insignia of his elevated station by the right hon. the governor assisted by the admiral and the general. The sword was the last article of state with which his highness was decorated, on the pommel of which he rested his hand in a most graceful attitude, while he addressed a short speech to his lordship in Persian. He then presented one hand to his lordship and the other to admiral Raper, and ascended the musnud. When his highness was seated the right hon. the governor occupied a chair placed below on the left of the musnud, on his lordship's left sat admiral Raper, and general Stuart, Mr. Falkland, the generals of the staff, &c. corresponding to this order, and on the right of the nabob, sat sir Thomas Strange, Mr. Petrie, Mr. Gwillim, Mr. Sullivan, the adjutant and quarter master general, &c. The secretary stood behind, and officiated as interpreter between the right hon. the governor and his high-

highness. After some mutual compliments, the new treaty with his highness, which had been previously signed, was exchanged in form. Lord Clive presented it to his highness, who placed it by him on the musnud; the counterpart was then put into the nabob's hands, who presented it to lord Clive, by whom it was received in a standing posture, and placed in Mr. Webb's hand. The ceremony was concluded with sprinkling rose water, neetle nut, &c. &c.

A royal salute was fired from the battery of the palace, from the fort, and from the shipping in the roads, and a *feu de joy* by the troop under arms. His highness afterwards received the compliments of the gentlemen present, and the nuzzers of his khans.

This ceremony was performed with every mark of public respect from the British government, and with every practicable degree of splendour conformable to the usages of India.

R capture of the ship Rebecca

This ship, *Les Deux Amis*, was formerly the *Rebecca*, captured by the *Corsaire* last year, and was recaptured while at anchor by the boats from the *Matilda*, captain Sherrin, after a desperate resistance. The above vessel consequently became restorable to the underwriters, upon paying the customary salvage, but the New Madras Insurance Company, by whom she was insured, have abandoned their right to the captors, in a letter to the commander, of which the following is a copy.

SIR,

We have the pleasure to inform you, that at a general meeting of the New Madras Insurance Company,

held this day, they took into consideration the recapture of the *Rebecca*, now *Les Deux Amis*, by the ship under your command.

And notwithstanding the recaptures in this case would be strictly entitled to the stated salvage, merely, as regulated by act of parliament, yet we are desirous to state to you, that the company, impressed with a sense of the manly, spirited, and able conduct displayed by you and the ship's company, have resolved to abandon the ship altogether.

We request you will be careful to explain to the officers and crew under your command, the sentiments of this company, and to assure them of their belief that on all occasions where they manifest such exertion against the enemy, their conduct will meet with deserved encouragement.

We are, &c,

(Signed) CHAVE & CO
Secretaries to the New Madras
Insurance Company

Madras, June 26th 1801

BOMBAY

Occurrences for July

Quarterly Sessions

DUBLING

The quarter's sessions commenced here on the 14th inst. before Sir W. Sver, knight recorder, and his associate judges Robert Henshaw, esq. mayor, Alexander Adamson, R. Kufor, and S. Halliday, esquires, aldermen.

The following gentlemen were sworn of the grand jury, viz.

P. S. Maister esq. Foreman.

G. Paterson,	W. Borlase,
J. Fisher,	J. C. Richardson,
T. N. Wansley,	N. Tockert,
W. Broughton,	J. Hodgkin,
A. W. Handley,	J. Tolly,
J. Sutherland,	N. H. Smith,
C. J. Board,	J. Lloyd,
P. P. Travers,	L. ...

† A 4

C R.

C. R. Wren, P. Burwick,
J. Kiplingstone, W. Crawford, and
M. Shanks, J. Kinlock, esquires.

The recorder having addressed the grand jury in a very eloquent and impressive speech, elucidating the law, as applied to the various bills that were to be brought before them, and particularly upon the subject of *duelling* the grand jury retired, and the court adjourned until the following day at ten o'clock, when the grand jury returned a true bill against lieutenant George Bridges Bellasis and captain Charles William Byne, for the murder of Mr Arthur Andrew Forbes Mitchell. No bill was found against lieutenant Jonathan Mitchell whose name stood in the same indictment.

Mr Dowdeswell, as advocate for the crown, then moved that Mr Mitchell might be put to the bar and tried upon the inquest of the coroner, with the view, as he declared, of bringing Mr Mitchell forward as an evidence upon the trial of lieutenant Bellasis and captain Byne, which being opposed by Mr Morley, as counsel for those gentlemen, and the court having heard the arguments adduced for and against the motion, it was at length rejected. Lieut Bellasis and captain Byne were then put to the bar, and after eight peremptory challenges on the part of the prisoners, and three on the part of the crown, the following gentlemen were sworn of the *petit jury*, viz,

Capt. A. Patton, of the *Ocean*, Foreman,
Capt. J. Miffoot, of the *Nottingham*,
Capt. Walsfield, of the *Henry Addington*,
Capt. J. Rose, of the *Hampton*,
Capt. Isaac, of the *Staten Castle*,
Capt. Saunders, of the *Trover*,
Capt. Slater, of the *Admiral Nelson*,
Mr Rice, chief officer of the *Essex*,
Mr Rammage, ditto of the *Nottingham*,
Mr. Bowyer, 2d ditto of the *Trover*,
Mr. Vaughan, 2d ditto of the *Ocean*,
Mr. Leonard, ditto, Agent.

Mr. Dowdeswell having addressed the jury on the part of the prosecution, evidence on both sides was heard, and the prisoners (both of whom addressed the court) having finished their defence, at 9 o'clock at night, the recorder summed up the whole of the proceedings with his usual perspicuity and accuracy. The jury retired at midnight, and at half past one o'clock on the morning of the 16th, returned their verdict *guilty*, but recommended the prisoners to mercy. The prisoners were immediately committed to close confinement, and ordered to be brought up on Monday next, the 20th inst. to receive the judgment of the court.

Monday July 20

The court having this day met at eleven o'clock, pursuant to adjournment, lieut G. B. Bellasis and capt C. W. Byne were put to the bar, and being asked, in the usual form, what they had to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon them, they severally addressed the court in a few words, throwing themselves upon its mercy.

The recorder then addressed the prisoners in a long and very affecting speech, wherein he recapitulated the leading circumstances of this melancholy case, and took occasion to admonish the audience to take warning from the unfortunate example before them, of the danger of flying in the face of the laws, and, actuated by false notions of honour, seeking the lives of their fellow creatures or risking their own, by that most barbarous practice, *duelling*, a practice in direct opposition to the laws of God and man, and consequently highly *disbonourable*.

The recorder then informed the prisoners, that, in consideration of the jury having recommended them to mercy, the court had determined

to avail themselves of the late gracious act of his majesty, which enables the courts in India to award sentence of transportation instead of execution against offenders in certain cases, as they shall see fit, and further, that, from some favourable circumstances which had appeared on the trial, affecting the case of captain Byne, as well as a representation which had just been put into his hand from the officers of the 86th regiment, stating that upon a former occasion of this nature, captain Byne had interfered and happily prevented a duel in the regiment, the court would be induced to re-

commend ~~him~~ to his majesty for pardon, but that the case of ~~him~~ Bellais appeared in a very different point of view, and he must not expect the smallest remission of his punishment, the recorder concluded by saying, "It therefore only remains for me to pronounce the sentence of the law, which is—that you George Bridges Bellais shall be transported to the eastern coast of New South Wales, for the term of 14 years,—and that you Charles William Byne shall be transported to the same place, for the term of 7 years."

BENGAL OCCURRENCES for AUGUST 1801

*Loss of the Ship Duke of Clarence,
Capt Townsend*

On Monday morning the 10th inst the *Duke of Clarence*, bound to Ceylon, in dropping down with the ebb, struck on the edge of the Sumatra Sand off the Esplanade. She filled with water so fast that the people had just time to get out, when she went down in deep water, and was totally lost.

GOVERNMENT ORDERS

At Fort William, August 12, 1801.

His excellency in council having this day ratified a treaty for settling the succession to the subahdarry of the territories of Arcot, for establishing the nabob Azem ud Dowlah behaudeer, in the state, rank, and dignity of nabob of the Carnatic, and for vesting the sole exclusive administration of the civil and military government of all the territories and dependencies of the Carnatic Pavenghat in the honourable the East India Company.

Ordered, that the event be announced by a royal salute from the ramparts of Fort William.

Fort William, Aug 12, 1801

The following dispatch received by his excellency the governor-general, by express from Bombay, is published by order of the hon. the vice president

Leopold, Mocha Road, July 21, 1801

MY LORD,

By the death of rear admiral Blanket, which happened on the 14th inst the command of his squadron devolved upon me—but as Sir Home Popham had been sent from Europe with instructions to take the command and carry on the service in this sea, I have resigned to him.

The *Alert*, (one of the honourable Company's cruizers left by the late rear admiral for the purpose,) is this moment arrived with a dispatch from major Holloway, (a copy of which I have the honour to enclose,) and as I think this event of such importance to the general interest of the country, I have also transmitted similar copies to the governments of Madras and Bombay. I beg leave to offer your lordship my sincere congratulations on this important event, and the

speedy

freedy prospect of the termination of the war in Egypt

I have the honour to be &c
(Signed) JAMES SURRIDGE
To the Marquis Wellesley &c

To Admiral Blakeney, commanding
His Majesty's Forces in the Red
Sea.

Camp before Cairo, 30th June 1801
SIR,

It is with much satisfaction I embrace the opportunity of communicating to you the pleasing intelligence, that the garrison of Cairo have submitted to a treaty with the combined British and Ottoman armies for the surrender of that city, and for their evacuation of Egypt. Hostages have been given on both sides. I have it not in my power to acquaint you with the terms of capitulation, as they have not yet been made known to me; however, I beg to offer you my congratulations on an event so important to the interest of our country.

The reduction of Alexandria alone now remains to complete the conquest of Egypt; and I think it highly probable the attainment of this desirable object is no very remote, as the garrison of that place, which cannot exceed 4000 men, will hardly think it prudent to contend with a force so superior as that which will be applied to it on the return of our army.

Colonel Lloyd and his detachment are encamped with this army.

I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) CHAS HOLLOWAY

MADRAS

Occurrences for August

Loss of the Ship *Malabar*, Capt
Kent, by Fire

On Monday afternoon about five o'clock the 2d of the ship *Malabar*

bar, captain Kent, then at anchor in Madras roads, unfortunately took fire abaft, it is supposed from a case of spirits having slipped out of the stings and taking fire from the light below in a few minutes this all powerful element had involved the ship in inevitable destruction, and notwithstanding every assistance afforded by the beach department, and from the shipping in the roads, at six o'clock her powder magazine forward took fire, and she blew up. Immediately afterwards she went down in about six fathoms water, the head of her mizen top mast alone remaining perceptible.

We are happy to add that no lives were lost on this melancholy occasion; the people, who threw themselves overboard, being all picked up by the surrounding boats.

The *Alibur* had 12,000 bags of rice, and many articles of still greater value on board, and was safely proceeded on her return to England in the course of a few days.

Pursuant to an order from the right hon. the governor in council, a royal salute was fired on the 14th inst. for the important victory obtained by a squadron of his majesty's ships under the command of vice-admiral lord Nelson, over the Danish fleet under the batteries of Copenhagen.

By a letter from Canton dated in March last, it appears that the ship *Jonathan Duncan*, in proceeding through Pitt's Straits, on the 2d of December last, was attacked by eight very large canoes in a most daring manner, who discharged a heavy flight of arrows at the ship, by which four men were dangerously wounded, two of whom died a few days after in a delicious state,
owing

owing to the arrows being poisoned. This obliged the *Jonathan Durcan* to discharge a heavy fire of musquetry, when several of the natives were killed, and the rest desisted from the attack. Some of the arrows measured five feet in length, but they threw them on board the ship of different lengths, and variously mounted, some with bone, others with a hard red wood, and all barbed. One poor fellow was obliged to undergo a severe operation, as a piece of an arrow which had broke in his body was obliged to be extracted. Their canoes were from 60 to 70 feet long, and carried 40 men in each, of a very savage appearance.

BOMBAY

Occurrences for August

Loss of the Ship Elizabeth, Capt B. G. R.

Bombay Gazette Aug 1.

On Friday last signals were made for a ship to the westward, unfortunately a little to leeward of this port, but from the variable winds which then prevailed, and the wind being off the land, on Saturday morning hopes were entertained that she would have been enabled to have got sufficiently to the westward to allow of her touching in the harbour, but, from the heavy swell, and the wind coming round to the westward, she was observed standing in, and in the afternoon she anchored within about a mile of the reef in 5½ fathoms water. A pilot was dispatched from Mahim, who fortunately got on board, several boats went off and afforded her every assistance in their power, but all was in vain. They at length came to the resolution of riding till the morning, in expect-

tation of meeting with a land wind to run them off to the westward. A little before 10 o'clock on Sunday morning, she was observed loosing her head sails, and soon after her main and mizen masts went overboard and a heavy sea broke into her, when it appeared she had struck, the fore mast soon after followed the other two, and we are sorry to say the ship entirely lost. She belongs to the house of Messrs. Colt and Baker, of Madras, freighted to the West Coast of Sumatra, with a very valuable cargo on board. Not a single man perished on this unfortunate occasion.

The principal merchants of Bombay have made the following handsome and well merited acknowledgment to Captain Selby of the Honourable Company's marine of this establishment, in return for his judicious conduct while commander on the Surat Station.

To Capt William Selby
SIR,

The attention paid by you to the trade between this and the northern ports, and the unexampled security that has been experienced during the last season, by your judicious arrangements to prevent the piracies heretofore committed, merit our particular thanks, which we request you will accept, for the essential service thereby rendered to our commerce, which has been uninterrupted by any capture since these arrangements have had effect.

We further beg your acceptance of a sword, as a small token of our sense of the meritorious discharge of the duties of your station.

We have the honour to be, &c.
Bruce Pawcet, and Co
Smith, Forbes, and Co
Alexander Adamson
Miguel De Luna e Souza.
&c. &c.

To

To which captain Selby returned the following answer

*To Messrs Bras, France & Co
& Co*

GENTLEMEN,

I am most highly flattered by your favourable sentiments of my conduct as expressed in so handsome a manner in the letter I have been honoured with from you under date the 25th ult. and am particularly happy that I have been placed in such a situation as to render my exertions useful.

I am likewise much gratified by the sword you have offered me on the occasion, which I thankfully accept as a token of your approbation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WM SELBY

The merchants of Surat have also addressed the commodore a letter on the same subject, and in nearly the same terms.

ST HELENA

Occurrences for August

Presentation of Colours to the St Helena Regiment

An elegant pair of colours having been sent by the honourable court of directors for the St Helena regiment, that corps was drawn out on the parade on Monday the 3d inst. to receive them. The colours, after being consecrated in front of the regiment, by the reverend Mr. Wilson, were delivered by the ensigns to Mrs Robson who presented them to colonel Robson, and addressed him in the following terms

SIR,

"It is flattering to me in the highest degree to have been honoured with your request to present

these colours, which are a gift of the honourable the court of directors to their St Helena regiment. This mark of honour has been conferred on them from a sense of the merit of this respectable corps, for the spirited services they have afforded in the course of the war, and the gallant manner in which they have distinguished themselves on public and arduous occasions. I am well convinced that these colours will in every event and circumstance be honourably supported by the intrepidity of the regiment and assured of the ardour and loyalty that will ever guide their exertions in defence of this island, the constitution of the united isles, and our royal sovereign king George the third.

The colonel expressed his thanks to Mrs Robson, in the name of the regiment, for the honour she had done them, and after an appropriate address to the troops returned the banners to the ensigns, and a royal salute was fired from the battery.

The day was celebrated by a general entertainment to the officers and men, and there was an elegant ball at the castle on the ensuing evening.

The following address was presented by the inhabitants of St. Helena to the governor, on his departure from thence for Europe.

To the Hon. Col. Robert Brooke, Governor of the Island of St Helena

We, the Company's servants, planters, and inhabitants of the island of St Helena, deeply impressed with a sense of your unceasing exertions for the prosperity and honour of the island, and the welfare of those you have governed for these

these fourteen years past with ability and humanity, request that W W Doveton, esq will present this testimony of our sincere regret at the declining state of your health for these two years past, which unfortunately renders a temporary absence necessary. The blessings we have experienced under your government have effectually marked you as an object of our esteem and affection. We consider it but a just tribute to your merits in acknowledging, this island has,

owing to your wise and active measures, been brought forward to a degree of respectability and notice unprecedented in the annals of the settlement, and it is unanimously our most fervent hope and wish, that a speedy recovery of your health will be the joyful means of restoring you once more to the chief management of affairs in this island.

To the above address 104 signatures were affixed

BENGAL Occurrences for SEPTEMBER 1801

Presentation of a Sword to Captain Hardyman

On Friday the 4th inst a committee on behalf of four of the insurance societies in Calcutta, viz the Calcutta Insurance Office, the Calcutta Insurance Company, the Bengal Insurance Company, and the Amicable Insurance Company, waited on captain Hardyman, and presented him with an elegant sword, which had been voted to him in testimony of his distinguished gallantry and good conduct in the capture of the French ship *La Forte*, accompanied with the following address

To Captain L F Hardyman.

SIR,

As a committee of four of the insurance offices of Calcutta, we request your acceptance of the accompanying sword, as a mark of esteem and approbation of the gallantry and good conduct displayed by you in the action wherein his majesty's ship *La Sybille*, captured the French national frigate *La Forte*

Allow us to embrace this opportunity of expressing a sincere hope,

that our country may long have the advantage of your real and talents for the protection of her commerce, and for the advancement of her naval glory.

We remain, with much esteem, &c.

(Signed) COLVIN,
M'TAGGART,
BLYTHE

Calcutta, 4th Sept. 1801

To which captain Hardyman returned the following answer

Calcutta, 4th Sept. 1801

GENTLEMEN,

At the same time that I acknowledge the marked attention of the insurance offices in Calcutta, by presenting me with a sword, in testimony of the advantage resulting to the commerce of India, by the capture of the French national frigate *La Forte*, on the night of the 28th February 1799, I cannot but sincerely lament the melancholy occasion which has brought me forward to the notice of such respectable companies.

The success on that unequal conflict, was entirely owing to the judicious arrangements of the late gallant captain Edward Cooke, which

which were carried into the prompt execution by a steady, well-disciplined ship's company, and I claim but that share of merit to which every individual officer is entitled

I have the honour to be, &c
(Signed) L. F. HARDYMAN
To Messrs Colvin, M Taggart
and Blythe.

At a very full meeting of the Calcutta insurance office, to which Messrs Fairlie, Gilmore and co are secretaries, on Monday last it was resolved, that they should present the mother of Mr Faulkner, (late second officer of the *Armenia*, capt in Meik, and killed in the engagement with the French privateer *La Ceylone*;) with a duration of 1001 To the steward of the same ship, who distinguished himself in the action and was wounded, 1001 and 200 sicca rupees as a foundation for a fund to pay an annuity to two lascart men who also suffered in the action

On the 27th inst as Mr G Jackson, Company's agent at Kedgeree, with his wife and family, and several other ladies and gentlemen, in all 17 persons, were proceeding to town, in his cutter, it accidentally overset below Culpce, when Mrs Jackson's mother and sister were unfortunately drowned, and the remaining fifteen after enduring unparalleled hardships, and just on the eve of perishing, were providentially saved, by the exertions of a poor deservng fisherman and his boat's crew

MADRAS

Occurrences for September

Supreme Court at Madras

On Friday the 4th inst his majesty's charter, constituting a new

court of judicature, under the title of "the Supreme Court at Madras," was publicly read and proclaimed

After the publication of his majesty's letters patent, the hon^r Sir Thomas Andrew Strange took the usual oaths of office as the first chief justice, and the honourable Mr Justice Gwillim, and the honourable Mr Justice Sullivan, as the two first puisne justices of the supreme court

On the formation of the court agreeable to the provisions of the charter, a royal salute was fired from the walls of the garrison

The style, title, and jurisdiction of the court, was afterwards proclaimed by the sheriff with the usual solemnities

The court then proceeded to the nomination of its officers, when S. D. Totten, esq was appointed clerk of the crown, and registrar of the court of admiralty G. Ricketts, esq prothonotary and registrar, J. Abbott, esq deputy prothonotary and registrar, G. L., esq examiner, and L. H. Sterling, esq fealer

R. Williams, A. Anstrutler, H. Compton, and F. Dilury esqrs were admitted barristers of the supreme court

Messrs Chalmer, Samuel, MacMahon, Walters and Orme, attorneys, solicitors, proctors, and notaries — Adjourned

On Wednesday morning the 16th inst the right hon^{ble} the governor, attended by his excellency the commander in chief, the members of council, and the gentlemen of the civil, naval, and military services, delivered to his highness the nabob Azem ul Dowlah, at Chepauk palace, the ratified treaty received from his excellency the most noble the Governor-general in council, for

for settling the succession to the subahdarry of Arcot, and for vesting the entire civil and military government of the Carnatic in the non-jurabile Company.

On the delivery of the treaty to his highness, royal salutes were fired from the garrison of Fort St George, from the shipping in the roads, and volleys of musquetry by the troops under arm.

Yesterday at noon his highness paid his first visit to the right honourable the governor, at the government house in the fort.

The troops were formed into a street for the reception of his highness, and a salute of nineteen guns was fired on his entrance into and departure from the garrison.

*Capture of the Republican Frigate
La Chiffonne, by his Majesty's
Ship La Sybille*

*Extract from La Sybille's Log
book*

Wednesday Aug 19 1801

" At half past 8, on observing signals flying on St. Ann's island, hoisted French colours, at 9 having rounded the island, discovered a frigate with her foremast down, and several small vessels close in shore, backed the main top-sail, cleared for action, and got springs on the anchors, then killed and set the fore-sail, at 10 the frigate fired a shot and hoisted French colours, at 15 min past 10 having put through many dangerous shoals which lay in the harbour, anchored within a cable's length of her, not being able to get closer on account of a shoal which lay on her larboard bow the frigate hailed to desire a boat might be sent on board her, answered we should have one immediately, let go the best bower under foot, brought the broadside to bear, and at 25 min past 10 hoisted

English colours, and commenced firing, which was instantly returned by the frigate, and almost immediately by a raking battery from the shore, at 42 min past 10 the frigate struck, cut her cable, and drifted on the reef, sent Lieut Manger to take possession of her, the battery still firing, veered away to bring the broadside to bear on it, sent Lieut Corbyn on shore, on which the colours were also struck and the people made their escape as soon as the frigate struck, many of her crew got on shore in the boats.

She proves to be *La Chiffonne*, having 14 ports of a 4 to on her main deck, but mounting only 10 twelve pounders on that deck, 6 six pounders and 4 howitzers on the quarter deck and fore-castle, she had however 14 twelve pounders mounted on the tide the engaged us the battery proves to be mounted with 14 of the frigate's 12 pounders from her starboard side, having a 12 pounder for bearing the, some of which were used during the action. *La Chiffonne*, commanded by Capt Guerin, had about 29 killed, and upwards of 70 wounded, whereas the loss on our side was only Ben Johnson and John Jones seamen, killed, and Mr Pothmore, midshipman, slightly wounded, the running rigging a little cut and the main top-sail yard once through in both yards.

Took possession of a schooner and a grab ketch under French colours, the schooner being sunk by one of our 12 pounders, the grab by her own crew. Sent hawfers on board the frigate, and had them to take her off received prisoners from the *La Chiffonne*, and sent a party of hands on board her found lying here besides the prizes, four small vessels under Dutch colours, viz

2 blue

a blue flag, with the words Seychelle capitulation marked in the middle with white letters found the frigate's fore mast on shore waving a fish, cheeks, and a few hoops. The battery is excessively well constructed with fascines, and a good platform of plank, and would have done us much mischief, had the action continued longer, as they had just begun to depress their guns: the number of prisoners that escaped was upwards of 100.

La Chiffonne, on her passage from Nantes to India, made a prize of one Portuguese frigate on the coast of Brazil. On the 10th of June, off the Cape of Good Hope, she captured the *Belona* country ship, belonging to Bengal, bound to London. She sailed from Nantes the 12th day of April 1801. *La Chiffonne* is a new frigate, about 9 months old and never at sea before, pierced for 42 guns, and manned with 296 men.

On the 21st of August the *Spirit* fire king's schooner, lieutenant Campbell commander, from Bombay, bound to the Red Sea with dispatches was totally lost on Serhome Dubophant, one of the African islands unknown to the English, and lately discovered by the inhabitants of the Seychelle islands, the crew and most part of her stores were saved. On the 2d of September lieutenant Campbell arrived in a small boat, he had been six days from the island on which the schooner was lost, delivered over to lieutenant Campbell the *Sophy* schooner to take in his crew and stores and to proceed on his voyage to the Red Sea, on the 3d in the morning lieutenant Campbell sailed, and at 3 in the afternoon of the same day *La Sybille* and *La Chiffonne* sailed.

On the 22d inst. capt Adams

anchored in Madras roads, accompanied by his prize *La Chiffonne*.

The New Madras Insurance Company, after expressing themselves highly sensible of the gallant conduct of captain C. Adam, of his majesty's ship *La Sybille*, in the capture of the French republican frigate *La Chiffonne*, and advertising to the benefit that must accrue by it to their commercial interests, have requested his acceptance of a sword, valued at two hundred pounds sterling. Captain Adam, in complying with their request, declared himself highly gratified by the very obliging manner in which the above resolution of the insurance company had been communicated to him.

BOMBAY

Occurrences for September

Loss of the Ship Gabriel and Commerce

We are concerned to state the loss of the ship *Gabriel* on the 8th inst. in the Straits of Jubal, at the entrance of the Gulf of Suez, in the attempt to effect a passage from Cossir to that place against the strong north-west gales which blow down that part of the gulf a great part of the year. The crew, however, consisting of one hundred men, with forty-two women, and forty-six children, belonging to his majesty's 01st regiment, who were on board, were happily all saved, and safely conveyed in the ship's boats to Cossir, where captain Turnbull procured an Arab dow for the conveyance of the women and children to Juddah.

The *Commerce*, capt Macauley, of Bombay, is also lost in the Red Sea.

June

Some Particulars of the Loss of the Ship Maria Louisa, by fire

This vessel had been obliged to bear up for Aden Bay on account of some serious leaks that threatened alarming consequences, occasioned by their long beating, often under their courses, against strong gales and a heavy sea. Here they discovered and succeeded in stopping the principal leaks, and would have been ready on the 12th July in the evening to put to sea in the prosecution of their voyage up the Arabian Gulph. On the morning of that day, however, about four o'clock, an alarm of fire was given, and smoke was perceived coming from the fore part of the ship. A scuttle which was in the gun deck before the foremast was immediately opened, and every exertion used to throw a sufficient quantity of water on the part from whence the smoke was thought to issue, guns were at the same time fired as a signal of their situation to the other ships, which readily sent their boats to assist. The smoke increasing, the fore hatches were unlaid, but the flames at this instant making their appearance at the fore scuttle, the hatches were again laid over to prevent the communication of the air from without. The efforts of the crew were then directed solely to the scuttle, and for a few minutes there were hopes of success. These however soon vanished, for the flames burst open the fore hatches, and almost immediately communicated to the rigging and every part of the ship. The long boat belonging to the ship *Cressy* being fortunately along side at this time, the crew had barely time to escape into her over the quarter of the wreck, and before they had got a cable's length from it, the after part was blown

up by the spirits in the afterhold, the mizen mast going over the side. The gunpowder had been previously thrown overboard. The wreck soon afterwards burnt from her anchors, and drifting out of the bay, was consumed to the water's edge about 10 o'clock.

Narrative of the Loss of the Ship Terry Allum, near Cape Orsoy, and the subsequent proceedings of the crew

[It was drawn up by Mr WILLIAM KIRK, the first officer of the unfortunate ship, who arrived at Bombay the 10th ult. in the ship *Jubangier*, in company with the *Elzevir*. We are happy to hear that three more of the crew had found their way to the shore, and a dory had been dispatched to Bunker Felix to ascertain the fate of the remainder, and bring back as many of the survivors as possible.]

On the 7th June, at 1 p.m. they saw the land bearing N by W to S W distance off shore about ten miles, after steering different courses, and making a short tacking sail as was requisite, breakers were seen a head at 10 o.m. Captain Baird immediately made sail and wore, but soon after struck, and the sea made a breach over the ship fore and aft. The larboard of the fore and main rigging were cut in order to disencumber the wreck of the masts, and soon after the mainmast and fore mast went overboard, the mizen mast, being very short, stood.

At this time the ship lay more upright, and the lee guns were ordered to be thrown overboard, but not one of the lascars would lend a hand, nor could we get a man to clear the wreck from alongside. The wind increased every minute. The sea, about twelve o'clock, stove in the cabin windows, and the gun-deck was immediately full, we now

saw no resource, and accordingly secured all the small spars as well as we could to furnish the means of getting on shore at day light. We at first were apprehensive that it was a reef on which we had struck, but about 4 a m when the moon got up, to our great joy we saw the mainland, and at day light discovered a fine sandy beach full of small bushes, at sun rise a few of the lascars ventured on shore, first on small planks and spars. About an hour after, the captain, and officers, and all the fishermen went off on a raft made of floating sail booms, the people, after they saw the captain leave the ship, went off in numbers up in small rafts.

About 10 a m the second mate, with about thirteen more, left the ship in the long boat soon afterwards I left the ship in a raft, with ten more, and left lieutenant Dundas on board whom I could not persuade to leave the ship at that time. About ten minutes after I left the ship, I got on shore, and got a shift of cloaths from the lascars, which they had preserved dry by putting it in the watertight cask. Half an hour after, I met the second officer who told me that he had found the body of lieutenant Dundas, and had buried it in the sand. About 2 p m we were visited by a few natives, who were very shy at first, they did not offer us any violence, and, after picking up what they could, they left us, and were followed by all the lascars. Captain Baird then directed the Europeans to roll up all the empty water casks they could find, and make a barricado for defence, if necessary, against the natives, at 6 p m the 8th, a few lascars came back from the place where they had followed the natives, and informed us that there was a village a few miles from

where we were, and that the natives were very ill disposed towards us. We slept all night under the cover of our main royal, which we had the good fortune to find on the beach at day light, we who slept together, to the number of about twenty, captain, officers, and fishermen, with three or four Europeans and lascars, went on the beach to roll up all the full casks of water and salt provisions.

At 8 m on the 9th we returned to our tent, and then heard that the natives were coming to molest us. A few minutes after, we saw the natives coming down armed, to the number of fifty or sixty, men and women, our party consisted only of those who had slept in the tent, the Europeans were dispersed, and most of them drunk, we had about a dozen of cutlasses and a few boarding pikes, and I made no doubt but we could defend ourselves if we were all together. The lascars came down from the village, but could not be persuaded to join us. The natives, as soon as they saw the defenceless state of the Europeans, immediately fell upon us and plundered us of every thing, and only left me a shirt, they did not plunder the lascars till sunset, and close to their own village. For they told the lascars to come along with them, as they were all Mussulmans, they would show them the way to a port where they would be able to get boats to carry them to Mocha in three or four days, when the lascars followed the natives, we followed them likewise, seeing the disposition of the natives, I gave myself out for a Mussulman, when we marched off the beach about six o'clock, there were only thirteen Europeans with us, twenty six we left on the beach, all of them drunk,

drunk, and the second officer we did not see, but I was told afterwards, that he was asleep in the long boat and would not come away when he was called by some of our men, we found that the Europeans were left in coming on shore, besides seven or eight lascars we passed a very disagreeable night near the village, and I slept clothed by the captain, third officer, and seacoomes.

June 10th, rose early in the morning, and begged the chief of the natives to let us proceed to the northward, and to give us a guide, which he refused, but told us we might go to the northward, and that we would find a port, where we might get boats to carry us to Mocha in three or four days, at sunrise set off and walked to the northward about eight a.m. we saw that Cape Ortoy was an island, and we were obliged to walk about two miles up to our knees in water, about 11 a.m. we all halted, and dug a well, but could not get any good water, we set out again about twelve o'clock, and walked more to the eastward than to the northward, to get as soon as possible towards the beach, about 2 p.m. we all rested again under the cliffs of a chain of mountains to the northward of the cape, and here we saw three or four natives, but they soon disappeared, at 3 p.m. the first tindal left us, and set off with about two-thirds of our number in quest of water, at half past four set out again, and walked to the northward in sight of the sea, about 5 p.m. we met a native, whom we engaged as a guide, and to show us the well of water, which he told us was close by. In our way to the well, we could plainly see that the lascars and first tindal had gone on the same road, at a quarter of

five we came into a deep valley, where, to our great surprise, we saw five natives coming down towards us armed who desired us to sit down, and then robbed us the second time. They showed us the well, where we all got a good hearty drink, and slept some distance from it, I found a cake, and divided it with the captain, third officer and my boy. This cake was made the day before we left Ortoy, for we had some fire made, and made a few cakes of flour, and roasted some salt beef, but even this was taken from us by the natives.

June the 11th, rose up early in the morning, after a very disagreeable cold night, and went to the well, and there met the first tindal and the rest of the lascars, who told us they had been robbed by the same gang the evening before, after drinking plentifully, we all set out again, and walked along the beach to the northward at 11 a.m. we all halted under some green bushes, and found some good water here we staid till about three o'clock, and saw a very large flock of sheep and goats led by two men and two women, after taking a good drink of water, we set out and walked along the beach to the northward. A fuster we came to a salt water lake and six lascars who had been fishing they gave the few lascars that went up to them at first a tea dish, but when they saw the whole of us, they seemed to be very shy, seeing however, our defenceless state, they were very forward in asking about the ship. We asked for water, and they told us that there was some to be had, but that we must go with them, which we declined, about 9 p.m. we got a fire made, and spent a very disagreeable night.

June the 12th, at 5 a.m. we all
+ B A 1st

set out again and stood to the northward, and about 7 a m found a well of water close to the beach, where we saw a great many goats and camels, after refreshing ourselves, we set out again to the northward, and expected to go round a head land, which ran far to the eastward. About 10 a m we were attacked by a party of natives, and repulsed them. They went off with one man that had his leg broke at eleven, we, to our great mortification, saw that we could not round the head without a danger of perishing in the attempt. The captain, myself, and 12 men, lascars and Europeans, determined to see if there was a passage round the head. The lascars and two seacomms went back to the well, and from thence to cross over the hills about five lascars and three seacomms crossed over in the forenoon, but we could not do it, for we were very much fatigued, and in much want of water. At 5 p m we who remained behind set out to see if we could find a passage round the head, and at not to join the lascars, at 4, we found that there was not a passage round the head and that the fort beat against it with great violence, we all returned but except the captain, his cook, and two Europeans, we came near the well about 7 p m. I met the 3d officer and four or five Europeans who told me that, about sunset, they were met by a party of the natives who had killed a Swiss of the Mæuron regiment, and had wounded the 3d officer. We then set out again towards the well, and on the way I saw the European that had been killed, at 8 we arrived amongst the lascars, and at 12 p m were joined by the captain and his cook, but have not seen the two Europeans since.

June the 13th, about 8 a m we

were ordered away by the natives, who told us that as soon as we crossed over the hills, we would come into a good country, where we might get something to eat, and the people more civilized than we would get into a port and that we might have a chance of getting a boat to go over to Mocha. The country through which we passed was thinly peopled, and ill provided with provision. At 8 a m after we got a refreshing drink of water, we set out to go over the hills, and were all in company, except the 11 Europeans who had left us early in the morning and had taken the same road we did afterwards. At 11, we all met on the other side of the hill under a cliff, and after getting a draught of water from the people, I left all the Europeans, captain, and 3d officer, and pushed down in a deep valley that was close to the beach. This was the last day I saw the captain, and most of the Europeans I never saw afterwards. I got into the valley about 1 p m and got a drink of brackish water. Here I met the seacomms and the lascars, who gave me a little fish, but I had drank water to such an excess that I could not eat it. At 5 p m we all set out and stood into the country, to see if we could find any good water, but in vain. The 3d officer joined us in our way across the country, and told me that he had left the captain and my boy under the cliff where I had left them in the morning, we all slept under some bushes, and passed a very disagreeable night, being very thirsty and cold.

June the 14th began our march early in the morning, and stood towards the sea side met some good water, and good treatment from the natives, about 12 o'clock the 3d officer and myself were unable to proceed

proceed any further, and there formed a resolution of staying behind at 1 a m we came to a place where we saw two huts and after praying like a Mussulman, got leave to stay behind till we were able to proceed for our feet were swelled very much, and our backs blistered here we remained till the 16th, getting a quart of milk each of us for the whole day.

On the 17th June, they told us to go away, and that they could not give us any more milk after getting a piece of skin to cover myself, the 3d officer and myself walked to the sea side, and from thence we thought of going to the northward I proceeded about 4 or 5 miles, when the 3d officer could not keep up with me, and I never saw him afterwards I walked about 20 miles this day, and in my way met two seacowmen and the captain's cook, who told me that he left the captain in a poor state I left them, as they could not keep up with me, and at sunset came to the hut of a native, who gave me a small drink of milk and water.

I slept there that night, and on the 18th of June set out again, and walked till 2 p m when I fell in with 4 or 5 lascars, and got some water to drink I slept there that night, and on the 19th June after walking about 15 miles, fell in with Dunbar volunteer, and Forelock private in the Meuron regiment, and got some brackish water to drink, at 5 p m we set out again, and promised to keep company till we rounded Cape Gardetoy Dunbar told me that he had parted with the captain and the rest a little after I did, and that for two days he had been drinking his own urine, and had not eat any thing since the day we left the wreck, we walked 5 or 6 miles

to the northward, and then laid down under some bushes to go to sleep, got up at day light on the 20th June, and in the morning, set out again and walked to the northward, and met this day with three wells, and after filling our bag with water, at 12 p m ascended Cape Gardetoy to round it, we walked hard, and at sunset laid down on the top of Gardetoy for the night, and at daylight the 1st June, began our march again at 10 o'clock rounded the Cape, and about an hour after came to a fine spring of water and quenched our thirst A few minutes after I met my boy, and from him we got a few roasted crabs and some small fish this was the third meal since the ship was lost from him I learned that most of the people were gone to a port called Bunder Belix, and that there was only a few with him near the spring a few minutes after we saw a Swiss of the Meuron regiment, who agreed to keep company with us at 4 p m Dunbar volunteer, Forelock and the Swiss of the Meuron regiment, set out, and as I could not walk, I remained behind with my boy and the lascars, for my feet were very sore and my back blistered Forelock and the Swiss of the Meuron regiment I never heard of after wards I suppose they must have died on the way for want of water, as the roads from the Cape to Bunder Belix afforded very little, and that 30 miles from the Cape, and 10 from Bunder Allulah a port about 20 miles to the eastward of Bunder Belix, there were some wells of fine water I and the rest of the lascars remained here till the 2nd, living upon crabs and some small fish which the native gave us when they caught any with their nets.

On the 24th June, we all set out with

with an intention to march to Bunder Felix, and at 9 a m came to a well of fine water, and after drinking heartily, marched again to the northward, but not in sight of the sea, as we were obliged to go in land at 12 a m we all sheltered ourselves under some bushes, at 4 p m we set out again and marched to the northward, and met with a small village, where we saw some natives and large flocks of goats and camels we were very well treated by the natives, who gave us at sunset some milk and small fish, but they were very particular with me, as I passed for a Mussulman and the nauquda of the ship, after our landing, they all agreed that I must be the nauquda and a Mussulman, as they saw my boy clothe to me and the lascars do what I told them, at 8 o'clock I fell in with the stranger and about 8 lascars, who told me that they had come back from their march towards Bunder Felix that they had walked 25 miles, and found no water, that the sea omies, the three Europeans and lascars that were in company with him had gone on and b what he could learn, that they all must perish for want of water for that he heard from the natives that no water could be got till they travelled for 10 or three days. The stranger was mistaken, for he was within 5 miles of the wells when he put this. The stranger behaved like a villain, and wanted to have me killed, he told the natives that I was a Coffin, and not a Mussulman but they inclined not to believe him. After sleeping and passing a more comfortable night than I had experienced since the ship had been cast away, on the 20th June my boy and myself separated from the lascars, fearing to stay with them

any longer, we stood towards the sea side, and met with a flock of camels and goats, we engaged ourselves to drive the flocks and remain with them till we could find an opportunity of going to Bunder Felix at 2 p m I met with an old man, whom I had seen the day before, he gave me some camels milk, and carried me to an old Arab's house, who invited me to stay with him till the month of September, which he told me would be the season for boats coming to the coast from Arabia, and that he would get me a passage in one of them.

Here I lived for 10 or 11 days, and saw a good many lascars pass by, to whom this old man gave always something to eat and drink before he would let them go. Here the carpenter's mate joined me, and one lascar, who engaged to work for their living.

On the 4th July, morning, one lascar, and myself, took leave of the old Arab, who gave us his son for a guide, and desired him to get us a passage to Bunder Allulah in a boat that was ready to sail to that place, he likewise gave me a note to a shop keeper at Allulah, advising him to take me under his roof, and feed me till the boat from Arabia should touch at that place at 4 p m we arrived where the boat was, and got a passage that evening from Cape Goollov and arrived at Bunder Allulah the next night. Here I met the first indal and a lascar, they told me that most of the lascars and sea omies had gone on to Bunder Felix, and that he only saw Dunbar volunteer, who had also proceeded on to the same place.

On the 8th July, the shop keeper and I came to an agreement, that he should find me with provisions and the people with me, and that I should pay him when I got on board any vessel.

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felt it passed, or if I went over to Mocha.

Here I lived till the 10th August, and then paid a visit to the people at Bunder Felix. I learned that there was a British volunteer with Dunbar, at a place which was called Bunder Morish. The firing told me that he had the captain on board, but he had 30 miles from her. I had put out with him. I found here about 1000 lascars, and heard that from 10 to 20 were on no illness to the westward, to continue Europeans and lascars included. While I was at this place I gave a boat man a note to carry on board any vessel that should be seen off the place. On the 11th I arrived at Alluliah again, and on the 12th had the good fortune of seeing two ships in the offing, and there being a light breeze, I sent a boat, with a note to them, mentioning the loss of the ship and requesting that they would send a boat for me, at 9 a.m. I received an answer from the captain of the *Herules* saying, that he had detained the men belonging to the boat, and desired me to come on board as soon as possible, which I did. There were 60 men with me, but I could only persuade three of them to accompany me to the vessel, at half past 3. I came on board the ship *fasting*, captain Silvester, from whom I got 20 dollars to pay for the boat, and the debt I had contracted while on shore, at 8 a.m. on the 10th, the ship got under way, with an intention to take the unfortunate people on board, at noon came before Bunder Alluliah, where we saw the vessel dig hoisted by the three men that we left behind. Capt. McFarlane intended to go to Bunder Felix and take them all on board, but the place to the westward of Bunder Felix seemed

to be dangerous in the approach for two such heavy ships. Accordingly a sun set, capt. McFarlane made the signal for capt. Silvester and me to come on board the *Herules*, and desired me to give an account of the loss of the ship from capt. Silvester. I heard that he had very great distress from 27 to 30 fathoms at a cast, when he was standing in the bay towards the village of Felix. On the 26th August he arrived at Aden, and on the 28th the M.S. ship *Sheerness* captain Cullen, and the country ship *Crofton*, capt. Mac-peace arrived here, to capt. Carden I related the particulars of the loss of the ship *Fa-y Allum*, and pointed out to him, on his charts, where the ship was cast away, and the place where the rest of the crew were when I left it.

Proceedings on shore at Alluliah from the 8th July to the 15th August.—Having agreed to pay the shopkeeper for what I should have from him, on my going on board some ship or other, or pay him when I went to Mocha, he served out an allowance every day of a pint of corn, and 1 pound of dates amongst three of us, my allowance was taken up by him, and I had permission to eat in the same house with him, on 10th July, a sergeant and private of the Mearon regiment came to Alluliah in a very miserable condition saying, they had been in company with the Europeans, and that they had lost themselves near a well of water. I got the sergeant and the private 16 cubits of cloth each, and fed them till the 12th or 13th of August. But the shopkeeper being very uneasy about his payment he refused to feed any but my boy and myself. As the people at Bunder Felix were more hospitable than the people at Alluliah, I

sent them thither, from what I heard afterwards from the natives, they were well off, about the 25th July I sent two men that had the government of the place, to see if they could find the captain and European that were missing, I promised 50 dollars for the captain, and 20 for each European officer I gave a description of the place where I left the captain and the rest of the men About the 14th August the two men returned without success, but with a mortifying account that 6 or 7 of the Europeans had been murdered a few days before they went there, and that they saw the corpse of one that had only been killed a day or two On the 17th of August the king's son came to Allulah, and told me, that he

had seen two Europeans at the wreck, and that his father would be glad to see me, and that he lived a day or two a march from Cape Orfoy, and promised to get me a passage to Arabia when the season set in On the 18th I saw ships, and accordingly sent off a boat with a note to the commander

On my first arrival at Allulah, on the 8th, 9th, and 10th July, I saw ships pass by, and hoisted a white flag on the beach, but they took no notice of it

The ship *Foxy Alura* had on board at the time she went on shore, 1 captain, 3 officer, 1 gunner, 6 seacoomes and 70 Indians, belonging to the ship, and 1 lieutenant, 40 Europeans, belonging to H M and the Hon Company's regiment,

BENGAL Occurrences for October 1801

The Address of Lieut Col MURRAY, to the British Officers on the 24th August, upon presenting the Union Colours to the 2d Batt 1st Native Reg at Dacca

"The imperial standard which I have had the honour to present to this corps, exhibits the grateful sign of a union of interests amongst the best and happiest people of the first nation on the theatre of the world I flatter myself that, in the field of battle, it will ever be displayed in the cause of justice, of honour, and humanity, and I am fully persuaded, that, in the moment of danger, it will be defended by every British officer present,—with fervent zeal, and with cool and determined courage.

Particulars of the Loss of the Ship Dove, Capt Duffin, to the Eastward of Saigon

"The *Dove* left Sooloo, the 7th

of September, and nothing material occurred until her arrival off the Little Andamans, when the experienced continual hard squalls, attended with rain, that caused a very cross and high sea, and made the ship so leaky as to oblige us to keep one pump constantly going, by which means we found that the water did not gain on us, though the bad weather continued till we made the land in the bay of Bengal, and not having had an opportunity of taking an observation but twice, since we left the Little Andamans, found ourselves driven a great deal to the eastward, with a strong easterly current prevailing all across the bay On the 5th instant, being then in lat per account 20°, 50' N and long East 90°, 30', struck soundings in 32 fathoms, at midnight At 1 a m bore to, under close reefed topsails, in 19 fathoms water, it blowing very hard, and the sea running

running high, we, however, found the pumps did not gain on us, though the wind and sea were increasing, and at 8 a m there was a most tremendous sea running, and continually breaking over us, also found the ship to make considerable water, and the pumps gaining upon us, and not being able to work more than one pump, the other being choked with pepper, at 9 a m an immense sea unshipped the companion, and poured a great quantity of water down the hatch way wind and sea still increasing, and carrying a press of sail to the westward to get into Pilot's water. At 10 a m the wind shifted to the W S W with constant hard gales, and by this sudden shift of wind, such a high sea was occasioned as I never before beheld, and put us to the necessity of wearing the ship to the northward, still the sea continually breaking over us, from the violent motion of the sea, the ship sprung a very alarming leak forward at 11 a m found $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet of water in the hold, the leak still gaining on us very fast, at 10 minutes before 12 m wore ship to the southward, and hove to, with intention of bailing out the larboard pump well, to clear her if possible having then $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet water in her, got the pump up, but the sea still breaking over her, obliged us to put it down again, as more water went down the pump-hole than we could bale out, notwithstanding a tarpaulin was laid on to keep out the water, but the sea was too powerful for it to be of any advantage to us. Thus unfortunately situated, and the leak gaining on us, the ship lowering considerably forward, and not rising to the sea, I had no alternative left but to beat up right before the sea, and endeavoured to lighten the ship by throwing the cargo overboard, when, to our astonishment, in attempting to wear her, she would not answer the helm; we hove the guns and an iron cabcoos overboard, and cut away a heavy anchor from her bows, which had the desired effect; she wore round, and we got before the wind, having then $\frac{1}{2}$ feet in the hold, and the ship at least 3 feet more by the head than the stern, the wind now shifted to the S S W we steered N, and N N E right in for the land, as we now found it utterly impossible to save the ship, the leak continuing to gain on us. At 2 p m saw the land from N W to N E and stood direct for it to save the crew, as we must have all perished had she gone down before we made the land, owing to such an immense high sea running, so as to prevent any boat from living. Nearing the land, we shoaled our water from 7 fathoms to $\frac{1}{2}$ less. At 3 p m the wind and sea abating very much, we were within two or three miles of the shore, and came to in 4 fathoms, being about low water, and the sea moderate, enabled us to take off the hatches and lighten the ship, by throwing the cargo overboard, having $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet of water in the hold, we took down the top gallant yards and masts it still blowing hard, but the water not gaining on us, by midnight we had cleared the pepper from between the decks, which lightened her forward, and she appeared more lively to the sea, and we began to have hopes of saving her, but alas! she, were but transitory, for the water that had lodged forward began, by the ship being by the stern, to find its way to the pump well, and at 8 a m of the 7th instant, she had 8 feet water in the hold, at 4 a m the water

water had gained so much on her, that we could fill the buckets out of the pump well, from the lower deck, without the assistance of a lanyard to them, and not being able to keep her situation any longer a secret from the people, they were struck with a general terror and consternation, and at day light requested the long boat out to save themselves, which was accordingly done, and though all possible caution was used not to hurt the boat, we unfortunately stove a hole in her bottom on one of the stumps of the timbers on the ship's gunwale; however, we soon nailed a piece of canvas over it and lowered it down, when, before we could clear her of the tackles, she had stove her starboard side very much against the ship the water now was up to the lower deck, and I saw it quite impossible to save her. A head of us appeared round a point of land to the N E, a fine smooth bay, under the lee of the island we were at an anchor off, my people being now in despair, and continually crying to *Ala*, and being no chance of the ship being saved, I cut the cable, made sail, and run in round the point alluded to, the water being now above the upper deck; but having very smooth water, and the ship settling under water, at 7 a m she went down in 10 feet we then hauled in the long-boat, and ten of us went on shore in her, taking a few shifts of clothes, a bag of rice, about 6 lb of biscuit, half a dozen of mad ira, &c &c We left the whale boat for the rest of the crew to come ashore, and promised to send the boat as soon as we found a place to land, but found some difficulty in obtaining the same, finding the shore a complete jungle, however, at last we found a fine sandy beach,

where we landed. But being ebb tide, and the boat leaky, we were obliged to retain it till the tide made, during this time the people on board had got the whale boat stowed, and those that were left on board, except the second mate, gunner, and two sailors, made rafts with the spars, and came on shore safe, and as soon as the tide made sufficiently to float the long boat, went off to the wreck and fortunately procured another bag of rice, and some light sails, and at 10 p m the long boat arrived safe, and not a man missing.

The officers and crew arrived at Calcutta on the 2d instant.

MADRAS

Occurrences for October

The right honourable the governor and council having been pleased to establish a press for printing, at the military Male Orphan Asylum, has, for the purpose of combining the public convenience with the advantage of that institution, resolved to authorize the publication of a weekly paper at the Asylum, to be styled the "GOVERNMENT GAZETTE." Notice is therefore hereby given, that after this day all advertisements, and other public papers of the government, will be printed in the GOVERNMENT GAZETTE only, and all orders or other public notices appearing in that paper under the signature of the secretaries, or other public officers of the government, are hereby ordered and directed to be conformed to and obeyed accordingly.

Published by order,

G BUCHAN

Sec to govt.

Fort St George, Oct. 14, 1802.

Part II.

Particulars of the Loss of His Majesty's armed Schooner Spitfire, Lieutenant Campbell commander

The *Spitfire* was wrecked on a reef which is off the southern part of certain African Islands, on the 21st of August 1801, at 10 minutes past 5 in the morning she was then going about 4 knots under her foretop-sail, and had foundered often during the night, and had no ground with 20 fathom line a short time before she struck.

On her striking, her masts were immediately cut away, to prevent her over-setting, and soon after she was driven over the reef, into a kind of sandy bayon, and at low water her crew were able to walk on shore most of her stores and provisions were saved.

On the 27th, of August, Lieut Campbell, with four men, quitted the islands in a small boat belonging to the schooner, with a view of procuring relief from the Seychelle islands.

On the 29th, about 9 a m. they saw the principal island, and arrived there on the 31st at 5 p m. being in urgent want of water, of which they had only one bottle left.

Lieut Campbell having landed, and procured some cocoa nuts, quitted the shore, and soon after saw and went on board of his Majesty's ship *La Sybille* in Mahe roads.

The African islands, on which the *Spitfire* was wrecked, are two in number, very small and low, situated about six leagues to the north of the bank which surrounds the Amirante islands, and were discovered about six years ago, by some of the small vessels which belong to and navigate in the Seychelle Archipelago. Their vegeta-

tion consists only of a few shrubs, generally about four feet high, they abound, however, in turtle and sea-birds, but there is no fresh water, although wells were dug to the depth of 40 feet.

Both islands are nearly covered with the sea at high spring tides the largest island lies to the southward, and is joined to the smaller one by a sand bank, which is dry at low water spring tides.

The whole length of the islands from south to north is not above two miles they are surrounded by a reef of breakers on the east side, but on the west side there is a safe and commodious anchorage, in a bay, formed by the extremes of the isles, and the reef which joins them.

The latitude taken on the south island is $4^{\circ} 50'$ south longitude by the mean of many observations of Antares and Arcturus, and the Moon, is $54^{\circ} 9' 28''$ east, Variation $7^{\circ} 44'$ west Time of high water, at full and change 9. 59 The tide rises about 8 feet.

The following Description and Situation of the Wreck of the Ship Malabar, in Madras Roads, is published by Order of the Board of Trade

The stump of the main mast is at present discernible, about eleven feet above the level of the sea. The wreck lies in nine fathoms water, with three fathoms between it and the surface. The light house Fort St George bearing from the mast S W $\frac{1}{4}$ W The north east bastion of the Black Town Wall N W by W $\frac{1}{4}$ W The center of the custom house, W by N distance from shore about one and a half mile.

BOMBAY

Occurrences for October

Copy of a Letter to Capt Thomas Maughan, Commander of the Ship Ardalseer

DEAR SIR,

The advanced state of preparation for the movement of the army, renders it probable that our continuance on the coast will be but of short duration, nor do existing circumstances allow of any reasonable conjecture when we may again return. Being therefore at the eve of separation, we resort to the present mode of address as a measure highly gratifying to our feelings.

During a period of nearly three months, which we have passed on board your ship, when we might have expected to share in the many inconveniences and disagreeable incidents to a tedious and difficult navigation, we recollect having experienced continued comfort and every reasonable happiness. How much we hold ourselves indebted to you for this share of good fortune, our hearts can best attest. Offering you therefore the assurance of our most perfect esteem and regard, we beg leave to add every sincere good wish for your prosperity.

As a trifling token which may at times serve to recall to your remembrance the days we have passed together, and the sentiments of which they have been productive in our minds, we request your acceptance of a piece of plate, which

will be presented you by the adjutant general at Bombay,

We have the pleasure to remain, &c.

(Signed) D MAHONY, Capt
J HENDERSON, Asst Sur.
E TANDY, Lieut
H CRUSO, Lieut
E FREDRICK, Lieut
A B BACON, Lieut
G GRANT, Lieut

Coffin Camp 3d June 1801

To Capt T Maughan

SIR,

In fulfilling the intentions of the officers attached to the 2d battalion 1st regiment, who sailed on board your ship to the Red Sea, I have great satisfaction in presenting you, by their desire, a piece of plate, in testimony of the sentiments expressed in their address to you at Coffin Camp, a token of esteem and regard at once creditable to you, and honourable to the gentlemen concerned. I have the pleasure to subscribe myself, &c.

(Signed) R GORDON, Adj Gen.
Bombay, 24th October 1801
To Lieut Colonel Robert Gordon,
Adjutant General

SIR,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of the valuable piece of plate, a present from my friends the officers of the 2d battalion 1st regiment, whom I had the pleasure of conveying up the Red Sea. I highly prize the gift as a token of their friendship, and more so from the polite mode of your presenting it, being, &c.

(Signed) T MAUGHAN.
Bombay, 24th October 1801

BENGAL Occurrences for NOVEMBER 1801

Supreme Court of Judicature

On Friday the 4th inst the second session of oyer and terminer was held at Calcutta,

Sir J Anstruther, bart the chief justice, addressed the grand jury in a clear, eloquent, and impressive manner, which fully detailed to them the

the various duties of their arduous and important office

The offences in the calendar were twelve in number, of which four were for murder

John Brennan, a soldier, was tried on Friday for the wilful murder of one *Bucket*, and being found guilty, received sentence of death, and on Saturday *Samuel Bone*, for the murder of *George Sleaford*, and *Simon Bird*, for the murder of his wife, received similar sentences

The unhappy culprits were executed on the 7th inst

At the place of execution *Brennan* and *Bone* were attended by the rev Mr Limerick *Brennan* was dressed in a suit of full mourning, and *Bone* in the uniform of his regiment The rev Padre Pinheira accompanied *Bird* The unhappy culprits behaved with the greatest decorum, and with a degree of fortitude which seemed occasioned by their trust in the assurances of the gospel, rather than the consequence of hardened guilt, and the obduracy of an impenetrable heart

General Orders, by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor general

On the Ganges, near Benares,
Nov 14 1801

His excellency the most noble the Governor general having this day ratified a treaty concluded at Lucknow, on the 10th inst by the honourable Henry Wellesley and lieutenant-colonel Scott, on behalf and in the name of the Governor-general, between the honourable the East India Company and his excellency the nabob Vizier, by which treaty the nabob Vizier has ceded to the honourable Company in perpetual sovereignty, certain portions

of his excellency the vizier's territorial possessions, yielding an annual revenue of one crore and thirty five lacks of rupees; in commutation of the subsidy hitherto payable to the Company by the Vizier

Ordered, that a royal salute be fired, and extra batta served to the troops at Fort William, and at all the garrisons and stations of the army, in honour of this event

His excellency the most noble the Governor general is pleased to make the following appointments, for the provisional management of the districts ceded to the Company by his excellency the nabob Vizier, and for the settlement of the same

The honourable Henry Wellesley lieutenant-governor of the districts ceded by his excellency the nabob Vizier, and president of the board of commissioners for the management of the affairs of the same

Matthew Leslie, esq Archibald Seton, esq John Fombelle, esq commissioners for the management of the affairs of the ceded districts

John Routledge, esq William Leicester esq John Deane, esq collectors of the revenue of the ceded districts

Græme Mercer, esq secretary to the board of commissioners for the management of the ceded districts

His excellency the most noble the Governor general has been pleased to appoint lieutenant colonel Scott, resident at the court of the nabob Vizier, to be honorary aid de camp to the Governor general

Fort William, Nov 20, 1801.

The following copy of a letter from Sir Home Popham, K. M. captain of his majesty's ship *Rowney*, &c. inclosing a copy of a letter from captain G. R. Collier, commander of his majesty's sloop *Fisher*

Victor, is published by order of the hon^{ble} vice president in council

To the Honourable G. H. Barlow,
Vice President, &c &c

312

I have much pleasure in transmitting you a copy of captain Collier's letter of the 10th September, giving a very detailed account of his sinking the French national ship *La Fleche*, of 22 guns, and 170 men

The result of captain Collier's unremitting perseverance under every trying circumstance, and his determined conduct in warping the *Victor* into Mahe harbour, is likely to be of material service to the commerce of India, as *La Fleche* was unquestionably intended to lie in the bay of Bengal

I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) HOME POPEHAM

Calcutta, Nov 18 1801

H. M. Sloop *Victor*, Mahe
Road, Sept. 10, 1801

312.

The extreme sickly state of the crew of his majesty's sloop under my command, after leaving the Red Sea, induced me to put into the island Deigo Garcia after procuring a large supply of turtle and good water, I left that harbour on the 27th of August, and proceeded on the execution of the particular service pointed out in your orders of the 22d July, and, on the 2d inst in sight of these islands, his majesty's sloop fell in with a French national corvette, and, after a few ineffectual manoeuvres on her part, from the superior sailing of the *Victor*, when going large, I had the pleasure of bringing her to close action at 3 past 5 p m The disguised state of the *Victor* did not long deceive the enemy—the second broadside proved sufficient, the corvette, hauling her wind, and endeavouring to escape, which in about 30 minutes I was sorry to observe,

by having almost solely directed her fire at our masts and sails, she had a fair prospect of effecting for, on her tacking under our lee, I endeavoured to wear, with the hope of boarding on her bow, when I had the mortification to find both lower and topmast braces shot away on the starboard side, as well as the pretenture ones and bowline, and before others could be rove, the corvette was half a mile to windward, night fast approaching, added to the chagrin I felt on observing the corvette sail better than the *Victor* on a wind The chase continued all night, frequently within gunshot, and at sun set the following day, from the wind having favoured the enemy, she was four or five miles to windward In the night of the 4th, lost sight of the chase, when probably by tacking she escaped

In this affair I had one man wounded with two musket balls, and Mr Middleton, master's mate, slightly The damage sustained in the hull trifling, the foremast shot through, and I have to regret our sails and rigging much cut

Judging from the course the corvette was steering when first seen, she must be bound to these islands, I pushed for them, and towards sun set of the 5th, she was again seen running in for this anchorage I kept under easy sail till dark, when the *Victor* was anchored, at day light, I had the satisfaction of seeing the corvette moored, with springs, in the basin or inner harbour, with a red flag at her foremast (which as I since learn was in defiance), being unacquainted with the channel, and having no pilot, Mr Crawford the master, (though ill of a fever,) and Mr Middleton, being volunteers, were sent to sound, which service they completely

ly

ly performed, nor did the latter gentleman desist till repeatedly fired at by a boat from the corvette.

The extreme narrowness of the channel, added to the wind not being very favourable, compelled me to use warps and the stay-sails only, which exposed the ship to a raking fire for some minutes, till shoaling our water, I was obliged to bring up, having two springs on the cable, our broadside was soon brought to bear, and at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 11 *a m* a well directed fire was opened, which was kept up incessantly from both vessels till twenty minutes past two, when I plainly perceived the enemy was going down, in a few minutes her cable was cut, the cast round and her bow grounded on a coral reef.

Mr McLean, the first lieutenant with a party of officers and men were sent to board, though scarce had they put off ere we discovered the enemy to be on fire, lieutenant Smith and other officers were then sent with proper assistance, but just as they had succeeded in extinguishing the fire, she fell over on her larboard bilge into deeper water, and sunk.

She proves to have been the French national corvette *La Fleche*, mounting twenty long French eight pounders, answering to English nines, with two stern chasers, though it appears all her guns were not mounted in the first action, was larger than the *Victor* in dimensions, perfectly new, a remarkably fast sailer, and not four months from France, commanded by captain Bonamy, lieutenant de Vaisseau, with four lieutenants, and a complement of one hundred and forty-five men, some of whom had been left sick at Bourbon had thirty-seven passengers sent into banishment by the first consul of

France, for an attempt on his life. From a number of dead and dying men reported to be found on her forecattle, as well as two alongside, I am induced to believe the carnage was great, though only four are acknowledged by the French captain.

She had twenty men to assist at her guns, forming a part of the crew of the French frigate *Chiffonne*, captured here a few days since by his majesty's ship *La Sybille*, capt Adam.

The obstinate defence made by *La Fleche*, was on the supposition of the *Victor* being a privateer.

From the length of time elapsed ere this business was brought to a close, I have felt it necessary to state thus particular in my detail, and I trust for your excuse should I dwell long on it, as I feel I should do an injustice to every officer and man on board, did I neglect paying a just tribute to the cool and determined bravery they evinced, even men labouring under the fever of a long illness, (of which unfortunately I had thirty,) felt a proportionate zeal.

I beg leave to recommend to your notice, lieutenant McLean, as well as to solicit your interest for the confirmation of my second lieutenant, Mr Smith, and also Mr Hyde, gunner, observing that when either Mr Middleton, or Mr Graves, (both having passed for lieutenant,) shall obtain the rank, they will do equal credit to your patronage.

In this action I am it fortunately had not a man either killed or wounded, our hull, rigging and boats, have suffered much, besides having some shot between wind and water.

I am sorry to say that in warping out of the channel, from a hawser parting the *Victor* drove on a coral reef, from which she was completely

pletely extricated the next day. The fish on the foremast is now on, our other damages repaired, and I hope to proceed on the execution of the remaining part of your orders to morrow.

I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) G R COLLIER.

To Sir Home Popham, K. M. &c. &c.

A very singular but unfortunate accident happened on Sunday the 29th inst. A young Gentoo, of the name of Nagoo, was amusing himself with loading an old rusty musquet, with a broken lock, and without any flint, he used every means he could devise, but ineffectually, to get it off, as the touch hole was too rusty to admit of any communication with the barrel, he at last hit on a very curious expedient, which was putting a piece of fiery wood in at the muzzle, and as it did not immediately take fire, he put his mouth to the muzzle to blow it, when unfortunately the fire communicating with the powder, it went off and killed him dead on the spot. A coroner's inquest was held on the body, who brought in a verdict—accidental death.

Capture of the French Privateer La Eugene, by the Hon Company's Cruiser, Mornington, Capt Pro?

The *Mornington* cruiser, on the morning of the 9th inst. latitude $21^{\circ} 2'$, about 9 leagues eastward of Saugar Sand, saw the *Eugene* in the S. E. quarter, 9 miles distance. The *Mornington* disguised herself so much as to induce the *Eugene* to chase her, and at 7 p. m. to come close under her stern she then hauled the *Mornington*, desiring her to back her main top-sail and send a boat on board. The *Mornington* shortened sail, squared after yards, and put

her helm a weather. The *Eugene* immediately commenced a brisk fire from her great guns, a heavy discharge of musketry from below and aloft, at the same time making sail, and received the whole of two broadsides from the *Mornington* before she shot a head of her. The *Mornington* chased her, and after about four hours, (during which the *Eugene* threw all her guns, excepting one, overboard, cut away her anchors, and sawed her gun-wales through, &c) was again within hail of her the *Eugene*; after a few shots then surrendered.

She was formerly called the *Diana*, commanded by citizen Cautance, left the Isle of France on 12th September, and having boarded ship *Orient*, brig *Friendship*, ship *Lancy* grab, she is pierced for 18 guns, and sails uncommonly well; mounted 6 carriage guns, with a tier of swivels and blunderbusses round her gunwale. Her crew 88 Europeans, chosen from the crews of *La Confiance* and *La Nymphe*.

General Orders by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-general

Bombay, No. 24, 1801.

Dispatches having been this day received by his excellency the most noble the Governor-general, from his excellency vice admiral lord Keith, commanding his majesty's naval forces in the Mediterranean, announcing the surrender of Alexandria to his majesty's forces, on the 1st of September 8, 1801.

Ordered, That a royal salute, and three volleys of musketry, be fired at the several stations of the army under the presidency of Fort William, in honour of this important event.

Extra batta to be served to the European troops.

ADDRESS

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS FOR NOVEMBER 1881.

Address of the British Inhabitants of Beasree to the Governor-general.

On the 27th inst. major-general George Dyer, commanding officer of the army in the district of Beasree, and John Macrae Esq. second judge of the provincial court of appeal and circuit, and agent to the Governor-general at Beasree, waited on his excellency the most noble the Governor-general, having previously obtained his excellency's permission for that purpose, and presented to him the following address on the part of the British inhabitants of Beasree.

To his Excellency the Most Noble
RICHARD MARQUIS WILLEN,
K. P. Captain-general and
Governor-general in India, &c
&c. &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,
We, the European inhabitants of Beasree, impelled so less by the highest respect and admiration of your excellency's character, than by ardent love of our native country, cannot refrain from offering to your excellency our sincerest congratulations upon the late glorious success of the British arms in Egypt. We are aware in the general conduct of your excellency's administration, which has, in the short space of three years, extended and consolidated the British empire in India to a degree which must ever be contemplated with astonishment, we cannot suppress the emotions which are on the present occasion, excited in our minds by a consideration of the prompt and vigorous manner in which resources, so recently exhausted, were applied by your excellency to the aid of the British arms in the Egyptian campaign. And when we realize as Britons at the present struggle which has fallen on the animated spirits of

our brave countrymen in Egypt, we feel indebted to your excellency for the prompt attention, from Beasree, which has been bestowed on this important service, and that a part of that army, which is justly entitled itself to the approbation of its sovereign, and of its country, by the reduction of Seringapatam, is at this moment employed on the shores of the Mediterranean.

The casual, but to us fortunate, occurrence of your excellency's having received the intelligence of the fall of Alexandria, and total expulsion of the French from Egypt, at this place, has suggested the idea of the present address, which we confidently hope, your excellency will graciously accept as an honest and unpremeditated expression of sentiments, which we are conscious of only entertaining in common with the rest of our countrymen in India.

(Signed)

G. DEARE,	NEAVE,
P. TREVILL,	RIND,
J. DURANT,	H. COLEMAN,
W. G. MALCOLM,	T. YOUNG,
F. HAMILTON,	J. MITCHELL,
J. STEWART,	F. WILKINSON,
G. WALDEN, K.	G. FORD,
W. BAKER, E.	H. CROFTON,
W. WILSON,	J. ROUTLEDGE,
J. A. GRANT,	J. DUNN,
R. ADAMS,	J. J. REED,
R. ARNOLD,	J. T. GIBSON,
G. PERKINSON,	S. D'ARVILLE,
G. ROBINSON,	P. STARLING

To which his excellency the most noble the Governor-general was pleased to return the following answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I accept with the most sincere satisfaction this testimony of your constant and unabated zeal for the interests and honour of our country. The glorious success of his majesty's arms in Egypt must rank in the annals of every British subject the

emotions and sentiments which you have expressed.

In obeying the wise and provident commands of his majesty's ministers, and of the honourable the court of directors for the invasion of Egypt from India, I was happy to afford a convincing proof of the extensive and vigorous resources of these flourishing dominions, and of the effectual aid to be derived from this part of the empire in maintaining the arduous cause in which we are engaged.

My orders in this important crisis have been carried into effect by every subordinate civil and military officer, whom I have employed, with the same spirit of loyalty and public zeal, and with the same anxious desire to participate in the danger and honour of the war, which I have uniformly experienced since the commencement of my administration.

This address is dictated by a similar spirit, and I deem it to be an indispensable article of my duty to encourage and animate, in the hearts of every British subject resident under my authority, sentiments equally calculated to maintain in these distant possessions the purity of our character, and the stability of our power.

I receive with cordial gratitude the flattering terms in which you have conveyed your favourable opinion of the general tenor of my administration: the confidence which you are pleased to repose in me, will greatly contribute to my happiness, it it shall enable me to confirm in your minds a respect for the British government, an affectionate attachment for our country, and an honourable pride in the honest and zealous discharge of the important duties of your respective stations.

(Signed) WILKINSON.

The Establishment of a Military College at Calcutta.

This establishment is to consist of a senior and junior department. In the senior department will be admitted thirty officers, to be instructed in the duties of the general staff of the army, and in particular those which belong to the quarter-master general in the field.

The junior department is to be for the instruction of those who are from early life intended for a military profession, and who will by this means be well grounded in a knowledge of science, previous to their attaining the age that enables them to hold commissions in the army. This department is to receive 300 students, from the ages of 14 to 16, of which number, 50 may be cadets of the East India Company's service, 100 the sons of noblemen and gentlemen who may intend them for the service; 100 the sons of officers actually in the service, and 50 the sons of officers who have died or been disabled in the service, and are left in pecuniary distress. The establishment to be governed, as a military body, according to his majesty's rules and regulations for the discipline of the service, with such additional restrictions as may be necessary to the conduct of youth, and the objects of the institution. The commander in chief for the time being, to be chief governor of the military college, under whose control the establishment will be placed. Each department to be under the command of officers of rank in the army, who will be responsible to the resident lieutenant governor for the discipline and the conduct of the students, together with the interior care and economy of their respective departments. All elementary tuition will be conducted

taught by professors and masters, subject to the control of a director of instruction. Public examination will be held of the progress made by students in their studies.

The sum which will be required this year, on account of the purchase of land, and the construction of buildings for a royal military college, is 30,000*l*. In the year 1802, 25,000*l* will be required, and in the year 1803, 12,000*l* making the total expense for building 67,000*l*. The balance between the annual expenditure and receipts of the establishment is estimated at 84,000*l*. 8*s* 4*d* to be defrayed by the public. The expenditure for officers, &c is reckoned at 20,000*l*. 8*s* 4*d* the receipts at 10,940*l*.

MADRAS

Occurrences for November

Particulars respecting the Capture and the subsequent Proceedings of the Creole Brig

His majesty's sloop *Victor*, capt Collier, on the 7th November last, while cruising off Madagascar, detected, at sun rise, a brig at anchor in Anron Gel Bay—the *Victor* crowded all sail to near the vessel as soon as possible, from observing all hands employed in landing goods from her, it was shortly after perceived that her crew had for her on fire, at this period capt Collier instantly manned the *Victor's* boats with orders to make and board the vessel; before they got alongside, an attempt was made to cut away the masts of the strange sail, but finding themselves closely pressed they departed the vessel and made the shore with all expedition. The crew of the *Victor's* boats, after boarding the vessel and extinguish-

ing the flames, in which they soon succeeded, took possession of her. She proved to be the *Creole*, French brig, belonging to the Manzanillas, and was on a slave voyage.

Captain Collier was so much struck with the general fine appearance of the *Creole*, from her being also copper fastened, and a very fast sailer, that he manned and armed her, and appointed lieutenant McLean to the command until the expiration of his cruise on that station, when captain Collier had it in contemplation to send the *Creole* into Bourbon, (on a service the accomplishment of which has been, in many conspicuous instances in the course of the late war, proved to be within the ability and gallantry of British seamen) to cut out such vessels as she might find lying there, and on which a successful effort might have been made, unfortunately, however, a dreadful gale of wind arose and baffled this projected enterprise. The *Creole* parted company from the *Victor* and was very near being lost, the storm tressail sheet gave way, and the instantly fell over in the hollow of the sea on her beam ends. In this situation she continued for three quarters of an hour before she could be righted again. The gale continued for two days, she saw no more of the *Victor*, and finding themselves in great distress, very short of stores and provisions, and driven a great distance from their place of rendezvous, the commander determined on making the nearest port, and therefore steered for this harbour.

The *Creole*, we are informed, subsequently made the island of Malaki, one of the Laccadives, for a supply of provisions, on entering the harbour, or roadstead, she got upon the bar—in this situation she

was ~~held~~ upon and detained by the inhabitants under a plea, in spite of every assistance to the contrary, of her being a French vessel—the commander and crew in consequence experienced a long confinement and harsh treatment, and was ultimately released from the interference of the local authority at Cannanore, but we refrain from detailing particulars from having reason to apprehend that they will become the subject of future investigation.

COLONEL BARRY CLOSE

It is with pleasure we have selected, and here present to our readers the following extracts from different orders, &c. issued in India, respecting Colonel BARRY CLOSE, an officer who has so conspicuously distinguished himself during the late war in India, and particularly at the storming of Seringapatam.

Extrait from General HARRIS, Commander in Chief, to Marquis WILLESLEY, Governor-general of India.

Dated Grand Army, Seringapatam, May 1799.

In every point of view I most tall your lordship's particular attention to the adjutant-general of the army. His general character as an officer, is too well established by a long and distinguished course of the most meritorious services to require any testimony, but the particular exertion of his talents in the present service, in directing, regulating, and assisting the progress of our departments, when embarrassed by all the difficulties attending a deficiency of conveyance for an incessantly successive equipment, during the advance of the army, and the military work and energy displayed by him in superintending the operations of an

arduous siege, where he was ever present, stimulating the exertions of others, or assisting their judgment and labour with his own, claim from me to be stated to your lordship in the most forcible terms. It is my earnest wish that my sentiments on this subject may be publicly recorded, and it is my firm opinion, that if the success of this army has been of importance to the British interest, that success is to be attributed in a very considerable degree to *Honr col Close*.

The right honourable the Governor-general in council directs the commander in chief of the allied army in the field, to assure the officers on the general staff of the army, those composing the confidential staff of the commander in chief, and those whose zeal, ability, and exertion have been distinguished in aid of the departments to which they were not officially attached, that his lordship entertains the highest sense of their several eminent services during the late glorious campaign in Mysore.—The conduct of the adjutant-general, Lieutenant-colonel Close, has amply justified the implicit confidence reposed by the Governor-general in council, in his extensive knowledge, approved experience, superior talents, ardent zeal, and indefatigable activity. The uniform zeal, perseverance, and fortitude, with which Lieutenant-colonel Close has exerted all these great qualities in every trial of difficulty and danger, entitle him to the praise, respect, and esteem of the Governor-general in council. His lordship feels himself bound by every obligation of justice and public duty to recommend the extraordinary merits of Lieutenant-colonel Close to the particular attention of the honourable the board of

of discharges, and to the applause and gratitude of his country.

G. O. By Government

Fort St. George, Dec. 25, 1800.

The high sense entertained by the most noble the Governor-general in counsel of the meritorious services and eminent abilities of lieutenant-colonel Cloke, having been repeatedly published to the army, the Governor in council considers it not to be necessary for his lordship to add any observations to the following extract of a letter from the honourable court of directors, expressing their approbation of that officer's conduct—

Extract, Par. 203 "From the great estimation in which we held the character and abilities of your late adjutant-general colonel Cloke, even previous to the knowledge of the distinguished services rendered by him in the late war against Tippoo Sultan, we should have felt no hesitation in yielding to his request, had he continued to occupy that situation, that his allowances should maintain their equality with those of the quartermaster-general, but we have the satisfaction to observe by your late despatches, that lieutenant-colonel Cloke, on account of his eminent talents and integrity, added to his extraordinary skill in the common languages, and to his experience in the customs, manners, and habits of the natives of India, had been selected by lord Mornington, now marquis Wellesley, for the important charge of resident with the rajah of Mysore, an appointment which has met our entire approbation, and as both the governor general and commander in chief have borne most honourable testimony to the ability, zeal, and energy, displayed by colonel Cloke, during the late Mysore campaign,

thereby manifesting extensive knowledge, approved experience, superior talents, ardent valour, and indefatigable activity, we have resolved to present that officer with a sword, to be made in England, of the value of three hundred guineas, in testimony of the high sense which we entertain of his services upon that memorable occasion."

Extract of a Letter from Fort St. George, dated October 1801

"Notice having been given to the troops in garrison to be under arms for the purpose of observing the ceremony of presenting the sword voted by the court of directors to colonel Barry Cloke for his eminent services in the Mysore, and particularly at the siege of Srirangapatam. The right hon. the Governor, attended by colonel Cloke, and the gentlemen of his lordship's suite, together with his excellency lieutenant-general Stewart, commander in chief, and his suite, attended the ceremony, when his lordship taking his stand near the statue of marquis Cornwallis on the general parade, presented the sword to colonel Cloke, with a short and appropriate address. His majesty's Scotch brigade and the two Madras battalions were drawn up in the form of a square, and, immediately on the sword being presented, fired three volleys. This interesting ceremony was attended by almost every gentleman in the civil and military service at the presidency, and the sentiments expressed on the occasion were flattering."

G. O. By Government

Fort St. George, 25th Oct. 1801.

His excellency the most noble the Governor general having been pleased to appoint lieutenant-colonel Barry Cloke to the office of resident

sident at Poonah, the right honourable the Governor in council has accordingly permitted lieutenant-colonel Clive to be absent from the establishment of Fort St. George, for the purpose of exercising the duties of that distinguished station.

BOMBAY

Occurrences for November

Extract of a Letter from Lieut. John Hayes, Commander of the Swift, to the Superintendent of Marine.

Dated Ternate, 5th July 1802.

"The copies of letters from the resident at Amboyna will shew the nature of my late employment, immediately after the receipt of that dated 1st April, I weighed with the fleet and proceeded to the island of Ternate. The letter of the 17th June alludes to the previous transactions of the Squadron in which I had made two close attacks on the enemy's batteries with the ships under my command.

"On the 17th May, we captured two *Paduachers* from Java, and on the 21st, the American brig *Hazard* from Batavia, all bound to Ternate with supplies, the cargo of the *Hazard* the entire property of the Dutch government, whose passes are in my possession.

"On the morning of the 21st June, the third and last attack was made on Fort Orange, in this I was most gallantly supported by the *Star*, lieutenant Scott, the ships lay stationary within pistol shot of

the batteries for more than 80 minutes, exposed to a cross and raking fire from twenty-four 12 and 18 pounders, the attack was continued and attended with the desired effect. At 11 *a m* Ternate and its dependencies surrendered, and was taken possession of by the land forces, the vessels in the roads had previously struck to the *Swift*.

"I have been fortunate in having, on this service, lost only one man killed and nine wounded, the latter all recovering, but the ship's hull, masts, rigging and sails have been very severely handled. I shall send you a regular detail of our proceedings hereafter.

"The marine lieutenants, Scott, Deane, Rawling, Ross and Henderson, have particularly distinguished themselves. I beg leave to introduce to your notice Mr. Daniel Ower, master, Mr. John Burgh, 3d lieutenant of the *Swift*, and captain Richard Hughes, the Hon. C's surveyor of the Moluccas, as men of undaunted courage and superior abilities. Mr. Egan commanding the honourable Company's brig *Rapier*, is also entitled to the highest commendation: the seamen I brought from the presidency fought with me to the ranks against Tolooka on the 11th February, and behaved equally well ever since."

(Signed) P DUNDAS,
Superintendent.

The Dutch flag was struck and the British colours displayed on the 21st of June, under a royal salute.

BENGAL Occurrences for DECEMBER 1801

Particulars respecting the Passage of the Ship Countess of Sutherland, to the Cape of Good Hope

"On the 12th April, the pilot quitted us, and we proceeded on our voyage in company with the *Walsingham* and *Earl Spencer* Indiamen, the *Countess* proving to be a remarkable swift sailer, and the Indianen dull ones captain Eggleston, under the idea we would make a quick passage, parted company with them on the 20th April, on the 22d we began to experience dark cloudy weather, with squalls, rain, lightning and thunder, which continued until the 14th June, when it blew violent hurricanes. The 16th, the sea broke over us to that degree, we were under the necessity of pumping ship every two hours, on the 17th there was such a violent gale, that it sprung the mainmast 3 feet below the upper deck, carried away all the fore and main rigging, split our sails to pieces, and compelled us to cut away the main top-sail yards and bear away before the wind, the tremendous seas shipped were such, that the water on the gun deck, steerage, and great cabin, was from 2 to 3 feet in depth, and every person on board employed pumping, to prevent her sinking, in this situation, until the 22d, we were experiencing these violent gales with sharp vivid lightning, sleet, snow, and rain, carrying away all our yards and every sail that could be set, when the storm for a day or two moderated, from the quantity of birds seen, the captain and officers were of opinion that we were then on the banks of Languis, and within a day's sail of

Table Bay. On the 25th the gales recommenced as violent as before, which drove us so far to the westward of the Cape, that on the 3d of July we discovered land on the Natal coast, about the place where the *Groener* was lost, on the 7th hove to under bare poles, and shipping some heavy seas, on the 8th the ship labouring and shipping so much water, we were in momentary expectation of her sinking, and dreadful to relate, between 11 and 12 at night, when to dark that not an object on deck could be discovered at an arm's length, experiencing strong gales and a high sea, the mizen mast was carried away clean with the poop-deck, between 12 and 1 the main mast went clean with the quarter deck, and before 2 in the morning the fore-mast about 14 feet above the fore-castle-deck, and to add to our distress and confusion, the captain, in the early part of the night, received a blow in his side by one of the spars that got loose, he was carried motionless to his cot, and confined for 5 or 6 days, the vessel was a complete log on the water, left to the syrang and lascars to clear the wreck, the passengers, fearful of broken limbs, or being dashed to pieces by the chests, &c rolling from one side to the other, by the motion of the ship, fastened themselves in their cots, and in that situation were tossed to and fro at the mercy of the winds and waves until the 13th, when it again moderated, on which the following day we got up jury masts the gale then recommenced as violent as ever, and shipping such heavy seas, we hove to, and set the pumps to

went to prevent her sinking, the 15th at night the ship rolled to that degree, that every water cask was shove except four, and fortunately at day light we came in sight of the African coast, about De Lagoa Bay, distant from the Cape about 600 miles, on the 15th we anchored in St. Francis's bay, adjoining to the bay aforementioned, where we remained watering and repairing the ship until the 18th August, and then proceeded to the Cape."

Extract from the Proceedings of the Marine Board, on the 26th of December 1801.

The following charge having been preferred against Mr. Thomas Percell, master in the pilot service, a committee of inquiry was ordered to investigate into his conduct, viz.

"For the loss of the ship *Dundas*, on the 11th of November, whilst in his charge."

The committee of inquiry having heard Mr. Thomas Percell, master, guilty of the above charge, the honourable the vice president in council has thought proper to direct, that Mr. Thomas Percell be dismissed from his station of master in the pilot service of the honourable the East India Company, and he is hereby accordingly dismissed.

MADRAS

Occurrences for December

Narrative of the Loss of the Brig Dundas, Captain James Newbigging, in the Red Sea.

"The *Dundas* sailed from Judda harbour on the 16th September, in company with six other transports, under convoy of his majesty's ship *Wilhelmina*, with instructions that in case of parting company with the fleet, to rendezvous at Torr. The weather continued tolerably mode-

rate until the 19th, when it commenced blowing exceedingly hard from the northward, with a very heavy swell, which induced the captain of the *Wilhelmina* to make the signal to the convoy to make the best of their way without attending to the prescribed order of sailing, which indeed was found impracticable from the severity of the weather, which scattered the convoy very much. The *Dundas* was under the necessity of carrying a press of sail to keep up with the fleet, and blowing exceedingly hard, and a heavy sea running, she split several of her sails, and was otherwise damaged, in repairing of which, and shifting her sails, they twice lost sight of the fleet. On the 2d of October, at 6 p. m. they were once more in sight to the westward, courses down to windward. The wind proving favourable for the tack, the *Dundas* then continued to stand on, in hopes, by taking advantage of the shifts of wind, to be enabled to join the convoy next day. Between nine and ten p. m. there was an alarm given of breakers on the lee bow, at in such an intricate navigation all hands were constantly kept in readiness, orders were given for tacking, and the helm put down, but owing to a violent light wind, and a heavy confused sea, caused by the late blowing weather, she would not stay, all the sails were then immediately thrown aback, and from the heavy swell, and a strong current, hopes were entertained that she might have drifted clear of the shoal, but unfortunately a spit running out to a considerable distance, she was brought up upon it. Nothing could now be more dreadful than their situation, uncertain of the nature or extent of the shoal or their distance from the land, a heavy sea running, with

with the surf breaking over the vessel, and every moment expecting she might go to pieces, produced a scene of horror sadder to be conceived than described; fortunately, however, the vessel took a heel towards the windward, otherwise every soul must have been washed overboard from the violence of the surf beating over her. The wish for dawn at last broke on them, but instead of alleviating, rather added to their distress, they found the vessel had run upon the weather side of a coral bank extending about N W by W. and S. E. by E. eight or ten miles, forming a kind of half moon or horse-shoe, the high land of Africa in sight bearing S W distant about nine or ten leagues, the vessel wholly lost, being bulged and full of water, their only hope of safety now depended on the preservation of the boat, it was found impracticable to get her overboard to windward, for the heavy sea that was running would inevitably have dashed her in pieces, and a difficulty almost as unformountable appeared in getting her over to leeward, or how they were to get her across the rocks into deep water to leeward of the shoal.

"In this choice of difficulties, the latter was preferred, and, after much labour and fatigue, it was effected, but not without the boat receiving considerable damage, having a part of her bow stove in, fortunately they at last succeeded in dragging her over the rocks, when they constructed a small cattamaran, and had a rope run out to communicate with the rocks, every one then was busily employed in making such repairs to the boat as circumstances would admit, by nailing pieces of pipe staves up her sides and gunwale, and in fixing a half breadth of canvas all round to break

off the heavy sea, putting on board water, biscuit, and other provisions they could procure; and as soon as the commanders, officers and crew, embarked in this uneasy conveyance to endeavour to reach Judda, preferring the risk of crossing the sea in a small open boat, rather than landing on the coast of Africa then in sight, from the danger to be apprehended from the barbarous natives, fortunately they experienced very moderate weather, and on the 6th of October at sun-set, they saw two coral rocks with some boats at anchor to leeward of them, they immediately rounded the rocks and worked up to the boats, several of whom they found had come from Judda, they hoisted a rope to the boat, and behaved exceedingly friendly to the *Dandak*'s people, unsolicited, offering them water, fish and rice, these boats were employed picking up what they could get from the wreck of the *Lance*, that had been lost some time before on these rocks.

"The crew of the *Dandak* kept by these boats all night, not deeming it prudent to go in the dark amongst these dangerous shoals, they made sail at day-light in the morning, and at sun-set arrived in Judda harbour, where they made fast to a shore until the morning, when they all landed safe at Judda."

Two pieces of plate, value 800 pagodas, have been presented to capt Charles Armstrong, by the cadet company under his command, accompanied with the following address

SIR,

The cadet company wishing to embrace every opportunity of expressing their thankfulness for the indefatigable zeal manifested by you for the promotion of their future interest

to rest and swiftness, as well as for their immediate comforts, beg leave to present you with the accompanying pieces of plate, as the tribute of gratitude and esteem, so justly due to an officer, whose superior merit, and generous disposition, render him dear to every individual.

Chingleput, Sept. 1801.

To which they received the following answer

To the Company of Gentlemen Cadets

GENTLEMEN,

I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your note (adorned with a beautiful emblematical

painting) and the very handsome testimony of esteem which accompanies it.

So flattering a mark of the friendship of gentlemen, whose conduct has ever claimed my highest approbation, and whom I am persuaded will not only become ornaments to society, but the able defenders of their country, cannot fail of being most pleasing and satisfactory to me, and shall ever be acknowledged with sentiments of esteem, by

Gentlemen, &c

CHAS ARMSTRONG

Chingleput, Dec. 23, 1801

BENGAL Occurrences for JANUARY 1802

Fort William, 15th Jan 1802

The following Extract of a Letter received last night from Thomas Surridge, Esq Capt of his Majesty's Ship *Leopard*, inclosing a Copy of a Letter from Charles Adam, Esq Capt. of his Majesty's Ship *La Sybelle*, is published by Order of the Hon. the Vice President in Council.

"I have great pleasure in forwarding you a copy of captain Adam's letter to me, announcing the capture of *La Hirondelle* French privateer."

H M. Ship La Sybelle, off Negrais, Jan 2, 1802

SIR,

I have the pleasure of informing you, that at five a m on the morning of the 31st ult standing to the eastward in the lat of Drowned Island, in company with the *Morganston* and *Alert*, who had fallen in with me the preceding day, we discovered a strange ship standing athwart us on the opposite tack, we stood on till she was a-beam of

us, tacked within gun shot of her, and after a chase of three and a half hours, exchanging our chase guns the whole time, she struck her colours, and proved to be *L Hirondelle* French privateer, commanded by Monsieur Le Mame, pierced for 18 guns, but mounting only 14, consisting of two brass 12 pounders, ten 6 pounders, and two 12-pounders carronades, the remainder being in the hold, she is quite new, and in every respect a very fine vessel. Her complement consisted originally of 130 men, but there were only 95 on board at the time of her capture, the rest being detached to the Isle of France in the prizes she has made as per margin*, she left the Mauritius on the 11th of September, touched at the Seychelles on the 16th, where she took on board several of the people who formed part of the crews of *La Chiffonne* and *La Klebe*, was chased by the *Fox* to the eastward of the

* *Clarific, Saphy, Apelle, (Bellefleur) Juno*

the Nicobars, on the 7th December, since which she has been to Mergui for water and refreshments, and had only left that place two days when we fell in with her.

Captain Le Menue informs me he had taken his station off Negrais, with a view of intercepting the Portuguese ships from China.

Captain Frost very judiciously kept the *Mornington* to leeward during the chase, to cut her off had she attempted to escape that way, and the *Alert* was kept close to the wind with a similar view if the privateer had put about.

Nearly at the conclusion of the pursuit, she exchanged her fire with the *Mornington*, but I am happy to say, neither her nor *La Sybille*, have received any damage from her shot. Her own fore and main masts are, however, much wounded, and her mizen top-gallant-mast, top-sail sheets, &c. were shot away.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CHAS ADAM

To Thomas Surridge Esq &c.

MADRAS

Occurrences for January

Capture of Tirnakull

The following Letter from Major General Campbell, commanding the Forces at the Coast District, is published by Authority of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council.

To John Chamier Esq Chief Sec. to Government, Fort St. George.

SIR,

I have great satisfaction in reporting for the information of the right hon. the Governor in council, the following particulars relative to the operations against Tirnakull, which have happily terminated in the fall of the fort, and chastisement of its rebel defenders.

Immediately after the affair of

the 20th instant, I detached major Strachan, captain Noble, and Mr. deputy commissary Best, to Gooty, to prepare such heavy guns as the place afforded. On a minute inspection, only one iron twelve, one iron, and one brass nine-pounder, were found fit for our purpose. By the strenuous exertions of the garrison, these guns were brought down from the rock and two hundred and fifty rounds of ammunition for each, with carriages, and the articles necessary to keep them in order, were got ready, and with this supply the major and party arrived in camp on the 26th. Fascines and gabions had been made here, and in the night of the 29th a battery for six guns against the N W curtain of the lower fort, was constructed by captain Crofdill of artillery, and another for three guns against the East face of the fort and citadel, by lieutenant Fitchet of his majesty's 73d regiment, the guns were also got into them, and at a quarter past six o'clock yesterday morning, both opened with the best possible effect. In the course of the day, the fire of lieutenant Fitchet's battery effected a practicable breach in the lower wall, and at the same time opened the face of the citadel, while that from captain Crofdill's made a breach in the curtain sufficiently wide for a company to enter a-breast. These desirable objects being attained, the line turned out at half past three in the afternoon, and the storming parties were formed in the following order.

That for the N W breach under lieutenant-colonel Davis, seconded by major Strachan, consisted of the flank and two battalion companies of his majesty's 73d regiment, one company 2d battalion 4th regiment, and four companies of the 1st bat-

lison

into a 2nd regiment native infantry, assisted by fifty volunteer dismounted dragoons, of his majesty's 25th regiment.

That for the eastern breach under captain Robert Munro, consisted of three battalion companies of his majesty's 73d regiment, the flank companies of the 2d battalion 4th regiment, and two companies of the 2d battalion 14th regiment native infantry.

At a quarter before four o'clock, the troops were ordered to advance, and in half an hour were completely masters of the place, the rebels having quitted the works, and retreated to their well-built houses, where they for some time individually defended themselves; most of them were however killed, and of those who fled, but very few if any escaped the cavalry who surrounded the fort. To the honor of the troops, I must beg leave to add, that every woman and child was humanely spared, only two of the former and one of the latter having fallen even from accidental shot.

The wound formerly received by lieutenant-colonel Moncypenny, deprived me of his valuable services on the present occasion, but his place was most ably filled by lieutenant-colonel Davis, and though it is difficult to discriminate where all have behaved in a manner so honorable to themselves, with such perfect unanimity, and so much to my entire satisfaction, I yet feel it my duty to point out to his lordship's notice, lieutenant-colonel Moncypenny, lieutenant-colonel Davis, major Strachan, captain Robert Munro, captain Croftall, captain Noble, and lieutenant Fitcher, as officers whose zeal and ability have shone conspicuous throughout, and to whose exertions I am particularly indebted.

Much praise is due to my aid

de-camp, captain Read, whose zeal and activity, during our various operations against the place, was unremitting. Nor can I pass over in silence, the meritorious conduct of lieutenant Maclean, of his majesty's 25th light dragoons, who, on the several attacks of the 14th, 20th, and 30th instant, stepped voluntarily forward to accompany major Strachan.

The conduct of Mr deputy commissary Best, has also been much to my satisfaction. It gives me the most heartfelt pleasure to add, that not a life has been lost on this occasion, and that the accompanying return of wounded will be found to contain but very few. The officers, and most of the men formerly wounded, are doing well.

A minute examination of the fort, and the knowledge since obtained, enables me to add, that the attack, made by major Strachan, on the 14th instant, was by no means more spirited than judicious, for determined resistance must, long ere that, have been the fixed attention of the rebels, as it is now ascertained, that the several gates were previously built up, and in the most permanent manner, a circumstance, which, from the information received, the major had no reason to expect.

The portal or killedar of Tirnakull, has been hanged, but the women, children, and such of the wounded rebels as were collected after the assault of yesterday, have been permitted to depart.

It is my intention to destroy the whole of the fort, and I feel confident that this example will effectually restore the tranquillity of the Adoni province.

I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) DUG CAMPBELL,
Major Gen.

Camp at Tirnakull

To the EDITOR of the ASIATIC
ANNUAL REGISTER.

La Sybille, 12th Jan 1802

SIR,

Inclosed I forward you a translation of a letter I have received from captain Le Meme, late commander of *L Hirondelle*, together with a copy of the paper alluded to in his postscript, and have to request you will give it a place in your work, for the information of the public, as well as in justification of captain Le Meme's conduct

I am, Sir, &c

CHAS ADAM.

To CHARLES ADAM, Esq &c

Jan 7. 1802.

SIR,

It is painful to me, being your prisoner, to be under the necessity of making known the conduct I have pursued towards those of your nation, whom I have made prisoners. But the victim of an unexampled calumny, it is my duty to undeceive a public too apt to judge without a competent knowledge, and it is in exposing the falsity of the declaration made by captain James, in his letter of the 29th October 1801, that I am hopeful to have that justice done me which I merit. If, however, I thought that this slander would only operate upon the minds of those of a similar disposition to my calumniator, silence and disdain would be the only arms I should employ to defend myself, but too well persuaded that many others will be prejudiced against me, it is to them that I wish to make known the truth. I took the *Clarissa* on the 11th October, at 1 p. m. Capt James came on board without his effects; I sent him back to get them, with particular orders to my officer to let him take every thing that be-

longed to him. At five o'clock in the evening I dispatched a prize to the Ile of France, and at night I even dislodged my officers to give beds to all the Englishmen that were on board of me, the next morning I gave orders to captain James, as well as to the others, to put in a single chest the clothes and effects they would have occasion for during their stay with me, their other trunks, which were put in the hold, I made them seal, and, whenever they had occasion for them, they were never opened without their having first examined them.

My officers being numerous, and having but little wine, I reduced their consumption, not to refuse him the large quantity that he drank, and though we had been limited to a bottle of water a day, I permitted him to drink as much as he pleased. I even carried my complaisance farther, for, to the prejudice of my ship's company, and notwithstanding the orders of general Mengallon, I acceded to his earnest desire in putting him ashore on the coast of Coromandel, after such conduct it is easy for you to judge, sir, if I had any reason to expect a similar return to that which he has made me

I have made since the commencement of the war many prisoners, and I can defy any one to prove, that I have not always behaved to them in as humane and civil a manner as it was possible, the kindness and civility that I experienced from Mr Duncan has secured him my highest esteem, but it has not increased the pleasure I received in doing good

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) LE MEME

P. S. I have likewise the honor to inclose you a paper, which will prove

prove to you in part the truth of
what I have advanced
(A true translation)

CHAS ADAM

L'Hirondelle, French Privateer,

Oct. 25, 1801

We the undersigned do hereby
certify, that during our captivity
on board the *L'Hirondelle*, we
have experienced every civility
from the commander and officers,
and such comforts as the vessel af-
forded, for which we are particu-
larly indebted to captain FRANCIS
L. MEME, and his brother Mr. Hen-
ry L. MEME:

(Signed) J WALKINGHAM,
Com. of the bellisarius
C H WOLFF,
Supercargo.

M DUNN,
Conductor of Ordnance.

BOMBAY

Occurrences for January

On the 20th instant, Edward At-
kins and James Douglas Pichard-
son, esqrs were sworn in before the
honourable the governor, the for-
mer as mayor, and the latter as
sheriff of this presidency, for the
ensuing year

Bombay, Jan. 9.

On Thursday last the fourth ses-
sion of oyer and terminer commen-
ced before Sir William Syer, knight,
recorder, and his associates, Edward
Atkins, esq mayor, and Messrs.
Lechemere, Gray, and Haddow,
aldermen

John Turnbull was tried on a
charge of murder, and acquitted

Anthony Baptista alias John Fryer,
was tried for larceny, and found
guilty of stealing to the value of
thirty-nine shillings.—Adjourned.

Shocking Murders.

A letter from Surat, dated the
11th inst mentions two shocking
murders committed there a few days
before, on two young Parsee girls,
the eldest about nine or ten years of
age, by two or three women and a boy
of their own cast, who were tempt-
ed to the perpetration of the crime,
by the lure of the joys which the
unfortunate children wore, amount-
ing, it is said, to about two thou-
sand rupees. One of the deceased,
the eldest, was decoyed by these
wretches into a compound, and
there pushed into a well, where she
was kept for several hours, about
six o'clock in the evening the body
was aken out and plundered. The
youngest was drowned in a tank,
and afterwards stripped of the joys
which she had about her person.
To prevent a discovery it was the
intention of the murderers to cut
up and salt the bodies in small
pieces, and to bury them in dif-
ferent parts of the compound, but
on the girl's being missed a hue
and cry was sent round by the re-
lations, and Mr Crowe a people dis-
patched in search. They passed
the house and compound where the
horrid scene had taken place, and
the murderers, being alarmed and
apprehensive of the bodies being
found on the premises, carried them
out into the street, where they were
found by the constables on their re-
turn, and the guilt of the perpetra-
tors fully established by the prop-
erty found in their houses and the
well and tank

To the Honourable JONATHAN
DUNCAN, President and Gover-
nor in Council

HONOURABLE SIR,

I have the honour to inform you,
that the *Harrist* armed boat, be-
longing to this station, commanded
by

by William Worthey, gunner of artillery, fell in with three pirate boats, belonging to the port of Rajapoor, in the Cooley country, who engaged her from 8 o'clock at night of the 16th inst till four the next morning, and after ineffectually boarding the *Harriet* three different times, with matchlocks, pikes, and swords. The gunner and part of the crew boarded in return, and captured one boat, armed with eight matchlocks, 15 swords, several pikes, and one iron gun — The two others observing the situation of their companion, set sail and escaped. Only one sepoy is

wounded by a ball in the thigh, in our partamar. On board the *Harriet* four men were killed, seven dangerously, and two slightly wounded. The number who jumped into the water, and were drowned, cannot be ascertained. The wounded men I have sent to the hospital at Tanmah, the remainder, four in number, are confined in this fort. I request to be favoured with your orders respecting the boat and prisoners.

I have the honour to be, &c

WILLIAM SIMPSON,
Verisavah. Collector of Saltetta.

BENGAL OCCURRENCES for FEBRUARY 1802

Loss of the Brig Succets, Captain Creighton

The brig *Succets*, captain Creighton, bound from Bengal to Penang and Malacca, was lost on Thursday the 4th inst when the pilot was endeavouring to take her over the James and Mary land.

The vessel took the ground, or as it was supposed by some that she struck the wreck of a *Paria*, and instantly fell on her broad side, leaving the people no alternative but that of endeavouring to save their lives, as any attempts of saving the vessel were found impracticable, and before the tide had completely ebbed, her hull was entirely under water.

We are, however, happy to add, that no lives were lost on this occasion.

A *Pariah* sloop has since been wrecked near the same place, and, with her cargo, entirely lost.

Isbuman Murder

A most shocking murder was

committed at Pulo Penang, on the 11th instant, in the following manner.

A Malay woman, her husband, and three other Malays, laid a plan to plunder the house of the late Peter Robertson, where there was only his daughter, a fine girl of ten years old, her mother, and a servant girl — to effect their wicked purposes, they made intoxicating cakes and gave them to the people of the house to eat, after which they most inhumanly strangled the little girl, cut the throat of the mother, and stabbed the servant girl, the assassins then carried off the effects. They afterwards returned and set the house on fire, on the alarm of fire being given, several persons ran to the house, to see if the people in it were asleep, and to give them assistance, but as no answer was given from within, concluded they were not at home; after the house was burnt down, the three bodies were found, which

BENGAL OCCURRENCES FOR FEBRUARY 1802

honourable the acting visitor addressed the students to the following effect

GENTLEMAN,

The public service having demanded the presence of the most noble the patron and founder of the college of Fort William, in a distant quarter of the British empire in India, he has been pleased to render it my duty to witness this first distribution of the prizes and honorary rewards, which have been adjudged under the statutes of the institution

The satisfaction which I have derived from the discharge of this honourable duty, has been greatly heightened by the additional proof of the beneficial effects resulting from this institution, afforded by the public exercises of this day

Those who are yet but imperfectly acquainted with the nature and objects of this institution, will learn with equal surprise and satisfaction, that students recently arrived in India, have this day ably maintained a public disputation in the Oriental languages

The establishment of the college of Fort William has already excited a general attention to Oriental languages, literature, and knowledge, which promises to be productive of the most salutary effects in the administration of every branch of the affairs of the honourable Company in India

The numerous and important benefits to be derived from this institution, cannot however be justly estimated from the experience of the short period of one year which has elapsed since it commenced its operation. But if succeeding years shall exhibit advantages proportionate to those which have been already manifested, this institution will realize the most sanguine ex-

pectations which have been entertained of its success

I am happy to avail myself of this occasion to express my satisfaction at the uniform zeal and attention which have been manifested by all the officers and professors of the college in the discharge of their public duties. I also experience great pleasure in expressing my thanks to those gentlemen who have conducted the public examinations, and who, by affording the aid of their talents and knowledge, have rendered an essential service to the institution

Of the students now entering on their course of public service, as well as of those who continue attached to the college, I am happy to observe, there are many who have not only distinguished themselves by their proficiency in the Oriental languages and literature, but whose uniform observance of the statutes and rules of the institution, and whose general correctness of conduct, have afforded an honourable and useful example to their fellow students. I am persuaded that those deserving characters will reflect further credit on the institution, and that they will continue to exert their endeavours for the attainment of a higher degree of perfection in the different branches of knowledge of which they have so happily laid the foundations

I entertain a confident hope, that all the students who remain attached to the college, will emulate the laudable example furnished by the meritorious characters whom I have described. The institution now affords to those students the means of qualifying themselves for the important offices which they are destined to exercise under the British government in India. By *Allegre*

by availing themselves of those means, they will proportionally advance their personal interests and reputation, and they will also enjoy the grateful and animating prospect of becoming eminently useful to their country, by rendering it essential assistance in realizing the important advantages to be derived from the extensive and valuable dominions which it has acquired in India, and by aiding it in fulfilling the high moral obligation attendant on the possession of its Indian empire, on the discharge of which the prosperity and permanency of that empire equally depend

In the evening, a dinner was given by the honourable the acting visitor, at the college, at which were present the honourable the chief justice, and the judges of the supreme court of judicature, the members of the Supreme council, and all the principal civil and military officers at the Presidency

The following Reports are published by Order of the Council of the College

SECOND EXAMINATION OF 1804

Perſian Language

FIRST CLASS

J. H. Lovett, 1st prize.

R. Jenkins, 2d prize

C. Lloyd, 3d prize

G. D. Guthrie, J. Wauhope
J. W. Lang, H. Hodgson,
T. Hamilton, W. P. Potts,
W. B. Bayley, D. Campbell,
A. Ross, E. Wood.

Hindustanee Language.

FIRST CLASS

W. B. Bayley, 1st prize

J. H. Lovett, 2d prize

C. Lloyd, 3d prize

R. Jenkins, W. Chaplin,
H. Hodgson, J. Hamilton,
H. Dumbarton, R. T. Goodwin,
W. P. Potts,

Arabic Language

FIRST CLASS

J. H. Lovett, prize.

C. I. Lloyd, G. D. Guthrie
A. Ross, J. W. Lang,
D. Campbell, R. Thackeray

Bengalee Language

FIRST CLASS

W. B. Bayley, 1st prize.

W. B. Martin, 2d prize.

H. Hodgson, G. Hartwell,
C. Lloyd, W. Scott,
M. Law,

Writing in the Persian Character

FIRST CLASS

H. Dumbarton, prize.

J. H. Lovett, R. T. Goodwin,
C. Lloyd, J. Romer,
R. Thackeray, R. C. Ross,
T. Newnham, H. Hodgson,
E. Wood,

Writing in the Nagree Character

FIRST CLASS

W. Martin, prize.

J. Hunter, H. Shaw
J. H. Lovett, R. Jenkins,
R. S. Goodwin, A. H. Kello,
C. Lloyd, H. Hodgson,
H. Dumbarton,

Writing in the Bengalee Character

FIRST CLASS

H. Hodgson, prize.

W. B. Martin, M. Law,
W. P. Bayley, W. Scott,
C. I. Lloyd, G. Hartwell

English Essays

SECOND TERM OF 1801

"On the advantages to be expected from an academical institution in India, considered in a moral, literary, and political point of view"

FIRST CLASS.

W. B. Martin, prize.

W. P. Elliott, W. Chaplin,
W. B. Bayley, A. Murcher,
J. W. Lang, H. Dumbarton,
T. C. Metcalfe, W. P. Potts,
T. Hamilton, D. Campbell,
C. Lloyd, J. Metcalfe,
T. Newnham, A. B. Todd,
E. Wood,

THIRD TERM.

"On the best means of acquiring

ing a knowledge of the manners and customs of the natives of India'

FIRST CLASS.

T Hamilton, prize.

W B. Martin,	A H. Kello,
T C Metcalic,	J J Sparrow,
E. Wood,	M. Agur,
S. Bourdlet,	T Perry,
W Chaplin,	P W Fecbell,
W P Potes,	R. C. Reis,
H. Dumbleton,	J Rosier
R. Jenkins,	

FOURTH TERM

" On the character and capacity of the Asiatics and particularly of the natives of Hindustan

FIRST CLASS.

E. Wood, prize.

W B. Martin,	J Sprott,
T Newnham,	H Dumbleton,
J J Sparrow,	A. H Kello

Names and Proficiency of Students who arrived in India within or previous to the year 1793, and who are now taking the College, to enter the Public Service

C Lloyd,—in first class of Arabic Persian, Hindustanee, and Bengalee languages.

H. Hodgson,—first class, Persian Hindustanee and Bengalee, and first in Bengalee writing

W P Potes,—first class Persian and Hindustanee and second class Arabic.

G D Guthrie,—first class Arabic and Persian.

A. Reis,—first class Arabic and Persian.

J W Laing,—first class Arabic and Persian.

D Campbell,—first class Arabic and Persian.

G. Hartwell,—first class Bengalee, and second class, Persian and Hindustanee.

W Scott,—first class Bengalee; and second class Hindustanee

R. Thackeray,—first class Arabic, and third class, Persian.

M. Law,—first class Bengalee.

W. J. Sands,—second class Persian and Hindustanee.

J Wemyss,—second class Persian and Hindustanee.

F Morgan,—second class Persian and Hindustanee.

R. O Wythe,—second class Persian.

R. Vaidyarat,—second class Persian.

J W Orm,—second class Hindustanee

Extract from the Proceedings of a Council of the College, held the 9th February 1802

Ordered, That the three first essays of each term be printed in one volume, and that the Theses pronounced at the public disputations in the Oriental languages, be printed in their respective languages

Ordered, That the thanks of the council of the college be communicated to John Herbert Harrington, esq captain David Richardson, William Hunter, esq and William Coates Blaquiére, esq for the very able and satisfactory manner in which they conducted the late public examinations in the college of Fort William

Ordered, That the thanks of the council of the college be communicated to captain John Malcolm, for the valuable collection of Persian manuscripts presented by him to the college of Fort William

Ordered, That the thanks of the council of the college be communicated to David Burger, esq for the valuable collection of books in Oriental literature, presented by him to the college of Fort William

Ordered, That the thanks of the council of the college be communicated to Francis Gladwin, esq for the valuable fonts of types in the Oriental characters, presented by him to the college of Fort William.

Published by order of the council of the college,

(Signed) C ROTHMAN,
Secretary.

GOVERNMENT LOAN

Fort William, Feb 18, 1802.

It The public are hereby informed, that the sub treasurer at the presidency, the resident at Luck-
+ D 2 how,

now, and the several collectors of the land revenue, have been authorised to receive, until further orders, any sums of money in even hundreds (not being less than sicca rupees one thousand) which may be tendered on loan to the honourable Company at an interest of eight per cent per annum.

2d The above mentioned officers have been authorised to receive in transfer to this loan all outstanding treasury bills of this government, accepted bills of exchange drawn on the Governor general in council, after deducting interest at the rate of nine rupees two annas per cent per annum, for the period which the bills may have to run, bills for arrears of salary, whether the same shall have been advertised for payment or not, and generally all authorised public demands.

3d The paymasters of the army are also authorised to transfer any demands which may be payable by them respectively to this loan, and to grant drafts for the amount in the usual manner on the military paymaster general, which drafts shall be received by the several officers above mentioned in payment of subscriptions on being tendered to them for that purpose.

4th The holders of the twelve per cent promissory notes of this government, issued under the terms of the advertisement of the 15th July 1801, will, on transferring these notes to the present loan, be allowed a premium of five per cent on the amount principal and interest, provided the transfer be made prior to the 30th April next, but this premium will not be allowed on the transfer of any other description of twelve per cent. notes, nor on any other subscriptions whatever.

5th. The sicca rupee of Luck-

now and Benares will be received as equal to the Calcutta sicca rupee.

6th. A receipt will be granted for each subscription, bearing interest at the rate of nine rupees two annas per cent per annum from the date of such receipt until the 1st of August next.

7th The interest which may be due on that date, on receipts granted for subscriptions to this loan, will be paid in cash at the general treasury at the presidency, and for the principal a promissory note or notes will be granted bearing date the 1st of August 1802, and be numbered and registered in the order in which the receipts may be presented at the accountant general's office.

8th The principal of the promissory notes shall be payable, either in Bengal, under the rules established for the payment of the register debt now existing, or by bills (at the option of the proprietor of the notes) to be drawn by the Governor-general in council on the honourable the court of directors at the exchange of 2s. 6d. the sicca rupee, payable twelve months after sight, and any bills which may be so granted will, if the proprietor desire it, be forwarded by the deputy accountant general in the public packets, to him, or his agent, or assign, according to the instructions which may be given for this purpose.

9th The interest of the promissory notes shall be payable half yearly, viz. on the first of February, and the first of August, from year to year, until the principal shall be discharged, and it shall be at the option of the proprietor of the notes to receive payment, either in cash at the general treasury at the presidency, or by bills to be drawn

drawn by the Governor-general in council on the honourable the court of directors, at the exchange of 2s 6d the sicca rupee, payable twelve months after sight, provided always, in the latter case, that the interest for which bills may be so required amount to the sum of 60l sterling at the least, and no bills will be granted for a smaller amount.

10th For the accommodation of persons returning to Europe, the subscribers to this loan, their executors, administrators, and assigns, shall be entitled, on application to the Governor general in council, to have their promissory notes (provided they amount to the principal sum of sicca rupees 10,000), deposited in charge of the sub treasurer for the time being, at the risk, and under the security of the Company. An acknowledgement will be granted by that officer for the promissory notes so deposited with him, and the interest accruing thereon will be remitted as it shall become due, by bills on the terms above-mentioned, which bills will be forwarded by the deputy accountant general to the proprietor, his agent or assign, according to the instructions which may be given for this purpose.

11th All applications to the Governor general in council to have promissory notes deposited in the treasury, must be accompanied by the notes to be so deposited, and directions must be written in the following terms on the face and across the lines of each note, and be attested by the signature of the proprietor, or his constituted attorney or attorney.

“ The interest accruing half yearly on this promissory note, and the principal, as it shall become payable according to the order esta-

blished for the discharge of the register debt, are to be remitted (unless it shall be hereafter directed to the contrary) by bills to be drawn on the honourable the court of directors, pursuant to the tenor of this promissory note, and the other conditions of the loan, published in the Calcutta gazette, of the ——— 1802, payable to ——— and to be forwarded to ———. but this promissory note shall not be pledged, sold or in any manner negotiated, or delivered up to any person whomsoever nor are these directions, with respect to the mode of payment of the interest or principal, to be in any manner altered, except on application to the Governor general in council, to be made by myself, my executors, or administrators, or under the authority of a special power of attorney, specifying the number, date and amount of this promissory note, to be executed by me or them, for that purpose.”

12th For the satisfaction of persons who may propose to return to Europe before the period prescribed for the final adjustment of the accounts of this loan, and who may be desirous of availing themselves of the accommodation offered them under the foregoing article, the deputy accountant general will on their part write the declaration above prescribed on the promissory notes, provided he shall receive instructions for this purpose by an indorsement to be executed on the receipt or receipts under the signature of the proprietor, or his constituted attorney or attorneys. The deputy accountant general will also make the necessary application to the Governor general in council for an order to the sub treasurer to receive the promissory notes in deposit, and will forward the acknowledgment

of that officer to the proprietor of the notes, or to his agent or assign, according to the instructions which may be furnished him for this purpose.

13th A receipt will be granted in the following form for subscriptions which may be made at any of the public treasuries

Form of Receipt

"I do hereby acknowledge, that A. B. has this day paid into the honourable Company's treasury, the sum of sicca rupees ———, which is to be accounted for to him, or order, as follows — Interest on the principal will be paid to him at the general treasury at the presidency, at and after the rate of nine rupees two annas per cent per annum from this date, to the 1st of August 1802, and for the principal, a promissory note to be dated on the 1st of August 1802, will be granted on application to the deputy accountant general, payable conformably to the conditions of the loan published in the Calcutta gazette of the ——— 1802

(Signed) "C. D.

"Sub-treasurer

"——— of ——— 1802"

14th When subscriptions may be made at any of the public treasuries by the transfer of the twelve per cent promissory notes to this government, issued under the terms of the advertisement of the 15th of July 1801, the date and number of the note or notes, and the amount of the premium, are to be specified in the receipt, and the notes are to be cancelled and forwarded to the office of the accountant-general. Should the principal and interest of the note, with the premium, amount to a fractional sum, the officer receiving the subscription will pay back the fraction to the subscriber

in order that the receipts to be granted by him may in every instance be for sums in even hundreds.

15th Promissory notes under the signature of the secretary to the government will be granted in the following form in exchange for the receipts

Fort William, 1802,

"Promissory note for Rs —

"The Governor general in council does hereby acknowledge to have received from A. B. the sum of sicca rupees ——— as a loan to the honourable the united Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and does hereby promise for and on behalf of the said united Company, to repay and discharge the said loan, by paying unto the said A. B. his executors or administrators, or his or their order, the principal sum of sicca rupees ——— aforesaid, at the presidency of Fort William, agreeable to the order in which this note may stand on the general register of notes and bonds of this presidency, payable according to priority of date and number, unless the same shall have been previously discharged by bills drawn on the honourable the court of directors, according to the conditions of the plan for a loan published in the Calcutta gazette of the ———, and by paying the interest according thereon at the rate of eight per cent per annum, by half yearly payments, viz. on the 1st of February and 1st of August following, from year to year, until the principal shall be discharged, at the option of the lender, his executors, administrators, or assigns, either in cash at the general treasury at the presidency, or by bills to be drawn by the Governor-general in council on the honourable the court of directors, at the rate of 2s 6d. the sicca rupee,

rupee, and payable twelve months after sight.

"Signed by the authority of the Governor general in council

(Signed) "E F

"Sec to the Govt Publ. Dept.

"Accountant general's office,

"Registered as No ——— of ———"

16th The accounts of this loan are not to be made up until the 1st of August next, as mentioned above, but it is hereby notified at the same time, that the loan will be closed whenever the Governor general in council may think proper to give directions for that purpose.

Published by order,

C R CROMMELIN,

Sec to Govt Pub Dept

ALLOWANCE of TONNAGE of
BAGGAGE, &c from India
Fort William, Feb. 11, 1802

The following extract from a general letter from the honourable the court of directors in the public department, dated the 26th of August 1801, is published by order of the honourable the vice president in council.

Paragraph 15. Having adverted to the immense quantity of baggage brought home by the passengers arrived in the Company's ships, and being desirous of promoting every regulation that appears to us likely to increase the importation of surplus tonnage, we have investigated this as one cause which has occasioned the reduction of that important benefit both to the Company and owners, the space occupied by the passengers baggage in one of the ships lately arrived, having amounted to the immense quantity of 63 tons; conceiving therefore some regulation necessary to be adopted, to correct as much as possible this growing evil, and to

prevent such immense quantities of baggage being imported, to the ultimate exclusion of the Company's cargo, we have come to the following resolutions, with copies of which you must furnish the commanders of all ships in the Company's service, for their information and guidance, and we direct that you adopt every other means which may appear necessary towards carrying the same into effect, viz

That gentlemen proceeding to England in the undermentioned stations, be restricted from taking with them a larger tonnage of baggage and stores, than the following, exclusive of their bedding, a table, and a sofa or two chairs, for their respective cabins, viz

	Tons
Gentlemen of council, -	3
General officers, -	5
Colonels of his majesty's or Company's service, -	4
Senior merchant, -	4
Lieutenant colonels, -	4
Junior merchants, -	3
Majors - - -	2½
Factors - - -	2½
Captains, - - -	2

That gentlemen proceeding to England in either of the above mentioned stations, who may be permitted to bring home their families with them, be restricted from taking more tonnage than one half of the preceding allowance in addition as the ladies baggage.

That married ladies proceeding to their husbands in England, be restricted from taking more than two-thirds of the tonnage prescribed for a gentleman of the same rank as their husbands.

That writers, lieutenants, ensigns, and other cabin passengers, be restricted from taking a larger quantity of baggage and stores,

than one ton each, exclusive of their bedding, a table, and sofa, or two chairs

That married ladies, proceeding to their husbands in England, of either of these last mentioned descriptions, be restricted from taking more than a similar quantity of baggage.

That such gentlemen, of either of these last mentioned descriptions, who may be permitted to bring home their wives with them, be restricted from taking more than one ton in addition to the ladies baggage.

That single ladies be restricted from taking more than the same quantity of baggage and cabin furniture.

That all excess of baggage beyond the above-mentioned quantities, on whatever ship it may be brought home, be invariably charged freight, at the charter party rate per ton, and that the said baggage be not delivered from the Company's warehouse till such freight shall have been paid into the Company's treasury.

By order of the honourable the
vice president in council,
C R CROMMELIN,
Sec. to Govt. Pub. Dept.

To the EDITOR of the ASIATIC
ANNUAL REGISTER

SIR,

Having reason to think, that the capture of the honourable Company's ship *Cornwallis*, by the French prisoners on board, then under my command, has not been fully explained in the different details which have been submitted to the public, being called an armed ship, in many of the Indian papers, you will oblige me by inserting the fol-

lowing recital of the circumstances, in your *Asiatic Annual Register*, which is compiled from the log-book of the *Cornwallis*, viz:—

"The *Cornwallis* left Bombay on the 10th of December 1801, with French prisoners of war, bound for England, under convoy of His Majesty's frigate *Braave*, captain Alexander, and after some detention upon the Malabar coast, sailed from Goa, for Amjengo, to join a fleet of Indiamen, that were then waiting for the said frigate, being appointed their convoy home. During this time, nothing material happened until the 11th January 1802, of which the following are the particulars.

"At sun set, steady breezes and clear weather, the extremes of the land from N. E. by E. to S. E. by S. distance 3 leagues, the shipping at Amjengo roads, just in sight, from the fore top gallant-mast head, bearing S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. all sail set to keep with the *Braave*, which had greatly the superiority of sailing. Having lost sight of her from the deck, some time before, but in sight from the mast head, running as I apprehend to anchor at Amjengo that night, after taking the above bearings, and the watch being relieved by Mr. Taylor the 1st officer, I went aloft myself, but could neither see the *Braave* nor the shipping, it being then the dusk of the evening, I then came down, and walking a few minutes with one of the French officers on the quarter deck, I heard a very unusual noise below, and a person calling out that a man was over-board, immediately ordered the helm to be put down, but on seeing no person in the water, the helm was again righted, by this time all the prisoners were running up at all the hatchways, but laying

hold of nobody, and making a confused noise, as if the ship was on fire below, which I took to be the case, and running down in haste to see what the matter was, I was laid hold of by six of the prisoners, at the foot of the companion ladder, getting clear of them, I forced my way to my cabin door, but found it in possession of six more, one of whom had hold of my fusée, and another of my sword, being the only arms in the *Concealment* at the time, every other having been taken out at Bombay, by order of that government, previous to our receiving on board the Frenchmen by this time the passage from behind being full of men, to prevent my going on deck, I went into my cabin, where some of them told me in good English, that all resistance was vain, asking me what could I and my two officers unarmed do against ninety six French officers and seamen, ten of that number were of the former description, and acquainting me as the *Braave* was out of sight, they had unanimously taken possession of the ship, and should carry her to the Mauritius, at this time both my officers were brought confined to my cabin, but the doctor was left at liberty, being in a bad state of health, and the lascars confined downwards, and myself and the two officers under a guard of nine of them in my cabin, they then hauled the ship W. S. W. or right off shore, putting out all lights, and shutting in all the ports we were soon joined in my cabin by the French officers in their turns, some of whom took charge of the deck, though on parole of honour, a party then came down to my cabin, demanding the signals of the *Braave*, in a peremptory manner, to which I replied that they were overboard, but to this they answered that it

was impossible, as they had watched me particularly since I went aloft to look out for the *Braave*, the signals being at this time over the cabin door, in a private place, but being apprehensive of a search for them, I got up, seized them, and tore them all to pieces, seeing them rendered useless, they left them on the cabin floor. At 8 p. m. the first and second officers were left at liberty to go on deck, but kept me and the lascars confined until 10 o'clock, none of them were allowed to come aft, nor have the least communication with us after being released. At half past 11 p. m. seeing no appearance of the *Braave*, a strong steady gale, the ship going very fast through the water, and not the least probability of recovering the ship in our present predicament, several of the officers on parole having taken their regular watches, and it being out of our power to make any night signals, I left the deck, guarded by three men, and my officers, by one each during the rest of the night, previous to my leaving the deck, the only resource I saw left was to cut the little ropes, which could only be effected on deck, and probably, ifable the ship for a short time, and which I should certainly have attempted, could I have done so. The *Braave* night signals, but not seeing them, put it out of my power, knowing how soon such an accident is put to rights, by seamen, who appeared to me then to be under little or no apprehension of seeing the *Braave* any more, at day light seeing nothing of our convoy, though very clear weather, and expecting a strict search for my papers, I took an opportunity of destroying a packet for the honourable court of directors, with other private letters I had formerly stowed away in my own quarter gallery.

they at a *signal* they took off my sentries, giving me leave to go on deck, and making the best of their way for the Mauritius.

"The above is a true statement of the capture of the *Cornwallis*, in which, I am sorry to say, I am no far concerned; but from which I hope that the public will see that an exertion of nine or that of *my* two officers, a gunner, and a carpenter, (the latter who was confined at the time to his bed, in a bad state of health), being all the Europeans belonging to the ship, with a weakly crew of native lascars, all unarmed, would be of little effect in defending or recovering the *Cornwallis* in such a predicament, and against such a superiority of officers and strength, there being ninety six of them in number, and all of them Europeans, (double our numbers,) and by orders equally at large with our own ship's company.

"I arrived at the Mauritius on the 7th of February, and after a most disagreeable passage to myself and officers; and then by mere chance, the officers who were in charge of the ship being in every respect unacquainted with their duty in consequence of which, the seamen were entirely in the command, so that there was but one continual scene of confusion during the whole passage. Previous to their arrival there, they divided all the stores in the ship of every description among them, my own cloathing, and that of my officers excepted; but such as canvas, candles, liquors, provisions, lascar cloathing, &c. &c. in short all was common plunder. This conduct I represented to the municipal officers on their coming on board, with those of those officers who had broke their parole, four of whom did not, to whom I gave certificates to that

effect, but these matters were taken no notice of whatever.

"During my stay there, they made me an allowance of 14 dollar per day, and the same for my two officers, but refused making any whatever to any other of the ship's company, or contributing any for my passage from thence. I have no reason to flatter the municipality of the island, in some instances, rather the reverse such as that of lending their interpreter, monsieur Bonne For, in a friendly manner, my commission for their perusal, he assuring me it should be returned to this I consented, relying on their honour and integrity, but soon found I was misled by the interpreter for on demanding my commission, it was denied, on the plea that the ship having no register, it was essential for her condemnation, nor could an application to his excellency general Mangalon get it returned. I must observe, at the same time, that I met with attention and politeness from several gentlemen in that island, but particularly from Sir Charles Pigot, the Imperial and Danish consul, whose hospitality and kindness I shall always revere with gratitude.

"I am sorry to add, eleven poor sickly invalids, some without limbs, others worn out in the service, sent on board by order of captain Alexander at Goa, to join the Indiamen at Antego, to proceed to Europe, were among the numbers of the prisoners, but which they humanely put into their hospital with the ship's carpenter, on their arrival there.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours, &c.

"Lt. A. M'ASKILL,

Late Commander of the *HMS Cornwallis*'s Ship.

Calcutta, May 6, 1802.

Extract of a Letter from Macao.

"Two maffy temples, the one of gold, the other of copper, were lately fent from Pekin with extraordinary ceremony, and fet up over the body of the late Lama, at Dagunhel

"Till lately people of all descriptions were permitted to approach under circumstances of peculiar indulgence, when as the extent of fublunary bleffing, they

were allowed to touch the fared coffin.

"But the priests having announced the fpeedy regeneration of the Lama, a circumstance firmly believed by all his devotees, a fmall number of holy men are only fuffered to approach the body, and the emperor and all China wait with impatience for the news of this great event

BENGAL Occurrences for MARCH 1802.

A Description of the Engagement between La Subtile and the Highland Chief, taken by Mr HARRY STOWE MAN, fourth officer

In latitude 2, 9, fouth, and longitude 93°, 30', eaft, at 10 a m Tuesday 9th February 1802

A vefel was difcovered fteering to windward, fteering S W and bearing right down upon us, we being then clofe hauled and fteering N, N E She (the enemy) being holl down, we could not afcertain her fize, but having two maffs, we fuppofed her to be a brig, the arm chest, which was in the after hold, was got up, and every preparation made for action

At 11 a. m. we could difcover her to be a fmall brig with fudding fails, flay fails, and colours flying, but fhe was at fo great a diftance, that we could not difcover whether fhe was friend or foe However captain Greenway had his fufpicions, fhe being very low in the water, and making all fail fhe could carry towards us

At half paff 11 a. m we hoifted our pendant and colours, loaded our great guns, took in our royals and itav fails

At noon we hauled up our main fail, and we could by this time difcover fhe had American colours flying, and were by this circumstance put off our guard, and all hands were going from their quarters, but captain Greenway perceiving a number of men upon her decks, gave him reafon again to fufpect that fhe was a French corvette

At half paff one p m fhe came within hail, and we accofted her thus From whence came you? answer, "From Ceylon, bound to fome port in America" We then ordered her to come under our ftern, and fend her boat on board, when fhe immediately gave us a complete broadfide, which compliment we returned, and at 11 we went warmly Moft of our people being foreigners they went below, and we then had nineteen Europeans upon deck, befides the firft officer Mr. Thompson, fecond officer Mr Lee, third officer Mr Greenway, and fourth officer Mr Harry Stowe Man, which, as foon as they perceived, they ran their brig alongfide, and after a little skirmish, boarded, we being fo faw were obliged to furrender

Our

Our colours were then down, when the officer of the boarding party perceiving our captain, went up, and shot him dead.

At two *p m* monsieur Pensaud had possession of the *Highland Chief*, after a conflict of fifteen minutes, our second officer and three seamen were wounded.

The French had 14 killed and seven wounded, three of the latter died shortly afterwards.

The *Subtile* had been out seven days, and saw not a sail. Before the commencement of the action she had 190 men on board. The *Highland Chief* had been 47 days from the Cape of Good Hope, having sailed from thence on the 23d of December.

Remarks by a Gentleman on board the American brig Roebuck

February 10, latitude 21° , 8.
longitude 93° , 37', E.

At 6 *a m*, steering about W. N. W. wind northerly, two sail were seen right a head of us, at 6 we discovered the ship *Highland Chief* and a brig, with her jib-boom gone, knowing the *Highland Chief* was bound to Aldrae, and having a passenger on board for that place, we hesitated not to close with them. When we were within pistol shot of them, and our broadside to them (our colours at the main peak), the *Highland Chief* opened her fire upon us under French colours, she continued firing for the space of five minutes, both round, grape, and small arms, the people were ordered to lay close to the deck, and luckily no man was hurt—they cut away our main-mast, and did us a good deal of damage in our sails and rigging.

An officer and a boat's crew armed, then boarded us, sent the cap-

tain and officers on board the *Highland Chief* they then began to plunder us, they broke open drawers, chests, bales, &c. &c. and took away every thing that pleased their fancy, even the table and tea spoons they could find, out of one bale they stole seventeen pieces of muslin, also a necklace and ear-rings from a black girl, passenger, in short they committed every outrage and insult.

They made us hoist out our boats, our long boat they employed shifting the guns from the *Highland Chief* into the brig, and *vice versa*, which business and shifting their men took up twenty-eight hours of our time. They sent forty six of the *Highland Chief*'s passengers, officers and crew, on board of us, against our consent, with only sixty gallons of water, four bags and one barrel of biscuit. At 2 *p m* the captain and officers obtained leave to go on board the brig, but could not obtain our log book and some of our papers.

11th At noon the first officer was sent on board the privateer to endeavour to get our log book and some more provisions and water, but the captain told him he might think himself well off with what he had got, that if the lack of water had not been in our boat, he would not have given us any: luckily, we had nine butts of water on board, which enabled us to make out very well. They were told by the chief officer of the *Highland Chief* that we were Americans, and that we left the Cape on the same day with them, that we were not armed they could plainly perceive, therefore to what we are to attribute their inhuman conduct by firing into us we are at a loss—we conjecture their wishes and hopes were to destroy the captain and officers, hoping

hoping thereby to be enabled, by making our people to swear what they pleased, to make a prize of us what leads to this conjecture is, that they drew up a paper purporting that, at the Cape of Good Hope, we were under English colours, which paper they requested Mr Cooke, surgeon on the Bengal establishment, to sign, which he declined, they then called the captain down from the poop, where he had been under a guard three hours, and allowed him and his officers to proceed on board the brig.

The privateers name is the *Sub-tile*, captain Pensud, the same man who seized and carried the *Prince* into the Mauritius—he is no doubt gone to the Pedier coast—he is a low black brig, with new sails and a white head.

MADRAS Occurrences for March

Quarter Sessions

On Thursday the 25th inst a general quarter sessions of the peace for the town of Madraspatnam was holden before the honourable sir Thomas Andrew Strange, knight, chief justice of the supreme court.

John Edwards, a private of his majesty's Scotch brigade, was convicted of the murder of David Brady, a private of the same regiment, and received sentence of *Death*. He has since been recommended to his majesty for mercy.

Five natives were convicted of felony and grand larceny, and sentenced to be transported to Prince of Wales's Island for the term of seven years.

Pencasaram, a native, was also convicted of felony and grand larceny, but being recommended to mercy by the jury, was ordered to

be publicly whipped, and to labour on the roads for twelve months.

Nuptials of the Coorga Rajah's Daughter

We have been favoured with the following extract of a letter from Seringapatam, giving an account of the late nuptials of the daughter of the late Coorga Rajah—named Tambarrattu Lachme.

The roads in every direction for several miles, were illuminated on each side, and ornamented with curious and costly devices. They commenced from the entrance of Nanour, extending to the limits of the Cutch. Three English gentlemen, captains Foulis, Marriott and Osborne, attended this splendid ceremony.

On their arrival at the palace they were saluted with one and twenty guns, and ushered into the presence, to the notes of soft music, select bands of Hindustanee girls dancing before them. For the space of seven days the rejoicings continued, each successive day varied by amusements created by the happy and inventive genius of the rajah himself, who studied with his wonted liberality the accommodation and pleasures of his guests, at the end of the seventh day the above-mentioned gentlemen took their leave, and were highly complimented by the rajah for the favour of their attendance.

On one occasion, during the festivals at the grand hunt, attended by the rajah and his company, no less than 18 elks, 14 wild buffaloes, 18 cheetahs or spotted tigers, 2 elephants, and 32 wild boars were slain. The heads of the animals were laid in triumph at the feet of the young, amiable, and blooming bride, who has scarcely attained her fifteenth year. This princely,

ests, is found, possesses very superior accomplishments, certain it is, that nature has been most kind to her, in a lovely animated countenance, and a most beautiful and delicate form.

Her husband, the Joonda Rajah, is about thirty years of age, a well informed and pleasant character.

BOMBAY

Occurrences for March

Two persons with their wives, and three children, (of the taylor cast,) had engaged a passage in one of the Bombay boats to Bancootie, where they were proceeding in order to dispose of some piece goods which it appears they had not become master of by very fair means, and which led to the discovery of their unhappy end. The persons who had been robbed of these articles, had been in search of them for some time, and at length traced part of them at Bancootie, where the goods were sold by the boatmen. These persons had previously laid the plan, and as soon as they had got out to sea, they put their execrable scheme into execution, by throwing overboard every soul of them, men, women, and children, to the number of seven, and not one is supposed to have escaped — five of the perpetrators are in custody. The tindal has confessed the whole of this diabolical transaction, and another has since followed his example.

CEYLON

Occurrences for March

Loss of His Majesty's Ship Scintille,
Capt Sauce

La Scintille, it appears, struck on

the 3d instant, at two o'clock in the morning, on a quick-sand, about twenty miles to the southward of Molodiva, on the island of Ceylon.

Capt Sauce, his officers and crew exerted every possible means in their power to get her off, until seven o'clock in the evening of the 4th, when finding the water gaining fast on the pumps, they were necessitated to quit her.

We are happy, however, to add, that the whole of the crew were landed in safety, notwithstanding there was a tremendous surf beating on the shore, and that great hopes are entertained of saving a part of her stores and provisions.

We have been favoured with *The Ceylon Government Gazette*, which has just reached this country. At a period, when, in a larger portion of the world, the Freedom of the Press is circumscribed or annihilated, it must to Englishmen prove a high gratification to observe, that the extension of the British power in foreign possessions, naturally generates that free communication of opinion, by means of the Press, which is at once both the offspring and the safeguard of British Liberty. The first Paper was published in Ceylon on the 1st of March last. A Number appears every Monday. From these we think our Readers will be gratified by the following Extracts.

Columbo, March 15, 1807.

The final cession of this settlement to his majesty has been the occasion of much joy to the native inhabitants, of which the governor lately received a strong testimony.

On the 21st ult. an entertainment was given at the house Maha Modeliar, at which many of the civil and military officers, and most of the ladies in Colombo, were present.

On his excellency's entrance, he was conducted to a chair of state, to which a deputation of the native head men, led by Maha Modeliar, approached

approached and delivered the following address

To His Excellency the Honourable
FREDERICK NORTH, Governor,
Captain General and Commander in Chief of the British Possession on the Island of Ceylon,
&c &c &c

May it please your Excellency,

We the Mahomedans of your excellency's gate and all other Moheldars and native headmen, his majesty's most loyal subjects, beg leave to approach your excellency on this joyful occasion, that peace has again been re-established, by which Ceylon, the country of our nativity, has been finally ceded to his Britannic Majesty, our most gracious sovereign lord, king George the third.

Permit us then to offer to your excellency, as the representative of our said lord the king, our sincere congratulations on this new accession to the crown of Great Britain, by which its empire in India has been so much aggrandized and secured.

Permit us also to assure your excellency, how much we rejoice in having become subjects of to good, great and benevolent a sovereign, whose paternal care and solicitude for the general welfare of the settlements in Ceylon, have already been fully manifested by his placing the government of this island in the hands of your excellency, whose constant and humane endeavours have been, to put this country into a flourishing state, and thereby to promote the happiness and welfare of the inhabitants at large; which endeavours we have already been so happy as to see crowned with success.

We humbly beg your excellency to be persuaded, that animated by your excellency's example, and by

the love for the best of kings and our country, that our utmost assiduity (as becometh loyal subjects) shall be employed in assisting to promote, as much as lies in our power, the general welfare of his majesty's dominions on the island of Ceylon, and to secure the happiness of the native inhabitants of the same.

We humbly and heartily beseech almighty God, to endue our most gracious sovereign lord king George plentifully with heavenly gifts, and to grant him health and wealth, and a long life, for him to reign over us in the like manner we pray that God, the fountain of all goodness, will prosper you with happiness, and allow us long to enjoy the fruits of your excellency's auspicious government.

To the protection and favour of your excellency, as the representative of our beloved sovereign, and as our governor, we beg leave to recommend our persons, and have the honour to be with due respect,

May it please your excellency,
his majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, and your excellency's most obedient, obsequious and humble servants

(Signed) BY ALL THE NATIVE
HEADMEN

Colombo Feb 22 1802.

To which his excellency was pleased to make the following answer

Maha Medaris, Mohandrams,
Chiefs, and Native Headmen of
the Island

I am highly gratified with your dutiful and affectionate address, and feel in common with you the most devout and lively sense of the blessing which it has pleased Divine Providence to confer on this island in giving it, by the present peace, under

under His Majesty's paternal benevolence.

I am sincerely grateful for the good will which you have expressed towards my person and government, and happy to acknowledge the assistance which your integrity, zeal, and intelligence have afforded me, in carrying into effect the measures which I have adopted to secure the happiness of the inhabitants of Ceylon, that has been and ever will be, while I am engaged with their government, the first object of my heart.

(Signed) F. NORTH

After which dancing commenced, and continued, with the interval of supper, until two o'clock the following morning.

MARCH 22.

His excellency the governor is at present on a progress through the British territories under his government, during which he has passed a fortnight at Arripo, in order to direct a survey of the pearl banks. On the 18th his excellency laid the foundation stone of the cottages and other buildings about to be erected at Caudantze, for the reception and washing of the oysters fished from the banks in the Straits of Manar; and the same day, his excellency laid the first stone of the government lodge, preparing for the residence of the governor during the time of the pearl fishery.

His excellency left that place on the 19th, and arrived at Manar the same morning; from thence he proceeded by sea to Jallapattanam.

The governor is attended on this tour by Mr. Arbuthnot, Dr. Christie, captain Menbrey, Mr. Ashmole, civil engineer, and Mr. John Macdowell, writer, on the establishment.

From the *Ceylon Government Gazette*, April 19, 1842

On Sunday morning, the 11th instant, his Majesty's ship *Victorians*, bearing the flag of his excellency Vice Admiral Raper, sailed from the Roads for Trincomallee. The weather appeared very unsettled all day, and increased to a gale of wind next morning, which continued that day and the following. On the morning of the 14th, it blew a storm from the southwest, with much rain, thunder and lightning, and about half past seven o'clock, a tremendous whirlwind arose in the southwest quarter, which, sweeping the Slave Island, where the Malay battalion is quartered, tore up several large trees by the roots, and demolished the barracks, where fortunately but few of the men remained, it being the commencement of one of the Mahomedan festivals, to attend the celebration of which a great number had obtained leave of absence. Two men and three children were unhappily killed, and many maimed and bruised. This tempest, which, as it is called, proceeded towards the north-east, carrying the tiles off all the houses in its direction, tearing up the planks from the garret stories, and occasioning great apprehension and alarm. The wind immediately changed to the N. E. from which quarter it blew hard for some time, and, (with a short interval of a calm for a few minutes,) continued in that direction several hours. It is stated to have shewn itself in the form of a small black cloud, leaving in its track a thick mist, which evaporated soon after its passage into the sea between the Flag Staff battery and Blackenberg's battery. Luckily its duration did not exceed

seed three minutes, or its effects might have been fatal

We learn from the interior, that great devastation has been committed in the pōcca nut groves. The roads, in many places, are entirely broke up, and the country is completely inundated for many miles round the capital

MAY 10 No accounts have been received of his excellency the governor, of a later date than the 6th ult

His excellency had that day entered the district of Battacola, at

Anative, near the pagoda of Wel-gel, where he was met by lieutenant John Jewell, agent of revenue and commerce, and Mr. J. A. Barclay, his assistant.

Private letters give the most satisfactory account of the improving state in population and agriculture of that distant province

The governor has ordered arrangements to be made for the establishment of a weekly tappal between Tharwallce and Battacola, which will begin early in the month of June.

BENGAL Occurrences for APRIL 1802

JOURNAL of the ROUTE of the Marquis WELLESLEY, to the Upper Provinces

His excellency the most noble the Governor-general having appointed Saturday the 10th of August 1801, for his embarkation from Fort William, for the purpose of visiting the Upper Provinces, his excellency, attended by the officers of his suite, and by a detachment of the body guard, proceeded from the Government House, to Chandpaul Ghaut, through the street, formed by the troops in garrison, the several corps receiving his excellency with the usual honours

His excellency was accompanied to the place of his embarkation by the hon. Sir J. Anstruther, Mr. Graham, Major-General Popham, and by many of the principal officers and gentlemen of the settlement

His excellency embarked on the *Swagmooly* yacht, between five and six in the morning, under a salute of 19 guns, from the ramparts of Fort William, and proceeded up the river, the ships in the port saluting as he passed.

Tuesday 18th, his excellency having held a council at Barrack-

pore, in which he nominated P. Speke, esq. to be vice president in council, and deputy governor of Fort William, proceeded in the yacht, attended by his suite, on his progress to the upper provinces, and, on the same day, reached Chinsurah, where his excellency landed, and was entertained at dinner, on that and the succeeding evening, by Mr. Birch, the commissioner of that settlement.

Wednesday 19th, his excellency proceeded on his voyage, accompanied by Sir Home Popham, who had joined him at Barrackpore. On the 24th, Sir H. Popham returned to Calcutta

Wednesday 26th, his excellency reached Dowdpore, where the nabob of Bengal, who had come from Murshedabad, to meet his lordship, had stationed his boats. The unfavourable state of the weather prevented the Governor general from receiving the visit of the nabob of Bengal, until the 30th, after that ceremony had been concluded, his excellency the Governor general sailed for Berhampore, which station he reached on the 31st. The troops of the cantonment were drawn up along the bank of the

+ E

river,

river, and saluted his excellency as he sailed past.

September 1st, his excellency landed at Berhampore, and was entertained at dinner by Mr T. Pattle, senior judge of the court of circuit and appeal at Murshedabad, and on the 2d, his excellency, attended by the officers of his suite, and a party of the body guard, inspected the troops of the cantonment, under the command of Lieut Colonel Wood. After which, his excellency breakfasted with Colonel Wood, and at ten o'clock held a levee, and gave audience until twelve, at which house he also held a darbar for the native inhabitants of the district. In the evening of the same day, his excellency dined with Mr. Locke, second judge of the court of appeal and circuit, and on the 3d in the morning, the Governor general took his departure from Berhampore, the troops of the cantonment being drawn up on the bank of the river, saluted his excellency at his departure. On the same evening, the yacht anchored nearly opposite to the palace of the nabob of Bengal, to whom, and to the begums, his excellency paid a visit of ceremony on the morning of the 4th, being attended by all the civil and military officers of his suite, by a party of the body-guard, and by a captain's guard of European infantry, sent from the regiment stationed at Berhampore.

His excellency, after having visited the nabob of Bengal, on the 4th, left Murshedabad, and arrived at Jungpore, on the 6th. On the 10th, his excellency passed Rajmahal, and arrived at Cillong on the 14th, and at Bhagulpore on the 16th.

The Governor general landed at Bhagulpore, and remained at the

house of Mr. Fombelle, the judge and magistrate of that district, until the 19th, when his lordship departed from Bhagulpore, and reached Mongheer, on the 21st, where he landed, under a salute from the fort, and was received by major general Brisco, and the officers of the station. The Governor general resided in the house of major general Brisco, during his lordship's continuance at Mongheer, and was entertained at dinner by major general Ellerker, at Peerpubar on the 26th.

October 2d, his excellency proceeded to Patna, and arrived at that city on the 6th, where he was received on landing by the civil officers of the station, accompanied by whom, his excellency proceeded to the house of Mr. Leslie, the second judge, where his lordship resided until the 29d, having been entertained at dinner, during his residence at Patna, by Mr. Keating, the chief judge, and by several of the principal civil officers of the station.

The Governor general proceeded to Dinapoor on the 24th of October, where he arrived on the 28th. The troops were drawn up in the square of that cantonment, to salute his excellency as he passed to the quarters prepared for him. On the 27th, his excellency reviewed the troops, and the 18th regiment of native infantry received their honorary colours in his presence. During his residence at Dinapoor, his excellency was entertained at dinner by the commanding officer colonel Dunkley, the second in command major Davidson, and by the officers of the cantonment.

The Governor general left Dinapoor on the 30th of October, and arrived on the 31st of November at the fort of Buxar, where he resided.

sided in the house of lieutenant colonel Stafford, the commanding officer. On the 7th, his lordship held a durbar at the fort of Buxar, where he received the rajah of Benares, who had proceeded down the river to meet the Governor general. On the 8th, his lordship proceeded to Ghazepoor, which place he reached on the 10th, and was received under the usual salute of cannon. The troops of the station were drawn up to salute his excellency as he passed to lieutenant colonel Pringle's house, where his lordship was entertained during his residence at Ghazepoor.

On the 11th, his excellency reviewed the troops at Ghazepoor, and on the 12th, proceeded to Benares, at which city he arrived on the 13th.

On the 24th of November, at Benares, his excellency the most noble the Governor general received official accounts of the surrender of Alexandria to the British arms.

This intelligence was immediately announced by a royal salute, and in the evening, the troops stationed at Benares, and those forming the Governor general's escort, were paraded, and fired three volleys in honour of this important event.

On the same day, the Governor general received in his tents, the visits of three of the princes of the royal family of Hindustan, who have resided for some years at the city of Benares.

The princes who visited his excellency, were, the prince Mirza Khorum, Mirza Shagooftuh Bukht, (commonly called Mirza Hadger,) and Mirza Alli Khudder, all sons of the late prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht, and grandsons of Shah Alim, the present king of Delhi. The Governor general was attended on this occasion by major-gene-

ral Deare, and all the civil and military officers of his excellency's suite, and by the civil and military officers stationed at Benares. Their royal highnesses were severally saluted by the whole of the troops of the station, and those forming the Governor general's escort, and received a royal salute on their arrival and departure, with every other honour due to their rank. After the departure of the princes, his excellency held a durbar, which was attended by the rajah of Benares, and by all the principal natives of the place.

On the 25th, his excellency gave a public breakfast in his tents to the ladies and gentlemen of Benares, and to the officers of his lordship's escort.

On the 26th, the Governor general, attended by major-general Deare, and the principal civil and military officers of his excellency's suite, and those of the station of Benares, returned the visits of the princes, at their respective places of residence, in the city of Benares. The Governor general also visited her royal highness the Kuttuck Sultaona Begum, the widow of the late prince Mirza Juwaun Bukht and mother of the prince Mirza Khorum.

On the 27th, the Governor general received a congratulatory address from the European inhabitants of the district of Benares, on the occasion of the surrender of Alexandria. [*For a Copy of aforesaid Address, see Chronicle, p. 33.*]

On the 29th, the Governor general left Benares under the usual military honours, and proceeded to Rammagur, the residence of the rajah of Benares. His excellency was received on landing by the rajah, attended by whom, he visited the house and the adjacent buildings and gardens. His lordship re-

turned to the yacht, and proceeded on towards Chunat

The Governor general resided at Benares, at the house of major-general Deare, and in the course of his residence there, was entertained by that officer, by Mr Neave, second judge of the court of appeals and acting agent for the Governor-general at Benares, and by the principal civil officers of the station

On the 3d of December, the Governor-general arrived at Mirzapoor, and proceeded to the house of Mr Colebrooke, judge and magistrate of Mirzapoor, where his lordship resided during his stay at that place, colonel Collins, resident at the court of Scindiah, who had joined his lordship at Benares, took leave of his excellency to return to Fatty Ghur on the 4th instant, on the evening of the same day, the hon Henry Wellesley joined his lordship from Lucknow, and proceeded on the 7th December, with the Governor general, towards Allahabad, where his excellency arrived on the evening of the 11th

The Governor general landed on the following morning, under the usual salute from the fort, the troops of the garrison, and those composing his excellency's escort, being drawn up to salute his lordship as he passed. His excellency was received on landing by lieutenant-colonel Kyd, commanding at Allahabad, and by the principal officers of the garrison, and proceeded to the house of lieutenant-colonel Kyd, where his lordship resided.

On the 10th December, the Governor-general, attended by the honourable Mr. Wellesley, lieutenant-governor of the ceded provinces, proceeded by land from Allahabad to Cawnpore, accompanied by an escort of European and native cavalry and infantry.

On the 3d of January 1802, Alimuss Ali Khan, with other officers deputed by the nabob Vizier, met the Governor general, and attended him on his march

On the 4th, the hon Mr Wellesley left the Governor general, and proceeded to Corah, and on the 5th, his excellency the commander in chief, attended by the officers of his staff, and by major-general Stuart, met the Governor general, and was received with the honours due to his rank

On the 8th, the Governor general, accompanied by his excellency the commander in chief, and by major-general Stuart, arrived at Cawnpore. Major-general St John, at the head of the troops of the station, received his lordship, the troops forming a street to the house prepared for the residence of his lordship during his continuance at that cantonment. The Governor general held a levee immediately after his arrival, at which the officers of that cantonment were presented to his lordship

On the 17th, the nabob Vizier, attended by his five younger sons, by the British resident at his court, by the chief officers of his court, and by many of the principal inhabitants of Lucknow (from which city the nabob Vizier had come to meet the Governor-general) arrived in the vicinity of Cawnpore, and encamped on the bank of the Ganges opposite to that cantonment. The nabob Vizier was accompanied by a large body of troops

On the 18th, the Governor-general was present at an entertainment given by the commander in chief in honour of her Majesty's birth day

On the 19th, his lordship received in his tent, the visit of the nabob Vizier, the troops of the station

Station being drawn up in line for the reception of the nabob Vizier, a royal salute was fired on his excellency's arrival at the Governor-general's camp, and the same on his departure. The nabob Vizier was attended on that occasion by his sons, and by many of the principal officers of his court.

On the 20th, the Governor-general refused the visit of the nabob Vizier, at the Vizier's camp.

On the 21st, the Governor-general entertained the nabob Vizier at dinner in his tents.

On the 22d, the hon. Henry Wellesley, lieutenant-governor of the ceded provinces, who had arrived at Cawnpore from Corah on the 16th, proceeded towards Cawnpore.

On the same day, the nabob Vizier and his sons were present at a ball given by the Governor-general in his tents, when the Governor-general presented to the nabob Vizier two large state tents, ornamented with embossed cloth of British manufacture.

On the 23d, the Governor-general held a darbar for the reception of the natives of rank, at which were presented the nabob Emdad Hussain Khan, nabob of Furruckabad, and his minister Khirrud Mund Khan, (who came to Cawnpore to wait on his lordship,) together with the following personages.

Moodar-ud-Dowlah, grandson in the female line of the emperor Bahadur Shah, and father-in-law of the nabob Vizier, with his sons, Cossim Ali Khan, son of the nabob Salaf Jung, Sheruf Ali Khan, and their respective brothers.

Mohabbat Khan and Eradut Khan, son of the late Hafiz Behmut Khan, the Rohillah chieftain.

Ekhan-ud-Dowlah, the son, and Syad Abul Cossir the nephew, of

the late nabob Mokhtar ud Dowlah, formerly minister of the late nabob Asaf ud Dowlah.

Tajumul Hussain Khan, son, and Salaam Oolla Khan, cousin, of the late Tufuzul Hussain Khan, formerly minister of the nabob Vizier.

Tehseen Ali Khan, and Afreen Ali Khan, principal officers of the household of the nabob Vizier.

Abdoo Rhemaun Khan, commandant of the Candahar horse in the service of the nabob Vizier, and his son.

Daraub Ali Khan, principal officer of the household, and minister of her highness the Begum, widow of the late nabob Vizier Shujah ud-Dowlah.

Murza Jaaffer, a person of high rank and consideration at the court of Lucknow, and his sons.

Culloo Khan, agent at the court of Lucknow, on the part of his majesty Shah Allum.

Molavy Zeeza-ud-Nubbee, one of the principal officers of the nabob Ahmad Ali Khan, the nabob of Rohilkund.

With many others of the nabob Vizier's officers, the vakeels of the several chieftains of Hindustan, residing at Lucknow, and other persons of consideration.

On the 25th, the Governor-general breakfasted with the nabob Vizier at his camp, and on the 26th the nabob departed for Lucknow.

During the residence of the Governor-general at Cawnpore, his excellency, accompanied by the commander in chief, reviewed the troops at that station in line, and in separate corps, and expressed in public orders the highest satisfaction at their appearance, discipline, and performance.

His excellency, during his residence at Cawnpore, was entertained

at dinner, by the commander in chief, by major-general Sir John, by his Majesty's field officers, and by the hon. Company's officers at that station,

On the 30th of January, the Governor general left Cawnpore, and proceeded to Lucknow with an escort of European and native cavalry and infantry.

On the 3d of February, the Governor general was met by the nabob Vizier at the distance of six miles from Lucknow, with a numerous train of attendants, and was conducted with every mark of respect and honour through the city of Lucknow to the Vizier's palace, where his lordship was entertained at breakfast. After which, the Governor-general paid a visit to lieutenant-colonel Scott, the British resident at Lucknow, from whose house his lordship proceeded to the house of the late major-general Martin, near the city of Lucknow, which had been prepared by the nabob for his lordship's reception.

On the 8th, the nabob Vizier entertained the Governor general at dinner. On that occasion, a magnificent illumination was displayed at the nabob's palace, and the entertainment was closed by a splendid exhibition of fireworks.

On the 16th, the Governor general, and the nabob Vizier visited Mirza Solymaun Sheko, second son of his majesty Shah Allum. The Governor-general also visited the Begum, mother of the nabob Vizier.

On the 14th, the prince Mirza Solymaun Sheko returned the Governor-general's visit, and on the same day, the Governor-general received the visit of the nabob Vizier's brothers.

On the 20th, the Governor-general visited the Begum, widow

of the late Vizier Asaf-ud-Dowla.

Previously to the Governor general's departure from Lucknow, his lordship was entertained by the nabob Vizier's sons at dinner, and with a magnificent display of fireworks.

On the 22d, the Governor general was present at the nabob Vizier's palace, at the ceremony of the investiture of the nabob Vizier's second son, Mirza Ahmed Ali Khan, with a khelaut, on occasion of his provisional appointment to the temporary charge of affairs during the eventual absence of the nabob Vizier from his dominions. The Governor general was entertained on that occasion by the nabob Vizier at dinner, and with an exhibition of fireworks.

Previously to the Governor general's departure from Lucknow, his lordship, accompanied by the nabob Vizier, visited Almasi Ali Khan.

The Governor general was entertained at dinner by lieutenant-colonel Scott, the British resident at the court of Oude.

The Governor general, during his residence at Lucknow, held a levee for the European gentlemen, and a durbar for the reception of the natives of rank.

On the 24th, the nabob Vizier visited the Governor-general, and held a private conference with his lordship for the final adjustment of all points of public business. On that occasion the nabob Vizier appointed his second son, Mirza Ahmed Ali Khan, to be the executive prime minister for the affairs of Oude. The Governor general having declined the nabob Vizier's offer of accompanying his lordship during a part of his march from Lucknow on his lordship's return to the

the presidency, the Vicer took
leave of the Governor general
the 24th of February.

On the 26th, the Governor-general left Iucknow, and commenced his march on his return to the presidency, with the same escort which had attended him to Iucknow.

On the 2d of March, Almas Ali Khan (who had been deputed by the nabob Vizier to attend the Governor general through the country under his charge) took leave of the Governor-general, and was invested by his lordship with a khe

In the evening of the 4th, the Governor general inspected the 14th regiment of native infantry, commanded by Lieut-colonel Grant, at Saltaunpoor.

On the 6th, Rhenut Ali Khan, brother of Almas Ali Khan, who had been appointed by the nabob Vizier to attend the Governor general to the frontier of the nabob's dominions, took leave, and was invested with a khelaut. Rajah Bhawanji Pershad, who accompanied Rhenut Ali Khan, was also invested with a khelaut. On the same day, Rajah Newaz Sing, amil of the district of Sultaunpore, who attended his lordship during his progress through that district, also took leave, and was invested with a khelaut.

On the 8th, the Governor-general arrived at Jaunpore, and resided at the house of Mr. Welland, judge of that court.

On the 10th, the Governor-general arrived at Bwares, and proceeded to the house of major-general Deare, and on the 15th the Governor-general embarked, and proceeded down the river for the presidency.

On the 17th, the Governor-ge.

neral arrived at Buxar, and remained at that station until the 14th, at the house of lieutenant-colonel Stafford.

On the 22d, the Governor general reached Dinapore, and was received on his landing by major general Frazer by whom his excellency was entertained the same day at dinner.

On the 23d, the Governor general arrived at Patna, and on the 29th, at Mongheer, where he was received on his landing by major general Blierker, at whose house the Governor-general remained until the 30th March.

On the 4th of April, the Governor-general arrived at Bogwangleh, and on the 6th landed, and proceeded to the house of Mr Patle, senior judge of the court of circuit and appeals at Murshedabad.

On the evening of the 6th, the Governor general received the visit of the nabob Naur-ul-Mulk.

On the 7th, the Governor-general returned the visit of the nabob, and at the same time visited the nabob Munnes Begum, Bubboo Begum, mother of the late nabob Nubarekud Dowlat, and the Begum, mother of the nabob Naur-ul-Mulk.

His lordship resided at the house of Mr Pattle until the 8th, when he proceeded to Plassey, where tents had been pitched for his lordship's accommodation. His excellency the Governor general was entertained at Plassey at dinner by major-general Briscoe.

On the 9th, the Governor general proceeded to Jugdunpore, where his lordship was entertained at dinner in his tents by Sir A. Seton, the collector of Nuddea.

On the 10th, the Governor-general
† E 4

neral arrived at Kishenagar, and resided at the house of Mr. Oldfield, judge of Nuddea.

On the 11th, the Governor-general proceeded to Santipore, and resided at the house of Mr. Philpot, the commercial resident at that station, until the 12th, when his lordship proceeded to the house of Mr. Brooke, judge and magistrate of Hoogly. The hon. the vice-president met the Governor general at Hoogly on the 13th, and on the same day, his excellency was entertained by Mr. Birch, at Chinsurah, and on the 14th, accompanied by the vice president, he proceeded from Hoogly, and arrived at Barrackpore, and was received upon his arrival by Mr. Udny, member of the supreme council, by major general Popham, and the staff of the presidency, and by the principal civil officers of the government. A salute was fired at the Danish settlement of Serampore, as his excellency passed on the opposite side of the river.

On the 20th, his excellency arrived at Fort William from the Upper Provinces, attended by his suite, and by a detachment from the body guard, left Barrackpore at half-past five o'clock in the morning. All the troops in garrison were drawn up in a line, extending from the southern extremity of Old Court House Street, to the government-house, through which his excellency passed.

At the entrance of the government-house, his excellency was received by the hon. the vice president and deputy governor of Fort William, by Mr. Udny, member of the supreme council, and by the principal civil and military officers of government at the presidency. When his excellency quitted his car-

riage, the usual salute was fired from the ramparts of Fort William.

MADRAS Occurrences for April.

Particulars of the Capture of the Ship *Raposa*

At 4 p. m. of the 29th of October in lat $1^{\circ} 41' N$ long $80^{\circ} 14' E$, his Majesty's ship *Seydlitz* was on their starboard bow, about $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile, the *Lord Thaulow* about 2-3, and the *Gilwell* about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant, in the same direction.

The second officer, Mr. Hefley, had the charge of the deck, the chief officer Mr. Holland having gone up to the fore top mast cross-trees, to examine the fore top gallant mast, on which the ship's company had been employed the greater part of the day, the other top-gallant masts, top gallant yards, &c. had been got down, and the main sail unbent several days before, in consequence of the blowing weather.

Captain Scott, major Greenhill, capt Brown, Mr Jones, Mr Jernard, and two of the commissioned French officers, lieutenants Van Nefs and Fromant, were drinking their tea in the cuddy, when a strong party of the French prisoners, headed by Mr Pinaud, rushed in, armed with cutlasses, knives and sticks, and made them prisoners.

Another party succeeded in driving the crew from the deck, and took possession of the ship.

At about nine o'clock in the evening she escaped from the convoy, having taken the precaution of putting out the lights, and at eleven they suffered the officers to go to their cabins, over which they placed separate guards.

In

In the morning no vessel was to be seen, and they made the best of their way to the Isle of France, where they arrived on the 20th of November.

Captain Brown, major Greenhill, and Mr Jones, assistant-surgeon, remained at the island nine days, when they embarked on the American ship *Commerce* for the Cape.

Captain Scott and Mr Holland, chief officers of the *Prince*, had taken their passage to Bombay on the American ship *Serius*.

SPECIAL VESTRY

Notice is hereby given, that a special vestry has been appointed for the purpose of distributing charity to the poor of Madras, on a more permanent and uniform system than hitherto adopted.

The particular object of this institution is to administer relief to Europeans and others who are suffering from poverty in this settlement, to assist with some pecuniary aid those who may be thrown into jail for small debts, to support those who may be naturally reluctant, under a reverse of fortune, to make their distresses publicly known, and to relieve the public from those numerous applications for charity and subscriptions which are constantly circulated through Madras, and are not seldom impositions on the humanity of the public.

The following gentlemen have been appointed members of the special vestry for the year 1802, in conjunction with the ministers, church wardens and other parish officers.

Names of the Members

John Chandler,	Cecil Smith,
John Kenworthy,	William Jones,
John Mifford,	Charles Baker,
William Webb,	Alexander Falconar,

Wm. Harrington, Francis Labour,
John Rowley, B. Mochnick; ~~clerk~~

The special vestry is to assemble at the church lodgings on the first Monday in every month, for the distribution of charity, and to discuss the claims of the different applicants.

All applications for charity to be addressed to the vestry clerk.

Published by order of the vestry

R. C. SHARWOOD,

Clerk of the Vestry

Fort St. George, 20th March 1802.

BOMBAY LAW REPORT.

Before the Hon. the Court of the Recorder of Bombay.

N. C. MAW, v. C. LEARMOUTH,
and OTHERS.

This was an action of assault and battery, brought by the plaintiff, who is a lieutenant on the military establishment of the honourable the East India Company at Bombay, against the defendants, two of whom are officers, and the rest seamen, of the ship *Scaleby Castle* of this port. The case was as follows.

When the *Scaleby Castle*, on her passage from England hither, crossed the line, the sailors, according to a long prevailing custom, determined that the passengers then on board should undergo the ceremony of *Shaving and Ducking*. The plaintiff expressed his aversion to the ceremony, and declared he would do his utmost to resist it—yet at the same time offered to purchase his exemption. Those offers were refused, and he was compelled to submit to the operation.

Mr. PHINEAS HALL, having opened the pleadings, was followed on the same side by Mr. THREIFLAND, of whose speech, which took up above an hour and a half

half in the delivery, and was heard with marked attention by a crowded court, we can only hope to give our readers a very faint outline.

After an eloquent exordium in which he expressed his regret that it should have been rendered necessary for him, in discharge of his professional duty, to bring forward such an accusation against the defendants, two of whom were in the situation and of the rank of gentlemen, Mr Threlpland said he was sufficiently aware, that the greater number of those to whom he addressed himself had crossed the Equator more than once, and that many of them possibly might have witnessed certain ridiculous proceedings which not unfrequently take place on that occasion, when any passengers happen to be on board who have never been so far travelled on the ocean before. The custom to which he alluded, if indeed it could be called such, was one, in his opinion, which, even at the best, and when most moderately adhered to, was "much more honoured in the breach than the observance." But though he was of this opinion, he could safely say for himself, and believed he could answer for his client, that if the proceedings on board the *Schooby Castle*, on the 28th of September, 1801, had been kept within reasonable bounds, had Neptune, as he was called, and his attendant deities confined themselves to throwing a few palealls of their own element about the ship, or exacted any moderate fine or forfeit from those who were landmen enough to prefer the comforts of a dry skin, their proceedings would never have been the subject of discussion or complaint either at his instance, or the instance of Mr Maw, in a court of justice.

But when amusement degenerates into brutality, when under colour and pretext of sport, proceedings take place, revolting to every man of common sense and common feeling, when young gentlemen, passengers on board a merchant vessel, and entitled to every degree of respect and attention, are not suffered to purchase their exemption from injury and outrage, but are forced, at the point of naked cutlasses, to submit to both, it is high time for the law of the country to interfere, and to teach those who were ignorant of it before, that it extends its protecting arm to those who travel by water, as well as to those who journey by land, and will no more suffer a passenger to be abused and mistreated by a set of sailors on board a ship, than in a mail coach or other vehicle of the kind, by those who have the guidance of such conveyances.

Mr Threlpland then described, in animated language, the manner in which seven or eight young gentlemen, all of them destined for an honourable profession, in the course of which they would have to command the brothers and friends of those who were spectators on the occasion, (alluding to the lascars and other Indians by whom the ship was manned) were tarred, and ducked, and shaved, as it was called, with part of an iron hoop, which partook, he said, of the nature of a saw much more than of a razor, treatment to which they submitted, not because they had no objection to such beastly usage, but because they were ignorant to what extent matters would be carried, and were persuaded to believe that all resistance would be ineffectual.

But with respect to the plaintiff, from the first moment that the threat

threat of such proceedings reached his ear, he had uniformly declared his positive determination that he, for one, would not submit his person to what he conceived a series of gross indignities, unworthy of any gentleman to put up with, though he was perfectly ready and willing, as he always added, to pay any forfeit that was usual, or could be required of him.

Here Mr Threipland begged to draw the attention of the court to the character and general conduct of his client, insisting that, in proportion as his mind and manners, his habits and his rank in life entitled him to respect and attention, in that proportion was the aggravation of the injury of which he complained. Having with this view spoken of Mr Maw in terms of the highest eulogium, as one whose whole conduct and deportment testified that he had not only been born, but what was of still greater importance, bred a gentleman, and argued that from this alone it was impossible not to anticipate his decided aversion to becoming the butt and victim of the low-bred, brutal sport, in presence of a whole ship's company. Mr Threipland added that his client had held situations of trust and confidence in the military service of his native country during the recent rebellion in Ireland, and had acquitted himself in the field, on every occasion, with a degree of gallantry and good conduct, which it falls to the lot of few so young to have an opportunity of displaying. With these facts, as to the plaintiff's professional reputation and acquirements, the defendants were, one and all of them, well acquainted. Indeed, to every one who saw him, Mr Maw carried a proof of unquestionable professional merit, even in that which might

otherwise be accounted his misfortune. It was an extremely delicate part of the task he had to perform, but he felt himself obliged to state, that though the plaintiff had no reason to complain of nature in other respects, he had the misfortune to be born with one arm so much shrunk and distorted, that though not entirely deprived of its use, the circumstance would have been an insuperable objection to his appointment as a cadet, if his application had not come recommended by such marked and striking testimonies in favour of his military character and exertions, that the court of directors, with that attention to merit and to the honour of their own service which had raised it to such high respectability, unanimously resolved that the defect in question should be no obstacle to the plaintiff's preterment. Not only did they do this, but shewing, in the midst of the vast concerns which press for their attention, that the prosperity of a meritorious young gentleman about to be employed by them was an object not too small to attract their regard, they were at pains to accompany their intimation of Mr Maw's appointment with a particular statement of the reasons which had influenced them in his favour, in consequence of which he had not been many days in the country when he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant in the service.

Thus, Mr Threipland said, was not the only reason which had conquered his reluctance to make the deformity he had been speaking of, a topic of such public observation and remark. Besides giving the plaintiff's superior claim to be protected from every personal attack, it could not but occur to every one at all acquainted with human

human nature, that though Mr Maw had reason to be proud of the defect in question, since he had so happily surmounted its consequences, still it could not be very pleasant for him to have it rudely exposed to public view, and least of all to the view of those who, instead of compassionating the misfortune with the feelings natural to generous minds, might be apt to turn it into derision, and make it heighten the rest of their brutal *saturnalia*, by holding it forth to ridicule.

Having thus paved the way, as he trusted, not impertinently, for a description of what his client had undergone, Mr. Threipland stated the circumstances to the court in a manner highly to the credit of his own feelings, and with manifest effect on the feelings of all who heard him.

It appeared from his statement that the plaintiff, after making repeated offers, both of money and spirits to the men, on condition of their not molesting him, and finding these offers contemptuously rejected, shut himself up in his cabin, the door of which he barricaded with trunks and boxes the best way he was able, using the farther precaution of lowering his port, to prevent intrusion from without. After remaining some time in this state of imprisonment, without light or air, and that under the heat, and during the hottest part of the day, the party, whose characters had all been cast before hand, came to his door, and with oaths and imprecations insisted on immediate admission. This he resolutely refused to grant, but, with the same breath again entreated them to take his money, and leave him unmolested, a proposal, on his part, which was strongly seconded by Mr. Patterson, the

fourth mate of the ship, with the additional assurance that he, their officer, would be answerable for the plaintiff's supplying all of them with spirits on the ship's arrival at Bombay. Neither to be won by intreaties, however, nor intimidated by threats, the gang immediately began attempting to force open the door, but not succeeding in this so easily as they expected, they all, with one accord, went on deck, as if on purpose to get farther orders and fresh instructions. Mr. Raymond accordingly, the 3d mate, desired some of them to go below and take the door off the hinges, and suggested that others might make their way in at the port. While one party went down with a carpenter for the first of these purposes, a sailor of the name of Edwards was let down the side of the ship, brandishing a naked cutlass in one hand, while he held a bludgeon in the other. By the assistance of the latter weapon the plaintiff's port, which he was not sailor enough to know how to fasten properly, was lifted up, and Edwards stretching the arm which held the cutlass into the cabin, made thrusts therewith in every direction, which Mr. Maw, for some time, parried with his sword, and though he could, at this period, with great ease, have either stabbed or shot his assailant, he abstained from doing him any injury. Indeed, the pistols with which he armed himself, and which he now fired off, in hopes of protecting himself from farther outrage, were loaded with powder only. No sooner, however, were they both discharged than Edwards made a leap into the cabin, his associates at the same instant rushing in at the door. The whole armed gang now pressed round the plaintiff, and after winking his sword from the only hand

hand he had to hold one, tore and dragged him upon deck. There he clung for some time to the post of theuddy door, and seeing no hopes of protection, but the contrary, from the first and third mate, who were upon deck, called out in the loudest and most anxious manner for the captain of the ship, who, from the unfortunate circumstance of the door of his apartment being shut at the moment, joined to the great noise which prevailed without, heard nothing, as he afterwards declared. For this appeal to his protection, which otherwise there could be no doubt, from his disapprobation of the proceedings, when informed of them, would not have been made in vain.

Such was now the agitation of the plaintiff's mind, that he actually made an attempt to escape from farther outrage by throwing himself over-board, and would have effected his fatal purpose, if it had not been for the active humanity of his friend Mr. Patterson. But neither the pain he had already undergone, nor his evidently preferring death itself to farther indignity, had the effect of procuring him any respite or release. He was torn from his hold—dragged along the quarter deck to the waste, and forcibly fixed in a boat, half full of filthy water, which had been placed there for the business of the day. His eyes being bandaged with a dirty napkin, a nauseous composition of tar and pitch was rubbed over his face, and taken off again by means of the rusty hoop already mentioned. He was then pushed back with violence into the boat, and there held struggling for some seconds with his head beneath the water.—In consequence of this treatment the plaintiff kept his bed the whole remaining part of the day, and next morning, finding his forces

and bruises still extremely painful, had recourse to the surgeon of the ship's assistance, who would inform the court in what state he found him, and in particular of which arm he most complained, for, with the cowardice of malice as well as its cruelty, said Mr. Threipland, the ruffians by whom he was attacked, seemed to find peculiar satisfaction in making him sensible of that misfortune, which, with generous minds, would have been his surest safeguard and best protection against every approach towards personal insult.

From the consideration of what the plaintiff had undergone, Mr. Threipland next adverted to the possible apologies, for vindication was out of the question, which might be set up for the defendants.

In the case of ships manned entirely by European sailors, those who permitted such proceedings had to urge the amusement they afforded to a whole ship's company. This was to be sure about as absurd and puerile an argument in favour of the practice as could well be imagined, but even this defence, weak and futile as it was, the defendants, Messrs. Learmonth and Raymond, had not to resort to on this occasion, for, except the immediate actors in that scene of elegant recreation which he had described, there was not a man, he believed, on board the ship, the rest of the crew being, without exception, natives of India, who could extract the slightest entertainment from any part of the ceremonies. The ship's company assembled, no doubt, in great numbers, to be spectators of what was going forward, but he thanked God they evidently shewed they had yet to learn to take delight in seeing an English officer so let down, and so abused, by the lowest and vilest of his

his own countrymen. How long they might continue to feel in this manner, were it possible for such proceeding to be lightly treated in a court of justice, he could not say, but of this he was certain, that those who instigated and encouraged such atrocities in presence of such a ship's company did their utmost to weaken a hold which he conceived it the bounden duty of every man at all connected with India to do his utmost to strengthen, by every means in his power.

So much for consulting the amusement of the crew, and it would be readily admitted, that it would not have been extremely amusing for those concerned in the assault, if Mr Maw had run one of them through the body, and blown out the brains of another, and that he might have done both with perfect impunity, there could not be a doubt, attacked as he was, with illegal weapons, and in his own cabin, his house for the time being, which it is the proud prerogative of every British subject to consider as his castle, which even those who are armed with the authority of the law dare not presume to enter forcibly, except in pursuit of a felon.

It turns out then, said Mr Threipland, that the only persons amused and safe at the same time were, the two officers on deck, Messrs Learmouth and Raymond, but, in proportion as they should have been disgusted and not amused, in proportion as they abused their authority into an engine of oppression, instead of exerting it to the utmost in the defence of one entitled by so many ties to the best protection, in that measure was their offence, and in that measure the court he knew would take especial care should be their punishment.

But it might be said, perhaps, the defendants conceived their proceed-

ings justified by custom. Even admitting the plea to the extent contended for, Mr Threipland denied it would afford them the smallest vindication in a court of justice. He knew of no custom that would legalize oppression, cruelty, and outrage. If the custom alluded to had lasted for ten thousand years, and never a whisper of complaint been heard concerning it till now, it would not have this effect. But it was well known that this custom, as it was called, had long been put a stop to, from a sense of its impropriety, in nine ships out of ten that navigated the seas. This alone was sufficient to stop the current of prescription in its favour.—But again, admitting that certain proceedings do take place on board all merchantmen on crossing the line, it could not surely be contended that it is the custom to break open passengers doors, to attack them with naked cutlasses, to refuse their offers of money, to drag and tear them about the ship, as no man of common humanity would a brute.—To say that proceedings such as these are customary, would be such a satire on the navy, and the merchant service in particular, that he who should be bold enough to assert it, would run the risk of an action of detraction at the instance of every officer of every ship within sight of the court.

There was but one other consideration, Mr Threipland said, to which he would solicit attention. Two of the defendants being of the rank of gentlemen, it could not escape the court, that it would have occurred to many young men, especially of the plaintiff's profession, to have resorted to a very different mode of redress. But Mr Maw had too much respect for the laws of his country, and knew better
with

with what promptitude they would be applied in his behalf, to have ever had a thought of being a kin himself to the barbarous species of revenge to which he alluded. By fulfilling his expectations, and those he believed he might say of the public on the occasion, the court would do more to check a practice, which could not be sufficiently deprecated, than any court or any jury had yet performed. But really, if young men of high spirit find, when they have been at all the trouble, and all the expense of bringing their grievances in regular shape, before a court of justice, the redress they meet with is inadequate to the wrongs they sustained, he would not say an excuse is furnished them for taking revenge into their own hands, "God forbid," said Mr Threipland, I should presume to say that, in this presence, or to think it, but thus I will say, and I cannot avoid thinking, very poor encouragement indeed is held out to them, to resort to the laws of their country.

Here evidence was adduced in support of the plaintiff's case.

Mr DOWDSELL, upon the part of the defendants, observed, that no particular injury was proved to have been done to Mr Maw. The other passengers who had not crossed the line, voluntarily underwent the ceremonies of the day, and considered them as a joke. The custom had so long prevailed, that if it did not amount to a justification of the defendants, it would be trusted exempt them from the payment of any considerable damages. General notice had been given, by capt Gardiner, that if any passenger disliked to partake of the pastimes of the day, he might go into his, (capt Gardiner's) cabin. Mr Maw, instead of availing himself of such protection, had come upon deck armed

with a cutlass and pistols—bidding defiance. By such defiance he had brought the injury, if he could be said to have suffered any, upon himself. It was the character of British sailors to revolt at such defiance. In respect to the two mates, Mr Learmouth and Mr Raymond, they were mere passive spectators. It was to be remembered that they were not now answering for a neglect of duty to a superior officer. Mr Learmouth, so far from intending injury, had taken the watch from Mr Maw's pocket for the purpose of preserving it. No precedent quarrel between Mr Learmouth, Mr Raymond, and Mr Maw had been proved. No ill will exerted towards him. No degradation or disgrace thought of. Neither ought a circumstance of this kind to be supposed to bring disgrace or degradation upon any man. Most men who had come to India, at an early period of their lives, had undergone the ceremony without its ever having disturbed their repose. In the life of a sailor there were few days of recreation.

If the play was a little more rough than a game at blind man's buff with a party of fine ladies, and the performers not quite so grateful, it might have been submitted to without complaint. Should the court be of opinion that the ceremonies ought to be suppressed, and that they might be productive of evil consequences—the ends of public justice would be answered by the smallest damages. The defendants, it had been proved, were not able to pay large damages. Mr Learmouth, gaining, by a life of danger and hardship, only 140 rupees per month, and Mr Raymond only 100 per month.

The Recorder delivered the judgment of the court to the following effect:

The court highly approve of the conduct of the plaintiff in having brought the present action. If the mirth in which sailors usually indulge themselves in crossing the line is attended with no material inconvenience to others, Mr Threipland has with just propriety said, he would be the last to check it, and, if such had been the case, he should have been reprehensible in advising the present action. In that I agree, but when indulgence of one man's mirth is made the medium of violence or injury to another, it is highly proper that it should be restrained, and that the injured party should resort to the laws of his country for redress. Something has been said of justifying or at least extenuating the proceedings complained of on the ground of custom and usage. I hope, however, it never will be supposed that this court can entertain the idea that, custom or usage can legalize, or justify oppression or injustice of any kind. The proceedings, however, in the present instance, seem to have been carried much beyond even former usage. Captain Gardiner, who unfortunately was in his cabin at the time, (and who I wish had been on deck, where his presence might have restrained any improper violence,) admits that the treatment the plaintiff received was highly improper, and that he would not have suffered it if he had been present, capt. Speake, who has repeatedly crossed the line, says he never witnessed such treatment as this gentleman received, and that he would not, on any account, have suffered such on board his ship, and all the other passengers who voluntarily underwent the same sort of treatment, from their ignorance of the extent to which it would be carried, agree in saying, they would on no

account submit to the same again. The plaintiff refused to submit as the other gentlemen had done, and offered money and liquor to the sailors, which, on similar occasions, have been held sufficient to procure his exemption. But his offers were rejected, his cabin, where he had taken refuge, is broke open, and he as dragged out in spite of all resistance, to undergo the ceremony which has been described. It does not indeed appear that he suffered greater violence than the other gentlemen, or that he received any very important personal injury, but the dirt and filth to which he was subjected was extreme in the highest degree, and added no injury, the greatest insult to the feelings of a gentleman.

The question is, whether the charge is brought home to the defendants, Learmouth and Raymond, the first and third officers? and we think it is. It is not necessary that the violence should have been committed by their immediate hands— if they were privy to, and present, and concurring in the general design, it is sufficient, and there is sufficient evidence not only to shew that they were so, but that they encouraged it. Learmouth, the first officer, when the plaintiff asks permission to go to his cabin, says, he may go there if he pleases, but that he will not be safe there. And Raymond, when he is gone to his cabin, gives orders to the gang to bring him up again, and on the men saying the door was fast, he tells them to get in through the door or port, which orders are both immediately carried into execution. Both Learmouth and Raymond are present on deck during the whole of the violence which the plaintiff suffers, Learmouth himself, as one of the witnesses says, first throwing a bucket

bucket of water over him from the poop, and as another says, taking his watch from him while he undergoes the remainder of the punishment.

With respect to the other defendants, we see no reason to acquit any of them; they all seemed to have formed part of Neptune's gang, and to have taken more or less active parts in the transaction. I will, however, the defendants had not been so numerous, encouraged by their officers, the blame imputable to the men is comparatively small, but on this ground the court cannot sever the damages, or apportion them to each particular person's guilt. The damages given must be entire, but the plaintiff may do what the court cannot—he may levy them on which of the defendants he pleases, leaving it to them to call on the others to contribute their proportion, so that the damages will ultimately fall where they ought. With respect to the quantum of the damages, the defendants do not any of them appear to be in a situation to pay heavy ones, nor do we suppose the plaintiff expects to obtain such. It is, however, proper, that he should be reimbursed all the expenses of his suit, and that the damages should not only be sufficient for that purpose, but such as mark the disapprobation of the court of the defendants' proceedings, and will prevent a repetition of similar practices in future.

The damages the court award are 400 rupees.

Attorney for plaintiff, Messrs Hall and Hungerford.

Attorney for defendants, Mr J. Cambridge.

SORCERY

Five women were lately tried at Patna, on charges of sorcery, and being found guilty, were put to death. His excellency the Governor-general, on being informed of the circumstance, ordered all the principal persons who composed the tribunals, to be apprehended, and arraigned before the circuit court of Patna, on charges of the murder of these women, and the court adjudged them to suffer death. It appeared, however, that this custom had prevailed time immemorial, several of the witnesses remembered numerous instances of persons having been put to death, by the Brahmans, for sorcery, and one of them, in particular, proved, that his own mother had been tried and executed as a witch. The government, therefore, pardoned the offenders, but to prevent the recurrence of circumstances so disgraceful to humanity, a proclamation has been issued, declaring, that any one forming a tribunal for the trial of persons charged with witchcraft, or aiding or encouraging in any act to deprive such persons of life, shall be deemed guilty of murder, and suffer the penalty attached to that offence.

ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Several new Members having been lately elected into this learned Society, we insert an accurate List, for the information of our Readers.

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K. P. Governor General, &c. &c. &c.
Sir Alfred Clarke, K. B.
G. H. Barlow
G. Udny

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Lieutenant Alexander Macdonald
Captain Robert Macgregor
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D. McNabb
Captain Colin Mackenzie

Fraser

INDIAN ARMY IN EGYPT.

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EGYPT

Although Egypt is not, geographically considered, a part of Asia, yet from its intimate connexion, in all ages, with that quarter of the globe as well in regard to its civil history and commerce, as to its science and literature, it appears incumbent on us, not only to embrace in our view of Asiatic affairs all the most important transactions in that country but likewise to give an account of such new publications as treat either of its antiquities, or of its present condition. Some obstacles have hitherto prevented us from fulfilling our intentions on this head. But we hope in our next volume, to be able to present our readers with a complete summary of all the principal public occurrences which have happened in Asia, including Egypt, from the period at which our work commenced, to the beginning of 1803, and also to give a review of every book that has been published, respecting Egypt, within that time.

In our present volume, we can only insert under this head a few articles, either immediately connected with the primary object of our publication or of such a nature as to demand our notice, from the sentiments of indignation and horror which the amazing and enormous atrocity of the actions related, must universally excite.

The accounts of the operations and triumphs of the British army in Egypt are far too voluminous to insert in detail, we must therefore confine the relation of those interesting and glorious events, to the limits of our proposed summary.

INDIAN ARMY IN EGYPT

The army, under the command of Major-general Baird, which had sailed from India in the latter end of the month of December 1800, in

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order

order to co operate with the British army in Egypt, had been very much delayed by contrary winds in the Red Sea, and did not reach Coßire till the 8th of June 1801. A division of troops from the Cape were ordered to join him in the Red Sea.

General Baird's object was to land at Suez, and act according to those circumstances he should become acquainted with there, since at such a distance no positive operations could have been prescribed. The hope was, however, always entertained, that he would arrive in time to assist the European army, even in debarkation, by dividing the French force. Unfortunately the moonsoon had commenced before his entrance into the Red Sea, in the month of April, and it was found impossible to gain his destination, but learning, at Jeddah, the success of the English on the 21st of March when intelligence had been transmitted to him by Admiral Blankin, he determined to land at Coßire, and brave the difficulties of the desert, in the hopes of affording a considerable support to General Hutchinson, and contributing to the final conquest of the country.

On the 10th of June he arrived at Coßire, and found Colonel Murray, the Adjutant General, who had preceded him, and reached that post with a very small advanced guard on the 14th of May, but the greater part of the army was still making, and none of the troops from the Cape had arrived. Anxious, however, to promote the general service, he employed himself in preparing the means for enabling his army to pass the desert, in which he was assisted by the Vizier's treasurers, and in a short time he saw himself provided with 5000 camels. Having made the necessary dispositions, he set out for Cunei (or Chan-

neh), where he arrived on the 30th of June, and immediately arranged the march of the remaining divisions, facilitating their passage, by establishing posts at the different wells in the desert, and digging others, issuing at the same time the following orders for the regulation of the march of each succeeding column.

MEMORANDUMS for Lieut C I CAREWITHERS

Camp, Coßire, July 20, 1801

You will proceed with the detachment under your orders, on the evening of the 20th inst to the new wells, distance about 11 miles.

The wells are a little off the road, therefore be careful not to pass them, nor allow your camels and baggage to miss them. An officer's party is stationed at the wells. On your arrival there, which will be about eleven o'clock at night, you should not allow your men to straggle about, or keep each other awake, as a good night's rest will enable them to make the march of the next night with more alacrity. In the morning, half a pint of wine should be issued to each man, and their rice, which they must cook for that day and the following.

The men's canteens should be filled with congou, or the water in which rice has been boiled, and just previous to their marching, another half pint of wine should be given them, to mix with their congou. The men should be kept in their tents, and as quiet as possible during the heat of the day.

The muskecks, or water bags, will be filled up at the wells, if any should have leaked out.

As you will find plenty of water at the wells, of course you will not use any of the water carried from this. But be extremely careful of

YOUR

your muffsacks, that they do not get damaged, particularly in lifting them on and off the camels, which ought to be done with a tent pole.

On the evening of the 21st you will proceed half way to Moilah, which is about 33 or 34 miles from the wells, therefore, if you start from the wells at five o'clock in the evening, and march till twelve at night, you will have marched 17½ miles (at the rate of two miles and a half an hour), or half way to Moilah. You will halt there, and in the morning issue half a pint of wine per man, and the rice which was cooked the preceding day. No water is to be had at this halting place, you will therefore issue to the troops and followers, from your casks and muffsacks, a proportion of water. Two gallons of water for each man is sent with you, with an allowance for leakage. You should therefore in the morning issue a gallon per man, and fill the canteens in the evening before you march. If you find you still have water to spare, you will issue it at your discretion. On the evening of the 22d you will proceed to Moilah, where you will find an officer's party. Water and provisions are to be had there. You will indent on the commissary for two days' provisions, to be carried with you, to serve on the way to Legaitte.

If you find your men much fatigued, you may halt one day and night at Moilah, and on the following evening you will proceed to the advanced wells, about nine miles beyond Moilah, there you will fill up your muffsacks, and cook rice for the following day. Your next march is half way to Legaitte, which is about 36 miles from the advanced wells. You will take the same precautions and measures on this march, as directed in that from

the wells to Moilah. For as there is no water until you arrive at Legaitte, you must carry your provisions cooked for one day, and be very careful of your water. Your next march is to Legaitte, where you will find water and provisions. You may halt there a day and night if you find it necessary. Your two next marches carry you to Ghinna, distance 28 miles.

Every halting day the camel drivers are to receive 40 comasses for each camel, the deputy quartermaster general will advance the money, if you require it, 40 comasses are equal to one dollar. You will endeavour to conciliate the drivers as much as possible, lest they desert. One head man will have the charge and direction of them, and you will give your orders through him.

You will write to me from the New Wells, Moilah and Legaitte, mentioning any inconveniences or impediments you may have met with, and whether you halt, that the succeeding divisions may be guided by it. You will find fresh meat at Moilah and Legaitte, which you will issue to your men, also spirits, as your wine must be used only on marching days, at the rate of one pint per man.

You will endeavour to dissuade your men from drinking a great quantity of water, which has been found very hurtful and weakening, and when you are at those stations where water can be had, your men should be marched to the wells to fill their canteens morning and evening, and no more should be allowed. At those places where they cannot cook their victuals, they must be persuaded to eat what was cooked the day before, as they will not otherwise be able to perform the succeeding march through faintness and weakness.

Route from Cossire to Ghenna

Cossire to the New Wells	11 miles, water may be had
Half way to Moulah	17 no water
Moulah	17 water and provision
Advanced wells	9 miles, water may be had.
Half way to Legatte	19 no water,
Legatte	19 water and provisions
Baramba	18 water
Ghenna	10 the Nile

120

J MONTRESOR, Lieut Col

The troops had surmounted a great variety of difficulties, and manifested a very extraordinary spirit of perseverance in passing the desert. It was not till the latter end of July that this army had assembled, and even then some detachments were missing.

On the 26th of August they reached Grand Cairo, and on the 29th the whole of the Cossire army, after having left some troops in Gizah, embarked on the Nile, part of it, consisting of the 26th regiment and some sepoys, being ordered to Damietta, and the rest to Rosetta.

Previous to their departure from Cairo, Major-general Baird issued the following address to the army under his command

MORNING GENERAL ORDERS

Camp, Rhoda Island, Aug 28, 1801

"In communicating his majesty's most gracious approval of the services of the army in Egypt, Major-general Baird has the satisfaction to know, that the troops under his command participate in his feelings, that they rejoice in the honour that their brothers in arms have so deservedly gained, that they regret the loss of that great and good man the late commander in chief, that they lament the unavoidable circumstances which prevented their joining in the glorious conflict, and that they feel, with the fullest force,

the advantages which must ever result from order, discipline, and military system.

"It becomes not troops from India, who, in every situation, have supported the national character of determined and disciplined valour, to envy the reputation which has followed the footsteps of the army of England, from the shores to the capital of Egypt, but the major-general is persuaded that they desire to emulate it.

"The war is not yet terminated, the enemy possess the only harbour and the strongest fortress in the country. Their services in the field are required in the execution of their duty. He has no hesitation in declaring, that, under the guidance of that able officer the commander in chief, he has the fullest reliance on their supporting the character of British soldiers, by their gallantry, discipline, and strict attention to uniformity of system in all formation of field movements."

This brave army, which, by its persevering spirit, had surmounted every difficulty that interrupted its progress, whose courage was ready to encounter any dangers that might present themselves, and whose discipline would have insured them victory, arrived too late in Egypt to prove the more active part of its character. The battle of the twenty

twenty-first of March had been fought, while they were yet on their voyage from India.

In the evening of the 1st of September general Baird and colonel Achmuty arrived at general Hutchinson's tent. The 39th had suffered most severely during its stay at Gizah, from the dysentery and ophthalmia, nearly the whole of the officers and men being affected with the latter malady. Several officers had also died suddenly, after entering a room, locked up by the French, in Murad Bey's house.

The Indian army, in very fine order, disembarked and encamped near Aboumandour. Whilst at Rhoda this army had attracted much surprise and admiration — The Turks were astonished at the novel spectacle of men of colour being so well disciplined and trained

indeed, the general magnificence of the establishment of the Indian army was so different from what they had been accustomed to see in general Hutchinson's, that the contrast could not fail of being striking. But general Baird proved to them also, that his troops were not enfeebled, or himself rendered inactive, by these superior comforts. Every morning at day-light he manœuvred his army for several hours, and in the evening again formed his parade. Never were finer men seen than those which composed this force, and no soldiers could possibly be in higher order.

The collected force, including the troops from the Cape (about 1200) amounted to 5226 rank and file, and was composed of the following regiments and corps

Royal artillery,	Captain Beaver
Bengal horse artillery,	Captain Browne
Bengal foot ditto,	Captain Fleming
Madras — ditto,	Major Bell
Bombay — ditto,	Captain Powell
Royal engineers.—Bengal ditto —	Madras ditto —Bombay ditto —
Madras pioneers	
His Majesty's 8th light dragoons,	Captain Hawkers
————— 10th foot,	Lieutenant-colonel Quarrel
————— 61st ditto,	Lieutenant-colonel Carruthers
————— 80th ditto,	Colonel Ramsay
————— 86th ditto,	Lieutenant-colonel Lloyd.
————— 88th ditto,	Colonel Beresford
Bengal volunteers, native infantry,	Captain Michie
1st Bombay regiment ditto,	Major Holmes
7th ditto ————— ditto,	Major Laureston

The respective quota furnished by the different establishments to which these corps belonged, is thus to be divided

East India Company's artillery, &c	448	Max.
Ditto native troops,	1940	
King's troops, .	2838	
	5226	
		To

To which must be added 271 officers, of which 33 were natives.

391 serjeants.

123 drummers

440 lascars

276 servants, not soldiers.

572 public followers.

305 private ditto

2320

Which makes a general total of 7546 persons, including sick, &c.

GENERAL STAFF

Major general Baird	54th foot,	Commander in chief
Colonel Achmuty	10th ditto,	Adjutant general
Colonel Murray	84th ditto,	Quarter-master general
Major Macquarie	77th ditto,	Deputy adjutant general
Captain Falconer	71st ditto,	Deputy quarter master general
Captain Molle	Scotch brigade,	Private sec and aid de camp
Captain Tucker	22d foot,	May of brigade to gen Baird
Lieutenant Badgen	84th ditto,	Additional aid de camp and muster master
Major Harris	Bombay infantry,	Auditor of Bombay accounts.
Captain Michie	Bengal volunteers,	Ditto of Beng and Mad do
Captain Scott	Madras artillery,	Commissary of stores
Lieut Warden	Bombay ditto,	Deputy ditto
Captain Burr	Ditto infantry,	Commissary of cattle
Lieut Fagan	Bengal ditto,	Boat-master
T White, esq paymaster to the troops		
T Shabrick, esq commissary of provisions to ditto		
Mr Secluno, deputy ditto		

BRIGADE STAFF

<i>Right Brigade.</i>		
Colonel Beresford	88th foot,	Commanding
Captain Trotter	Ditto,	Brigade-major
Capt Cox, (assist Q. M. G.)	68th ditto,	Acting quarter-master
<i>Left Brigade.</i>		
Lieutenant colonel Montrefor	80th foot,	Commanding
Lieut White (assist Q. M. G.)	13th dragoons,	Acting brigade-major,
Ditto ditto	Ditto,	Acting quarter master.

GARRISON STAFF

Colonel Ramsay		Commandant of Gizah,
Lieutenant Harvey	80th foot,	Brigade-major
Lieutenant Macdonald	61st ditto,	Town adjutant.
Lieutenant Denoe	10th ditto,	Garrison quarter master.
<hr/>		
Lieutenant-colonel Barlow	61st foot,	Commandant of Rosetta
		Major

MAJOR-GEN BAIRD'S RECEPTION
BY THE PACHA OF CAIRO

*Extract of a Letter from an Officer
of Major-General Baird's Army
to his Friend at Bombay, dated
Gizah, opposite Grand Cairo,
May 18, 1802*

"On the 15th inst major-general Baird, preparatory to the march of the army across the Desert to Soeha, paid a visit of ceremony to his highness the pacha of Egypt in Grand Cairo

"The general, attended by his staff and other officers, with an escort of the 8th light dragoons, crossed the river to the Cairo side in the morning, where a Turkish guard of honour, consisting of horse and foot, were drawn up to receive him. On landing, the general was met by the pacha's chief secretary and interpreter

"After the usual compliments and honours being paid, the guards moved off in front at a slow pace toward his highness's palace, the kettle drums and other music of the Turkish horse playing during the procession, while the heralds proclaimed the approach of the English general

"On coming near the palace, (formerly general Kleber's, and in which he was assassinated,) we found the streets lined with the Albanian guards up to the steps of the great staircase. The appearance of the soldiers was more sanguinary than martial, every man, besides his musket and bayonet, being armed with a brace of pistols, a dagger, and a sword.—Having arrived at the palace, the general dismounted, when he was received by the officers of state and conducted to the chamber of audience.—Here the pacha met the general at the door, and received him in the most flattering and distinguished

manner. After being served with coffee, sherbet, &c and the compliments customary on such occasions had passed, as well as a conversation of some length relative to the march of the army across the Desert, in the forwarding of which his highness offered, in the most unreserved manner, every assistance in his power, the general rose to take leave, when the pacha requested his acceptance of a war horse fully caparisoned, and a sword,—adding, they were the gifts of esteem and friendship.—The staff and other officers of the general's suite also received each a sword

"The general was requested by the pacha, as a particular honour, to mount the horse on leaving the palace, which he accordingly did, and was saluted with nineteen guns on passing through the great square

"We then turned home in the same manner we came, amidst an immense concourse of people and, as is usual in most Mussulman countries, were importuned for *Bu kheses* (money) on all sides

"The saddle and furniture presented to general Baird must be of great value, the former being solid silver gilt, and the latter crimson velvet studded with stars and crescents of the like metal. The horse was one of the most beautiful animals I ever beheld, and of the finest breed in Turkey. The general's sword was no less costly, the scabbard and mounting being of entire gold, and the blade one of the true Damascus. We afterwards learnt that the whole had been sent by the grand signior to the pacha, on raising him to his present high situation in the empire

"Two days afterwards the pacha returned the general's visit. His highness came to the Gizah side of the river in his state barge, attended

by a great number of others full of *grandees*, janissaries, attendants, &c. &c. The morning being remarkably fine, heightened the interest of the scene. The effect of the Turkish music on the water, with the gay appearance of the various flags and pendants, was truly striking. Add to the reflection, arising from a conscious proper pride, on a British, and a British Asiatic army from "Further Ind," drawn up on the banks of Old Father Nile to do honour to the Ottoman crescent, and you will, I think, envy us,—as well as regret, in no common degree, your absence on such an occasion.

"The pacha on landing was received by two of the general's staff. A salute of cannon immediately commenced, the troops formed in a street, presented arms, and the bands began to play. His highness seemed highly pleased, bowed to the officers as he passed with much urbanity, and frequently remarked to the pacha of the Albanians, and the other great officers of his suite, the fine and martial appearance of the soldiery, the *sepoys* attracted much attention. A few yards from head-quarters, (formerly the country house of Murad Bey,) the general, accompanied by the principal officers of the army, met the pacha, and after welcoming him to the garrison, and the usual compliments having passed, the whole procession entered the grand saloon, which had been previously ornamented in the Turkish style, with divans, carpets, &c. Here the officers formed a circle, and coffee, sherbet, &c. were served up to his highness and suite in the eastern style, the band of the 86th regiment playing all the time. With the music the pacha seemed particularly delighted. We remarked that the tambourine and triangle, being

nearly Turkish, afforded him much pleasure, especially in the Battle of Prague, in which Kotzwarow has introduced one of their national airs as the quick step. The eyes of the janissaries kindled at hearing their favourite call to battle.

"After being entertained for a considerable time in this manner, and much civilities exchanged on both sides, the pacha rose to take leave. The general then requested his highness, and his principal officers, to accept of some arms of English workmanship, consisting of fuses, pistols, &c. He also presented the pacha with some jewels set in the eastern mode.

"On his highness leaving the gateway, the general having ordered two of the finest Mocha bulls to be there, begged his acceptance of them. This last present the pacha seemed highly pleased with, as the breed is unknown in Turkey. The humps on their shoulders occasioned many observations from the attendants.

"The general having accompanied the pacha a few yards towards the river, his highness requested he might go no farther, he expressed himself highly gratified with his reception, and again repeated his professions of friendship, and anxious wish to assist the army in their march across the desert, he then embarked under the former honours and salute.

"The general, on this particular occasion, and in compliment to the pacha, wore the order of the crescent and diamond sashette presented him by the grand signior. The officers of the army also wore their medals.

"Having thus detailed to you this ceremony, I shall not intrude longer on your patience, and only add, that, from the cordial and friendly disposition of the pacha, I think we shall

shall accomplish this arduous march across the desert of Suez without loss or difficulty and unattended by those fatigues and hardships so severely felt, yet so nobly surmounted, by our brave fellows, in the former ordeal from the shores of the Red Sea across the arid and burning desert of the Thebaid "

GENERAL ORDERS

Fort William July 31, 1802

"Major general Burd, commanding the forces employed in the late expedition from India to Egypt, arrived this day at the presidency, attended by the governor general's state-boats, and was received, on his landing at Chaudpaul Ghaut, by the officers of his excellency's staff

"The governor general, in council, derived sincere satisfaction from the highly honourable testimony borne by major general the earl of Cavan, to the services of major-general Baird, and of the troops from the establishment of India, lately employed in Egypt

"Under a grateful impression of the important aid derived to the common cause of our country, by the able and successful conduct of the expedition from India to Egypt, his excellency is pleased to order, that honorary medals be conferred on all the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers, troopers, and sepoy, golandauze and gun lascars, who have been employed on service in Egypt "

Extract of the Earl of Cavan's Letter to his Excellency the Governor-General, alluded to in the above Orders, dated Alexandria, May 6, 1802

"I am sensible no opinion of mine can increase the very high and deserved estimation that the profes-

sional abilities of major-general Baird have acquired. But it is a justice I owe to him, and the troops he brought under his command from India, to testify to your excellency the very full satisfaction they have given me on every occasion since I had the honour of having them under my command

"Their excellent discipline and obedience, and their patience (under great fatigues and hardships), have been equalled by their highly exemplary conduct in the correct and regular discharge of every duty of soldiers and though they may lament that circumstances rendered it impossible for them to have taken a part in the brilliant actions in this country during the last campaign, it must be a satisfaction for them to know, that their services in Egypt have been as important and essential to their country as those of their brother soldiers, that gained such distinguished victories in it

"I have requested of them to accept of my humble approbation, and very best thanks, and I beg leave to recommend general Baird and them strongly to your excellency's notice "

Entertainment given by the Governor-General to the Officers of the Indian Army, &c

On the 9th August, his excellency the most noble the governor-general entertained at breakfast, in the new government-house, major-general Baird and the officers of the army returned from Egypt, together with all the principal inhabitants of the Danish settlement of Serampore

At eight o'clock a.m. the same day, the flag was hoisted in Fort William, and a royal salute was fired in honour of the return of the army from Egypt.

MASSACHUSETTS

*MASSACRE of the TURKS,
By the French Troops, under the
command of General Bonaparte,
(Extracted from Lieut. Col Sir ROBERT
THOMAS WILSON'S History of the
British Expedition to Egypt)*

General Hutchinson was very angry with the Turks for still continuing the practice of mangling and cutting off the heads of the prisoners and the Captain Pasha, at his remonstrance, issued again very severe orders against it, but the Turks justified themselves for the massacre of the French by the massacre at Jaffa. As this act, and the poisoning of the sick, have never been credited, because of such enormities being so incredibly atrocious, a digression to authenticate them may not be deemed intrusively tedious and had not the influence of power interfered, the act of accusation would have been preferred in a more solemn manner, and the damning proofs produced by penitent agents of these murders: but neither menaces, recompense, nor promises can altogether stifle the cries of outraged humanity, and the day for retribution of justice is only delayed.

Bonaparte having carried the town of Jaffa by assault, many of the garrison were put to the sword, but the greatest part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted their lives, and let it be well remem-

bered, that an exasperated army, in the moment of revenge, when the laws of war justified the rage, yet heard the voice of pity, received its impression, and proudly refused to be any longer the executioners of an unresisting enemy. Soldiers of the Italian army, this is a laurel wreath worthy of your fame, a trophy of which the subsequent treason of an individual shall not deprive you!

Three days afterwards, Bonaparte, who had expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of 3800 prisoners*, ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa, where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal gun fired. Volleys of musquetry and grape instantly played against them. Kleber had remonstrated in the most strenuous manner, and the officer of the état major who commanded (for the general to whom the division belonged was absent) even refused to execute the order without a written instruction: but Bonaparte was too cautious, and sent Berthier to enforce obedience.

When the Turks had all fallen, the French troops humanely endeavoured to put a period to the sufferings

* Bonaparte had in person inspected, previously, the whole body, amounting to near 5000 men with the object of saving those who belonged to the towns he was preparing to attack. The age and noble physiognomy of a veteran Janissary attracted his observation, and he asked him in reply, "Old man, what do you do here?" The Janissary, undismayed, replied, "I must answer that question by asking you the same, your answer will be, that you came to save your Sulthan; so did I mine. The intrepid frankness of the reply excited universal interest in his favour. Bonaparte even smiled, "He is saved" whispered one of his aids-du-camp. "You know not Bonaparte," observed one who had served with him in Italy, "that smile, I speak from experience, does not preserve him in the sentiment of benevolence; remember what I say. The opinion was too true. The Janissary was left in the ranks, doomed to death and suffered

strings of the wounded, but some time elapsed before the bayonet could smite what the fire had not destroyed, and probably many languished days in agony. Several French officers, by whom partly these details are furnished, declared, that this was a scene, the retrospect of which tormented their recollection, and that they could not reflect on it without horror, accustomed as they had been to sights of cruelty.

These were the prisoners whom Affalini, in his very able work on the plague, alludes to, when he says, that for three days the Turks shewed no symptoms of that disease, and it was their putrifying remains which produced the pestilential miasma, which he describes as afterwards making such ravages in the French army.

Their bones still lie in heaps, and are shewn to every traveller who arrives, nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault, since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town.

Such a fact should not, however, be alledged without some proof, or leading circumstance stronger than assertion, being produced to support it, but there would be a want of generosity in naming individuals, and branding them to the latest posterity with infamy, for obeying a command when their submission became an act of necessity, since the whole army did not mutiny against the execution, therefore to establish further the authenticity of the relation, this only can be mentioned, that it was *Bona's* division which fired, and thus every one is afforded the opportunity of satisfying themselves respecting the truth, by inquiring of officers serving in the different brigades composing this division.

MASSACRE of the BEYS

[We received this Translation from a Gentleman in England, who from a desire to make his version literal, has thought it necessary to preserve the Oriental idiom.]

Translation of a Letter from Mahomed Bey Chirawans, Hamed Bey Keragi, and Osman Bey Berdici, dated the 18th of the Moon Giamed Achar, Year of the Hejrab 1216

To our Royal and Illustrious Master and Protector in Egypt, BRAHIM BEY, whom God keep in his holy Care

After the great pleasure of seeing and saluting you, we make known what you probably have already heard in France, that we came to the camp of the Captain Bashaw, by his orders, where we received many marks of honour, which, alas! is now no more the case.

We shall make known to you this sad reverse on Thursday, the 14th day, or the above month, the Captain Bashaw gave us and the other beys and officers a feast of much splendor and magnificence, after the conclusion of this, he asked us to make a little excursion by sea to Alexandria, we answered that we were under his orders, and embarked in humility in the boats with him: there were present Osman Bey Gurgawoni, Osman Bey Leshkar, Mahomed Bey Elmenfour, Ibrahim Codhorda Suman, and the Jukadar of Osman Bey Gurgawoni, besides ourselves and two followers in the boat with Captain Bashaw. All these beys and officers, and also Hamed Bey Keragi, Murad Bey Sogir, and Mahomed Bey Chirawani, Osman Aga, Hali Aga, and Souman Aga, in various boats, went off with due courage and confidence of mind, having no suspicion of treachery or evil—but these expressions

profusions of esteem flowed only from the lips of fallacy, for when we were at a little distance, there came a small boat to the one in which we were, with a Gio Reden in it, informing the Captain Bafhaw that a man called Mahommed el Legu, of Constantinople, had arrived with a firman from the great Emperor this was known to be false, for there was a good understanding between all the traitorous actors a large boat full of soldiers was near, and that moment the Captain Bafhaw ordered us to remain near this one, until he should go to see the contents of the firman, and return. He then went into the messenger's boat, and we approached the one which contained concealed soldiers. As soon as the Bafhaw had disappeared, the soldiers shewed themselves, armed with carabines, muskets, pistols, &c. they seized the boat, lashed it to their own, jumped into our's, and began to murder and destroy us, and the numbers of our slain were six, the son and probable successor to the rank of his father, Murad Bey, lately deceased, Osman Bey Gurgawoni, Osman Lefchar, Mahommed Bey Elmenfour, Murad Bey Sagir, Ibrahim Cod-hotda Suman, and Jukadar of Osman Gurgawoni, those were the dead. As to ourselves (Osman Bey Berdici), we have been wounded in several parts, and God has saved us. The remainder of our chiefs, Hamed Bey Keraigi, Mahommed Bey Chircawoni, Osman Aga, Ally Aga, and Soliman Aga, were also saved from death, and were all put into the large boat, plundered and bound. There came afterwards, on the part of the Great Pacha, the named Mahommed Pacha, governor of Cairo, who divided us by two, and sent us on board the ships of war—

but as the English, towards four in the evening, got tidings of what had passed, they went immediately to the Bafhaw's camp, and liberated the remaining Manedukes, with all their baggage, tents, and effects; the chiefs of the English were also sent to the Bafhaw to tell him — “Is this the treatment that men merit come here under our word, and under our protection? However, our orders are, that you bring immediately to us the bodies of the slain, and of the living, and if you do not obey, we will wage against you a terrible war.” That same night the dead bodies were given up, and next day we arrived also in the tent of Mahommed Kaia Kurrba, in that time came also the English with horsemen, foot soldiers, cannon, all according to the military art, and formed in battle array, at a musquet shot from the tent of the Bafhaw. The English general sent one of his great men with his dragoman to demand us, the Bafhaw said, “they are in the tent of Mahommed Kaia.” The general then again sent one of his chiefs to call us thither, to the great tent of the Bafhaw. In that moment the Bafhaw said, to console us, “Death is by the will of God and royal order.” This was his consolation. The English took us immediately, forced us to mount upon horses belonging to the same Bafhaw, conducted us to their camp with many marks of honor, and ordered us to give a list of our lost effects, which we signed, sealed, and gave to the mighty chief, and we have received multiplied remuneration, great honors and true tokens of friendship, without suspicion of its being false. They have also communicated to us, with all goodness, “you shall be better of than before,” and the great

great general asked of you, and of all the force of the Mamelukes (which means making his best compliments) This is what has happened unto us, and may God be on our sides and our protector - I pray that your excellency may be of good vigilance, well regulated, and that the Mamelukes may be collected Go to old Cairo or Gizah, for the English are there, and they are the friends of the Mamelukes be of good courage, be comforted by our sentiments of consolation, beware of the Turks, however strong the external show of their friendship

may be, all is a snare, put no belief in them; remember their oath to us, the great oath upon the *holy book*, and upon the *sword of many deeds*, such is their treachery—assemble therefore, immediately, and join the English, never act against their orders; put faith in them, let that be your only maxim, I pray you

Our chiefs and brothers salute you “ May the day of our union soon take place, and may God take you and us all under his holy and mighty protection ”

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS, &c.

BENGAL.

APRIL 1861

- Mr. James Hare, surgeon to the hospital at the presidency for the reception of insane persons
 Mr. John Thornhill, deputy collector of the government customs at Calcutta
 Mr. William Watt, assistant to the commercial resident at Commercetally

MAY

- Mr. Burnish Crisp, second judge of the provincial court of appeal and court of circuit for the division of Dacca
 Mr. Henry Ramus, second judge of the provincial court of appeal and court of circuit for the division of Calcutta
 Mr. T. N. L. Stuart, judge and magistrate of the city of Murshedabad
 Mr. J. B. Smith, commercial resident at Haripaul
 Mr. Francis Gladwin, collector of government customs and of the city duties at Patna
 Mr. J. Raurav, collector of the government customs at Hooghly
 Mr. James Irwin, superintendant of the eastern chokies in the salt department
 Mr. William Cunningham, superintendant of the western chokies in the salt department
 Mr. John Kinloch, assistant to the salt agent for the division of Bulliah and Chittagong
 Mr. James King, assistant to the salt department for the division of Tumlook
 Mr. G. R. Foley, collector of Boglepore
 Sir Frederick Hamilton, deputy paymaster at Chunar, and commissary of bazars
 Mr. Robert Richardson, head assistant in the export warehouse
 Mr. H. T. Travers, assistant to the import warehouse keeper
 Mr. Edward Scott Waring, assistant to the secretary to the residency at the court of Poonah
 Mr. W. J. Munro, second assistant to the secretary to the government in the revenue and judicial department

JUNE

- Mr. William Blunt, assistant to the collector of Kishnagur
 Mr. Richard Bichar, collector of the government customs and of the city duties at Murshedabad
 Mr. Joshua John Brownlow Proby, collector of the government customs and city duties at Dacca
 Mr. Joseph Sherburne, collector of Boglepore, in the room of Mr. Foley, deceased
 Mr. John Baue, deputy postmaster general
 Mr. Edward Cothbert, register to the city court of Murshedabad
 Mr. Charles Patton, assistant to the register of the city court of Patna
 Mr. J. D. Erskine, register of the zillah court of Chittagong
 Mr. J. B. Lang, ditto of Dacca
 Mr. George Suttie, ditto of Dinnagapore
 Mr. G. C. Masler, assistant to the register of the zillah court of Beerbhoom
 Mr. W. E. Wynch, register of the zillah court of Mirzapoor
 Mr. H. Parry, ditto of Tipperah
 Mr. W. Fauquier, assistant to the collector of Beerbhoom
 Mr. J. H. T. Roberdeau, assistant to the collector of Momening
 Mr. B. Turner, assistant to the collector of Rysmahye
 Mr. James Patton, assistant to the collector of Murshedabad
 Mr. Charles Elliot, second assistant to the secretary to the government in the public department
 Mr. John Patterson, first assistant to the commercial resident at Dacca
 Mr. J. Forsyth, first assistant to the commercial resident at Luckypore
 Mr. George Chester, first assistant to the commercial resident at Sonapore
 Mr. J. O. Oldham, first assistant to the commercial resident at Cuthibhoor
 Mr. R. Brooke, first assistant to the commercial resident at Rungpore

Mr.

Mr H Mundy, second assistant to the commercial resident at Soanmooky
 Mr H Stone, first assistant to the secretary in the salt department
 Mr I Powney, second ditto
 Mr G Monckton, assistant to the salt agent for the division of Hidgele
 Mr James Bell, assistant to the salt agent for the division of the 24 Pergunnahs

JULY

Mr Claude Russell, first assistant to the secretary to government
 Mr John Monckton, second ditto
 Mr John Adam, senior assistant in the governor-general's office
 Mr John Monckton, second ditto
 Mr Edward Golding, third ditto
 Mr Benjamin Dean Wyatt, keeper of records
 Mr Charles D'Oyley, fourth assistant to ditto
 Mr Charles Patterson, fifth ditto
 Mr Thomas Fortescue, sixth ditto
 Mr John Forbes, seventh ditto

AUGUST

Mr J D Erskine, registrar of the zillah court of Mirzapore
 Mr W Wynch, registrar of the zillah court of Chittagong
 Mr Ed Walter Blunt, assistant in the office of the military paymaster general
 Rev Paul Linerick, chaplain to the college of Fort William

OCTOBER

G H Barlow, esq to be a member of the supreme council of Fort William
 G Udny, esq to be ditto
 G H Barlow, esq to be vice president and deputy governor of Fort William
 Mr W P Elliot, assistant to the embassy to the Arab States

DECEMBER

Mr J E. Colebrooke, second judge of the provincial court of appeal and court of circuit for the division of Patna
 Mr J Rattray, collector of Tirhoot
 Mr G P Ricketts, collector of Behar
 Mr J Barton, collector of Benares
 Mr J Twining, collector of Shahabad
 Mr John Thornhill, deputy custom master, for the collection of the town duties of Calcutta
 Mr C T Mercalfe, assistant to the resident with Dowlat Row Scudiah
 Mr H Douglas, third judge of the provincial court of appeal and court of circuit for the division of Patna
 Mr Yoyr Burges, judge and magistrate of the zillah of Mirzapore.

VOL 4

Mr Richard William Pade, judge and magistrate of the Zillah of Dinagepore

Mr James Wintle, judge and magistrate of Bojlepoore

Mr Andrew Gardner, judge and magistrate of the Zillah of Backergunge

Mr Archibald Montgomerie, register of the provincial court of appeal and court of circuit for the division of Patna

M William Parker, collector of Burdwan

Mr Robert Keith Dick, collector of Purnea

Mr A P Johnstone, head assistant to the secretary and Bengal and Persian translator in the board of revenue

Mr Thomas Powney, removed from the office of the secretary in the salt department, and appointed to the office of assistant to the superintendent of the western chukies

JANUARY 1802

Mr Edward Stretell, to the office of advocate general to the honourable company

The hon G H Barlow, esq to be acting visitor of the college of Fort William during the absence of the Governor general from the presidency

H T Colebrooke, esq and J H Harrington, esq to be members of the council of the college of Fort William

H T Colebrooke, esq to be professor of the Hindu law and of the Sanskrit language

J H Harrington, esq to be professor of the law and regulations of the British government in India.

FEBRUARY

George Hilary Barlow, esq to be chief judge of the courts of Sudder Dewanny Adalat and Nizamut Adawlut, and president of the board of revenue
 George Udny, esq to be president of the board of trade

MARCH

Mr A Welland, collector of Cawn-pore

Mr G Webb, register to the court of justice established under the collector of Behar

Mr N P Shubrick, register to the court of justice established under the collector of Erahwah

Mr R Graham, register to the court of justice under the collector of Cawn-pore

† G

Mr

- Mr Hubert Cornish, register to the court of justice under the collector of Allahabad
 Mr Nelson Simon, register to the court of justice under the collector of Gurruckpor
 Mr C Duillion, register to the court of justice under the collector of Barrell
 Mr J W Lung, sub secretary to the board of revenue
 Mr J W Grant, assistant to the register and second assistant to the magistrate of the Zillah of Mirzapore
 Mr A Rois, assistant to the collector of Gurruckpor
 Mr W Scott, assistant to the collector of the government customs at Calcutta
 Mr G D Cathrie, register to the court of appeal and circuit at Barrell
 Mr J Wemyss, assistant to the collector of Ershwah
 Mr M La, assistant to the superintendent of eastern Salt Chicks
 Mr J W Sanders, assistant to the register of the court of appeal and circuit for the division of Benares
 Mr C Lloyd, secretary to the embassy to Nepal
 Mr R O Wynne, assistant to the register and to the magistrate of the city of Benares
 Mr F Morgan, assistant to the register, and 1st assistant to the magistrate of the city of Dacca
 Mr R van Ransant, assistant to the collector of the government customs at Patna
 Mr R Thackeray, assistant to the collector of Dacca
 Mr David Campbell, assistant to the secretary of the board of revenue
 Mr H H Wilson, register to the court of appeal and circuit for the division of Calcutta
 Mr W P Potts, assistant to the collector of Cawnpore

APR 11

- Mr Robert Graham re appointed register of the Darny Adawlut, and assistant to the magistrate of the city of Patna
 Mr Henry Douglas, re appointed to the office of judge and magistrate of the city of Patna
 His excellency Sir Saad Vyse with the countenance and approbation of his excellency the most noble the Governor General has been pleased to appoint Mr Gore Ould to attend his person, in the capacity of aid de-camp

SUPREME COUNCIL, &c FOR BENGAL

- Supreme Council*
 His excellency the most noble Richard Marquis Wellesley, K. P. Governor General
 Geo Hilary B. How, esq. vice president
 Lieut. General Gerard Lake
 George Udny, esq.
Principal Secretaries to Government
 John Lumfden, chief secretary
 Neil Benjamin Fan onstone, secretary in the secret, political and foreign departments and Indian secretary to government
 Charles Russell Crommelin, secretary in the public department
 Geo Dowdeswell, secretary in the revenue and judicial departments
 Captain Lionel Hook, secretary in the military department

MADRAS

- JULY 1861
 Mr F Richardson, commercial resident at Nagore
 Mr C Churchill, assistant under the collector of the 3d division of Malabar
 Mr Charles Baker, collector of the revenue derived from the sale of arrack, toddy, and other spirituous liquors
 Mr Peter Bruce, assistant under the principal collector in the ceded districts

SEPTEMBER

- Mr Thomas Anstey, Malabar translator to government
 Mr George Travers, deputy accountant in the revenue and commercial departments

Mr

Mr Andrew Scott, collector at Guntoor, to take charge of the province of Palnad

Mr G Stratton, collector of the Western Poligar to take charge of the districts of Arcot north of the river Palar

Captain J G Graham collector of Kistnagherry to take charge of the districts of Arcot south of the river Palar

Mr E C Greenway collector of the jaghire to take charge of Pulicat and the district of Servadio

Mr T B Hardis collector of Dindigul to take charge of the districts of Madura and dependant Poligar

Mr S R Lushington collector of Pondicherry to take charge of the province of Finnevel

Mr J B Travers collector of the districts of Ongole and Nellore

Mr J Wallace, junior collector of the districts of Trichinopoly and dependant Poligars

Mr George Garrow, secretary to the board of revenue

Mr Francis Ellis deputy secretary ditto

Mr P Kinsloch assistant under the collector of Trichinopoly

Mr Thomas Toivens ditto ditto of Nellore and Ongole districts

Mr T S Savory ditto ditto in the division of Arcot south of the river Palar

Major William Macleod principal collector of the provinces of Malabar and Coimbatore

Mr George Read, of Coimbatore, under Major Macleod

Mr John Strace subordinate collector in the province of Malabar

Mr B Hugson, ditto do

Mr M Kaine ditto do

Mr J Heyburn assistant to the sub-collector in the province of Coimbatore

Mr D Cickhorn collector of the Barramahli with the districts of Salem, Kistnagherry and the conquerable territories lately under the charge of Captain Graham

Mr Charles Hyde, assistant to the collector of the Barramahli and Salem

Mr A Wilson, do do N D of Canara

Mr W Dodwell, do do in the jaghire

John Chamber, esq chief secretary to government

DECEMBER

Josiah Webbe esq resident at Mysore
John Hughes esq Sheriff of Madras

JANUARY 1802

Mr E Ro-burk, to be master attendant at Comba

Mr Le Chevallier de Courson to be master attendant at Masulipatam

Mr Robert Sheridan reporter of the external commerce of the territories under the presidency of Fort St George

Mr Thomas Robinson head assistant under the secretary to the board of trade

Mr B R Lushington assistant under the collector general

Mr J D Alexander assistant to the collector of the cement customs

Mr Henry B commercial resident at Ramnall

Mr John Stuart Sullivan deputy commercial resident at Ramnall

Mr John Nicholson Watt deputy commercial resident at Tirunelveli

Mr Edward Coe deputy commercial resident at the presidency, and to take charge of the Madras investment

Mr Thomas Wallis deputy commercial resident at Vizagapatam

Dr Berry to be head surgeon, *vide* Obituary on page 6 to page 10

Mr Boswell to be medical storekeeper, *vide* Dr Berry

Mr Horsman to be secretary to the medical board *vide* Mr Boswell

Commissions appointed for the New Court of Requests

Walter Grant esq appointed 1st commissioner of the new court of commissioners for the recovery of small debts

Richard Yelham, esq 2d ditto

Lik Hou vill Sterling, esq 3d ditto

Mr Philip Clarke reporter

Mr Alexander Mckenzie to bearrison in garrison of Fort St George *vide* Mr Boswell

Mr Wm Cook to be an assistant under the collector of government auctions

Mr B C Form to be an assistant to the manager for the supply of beef and the collector of the revenue divided from the sale of arrack toddy and other spirituous liquors

FEBRUARY

Mr Cecil Smith, accountant general
† G 2 Mr

OCTOBER

Mungo Dick, esq member of council

Mr Benjamin Randall, assistant to the commercial resident at Nagore
 Mr Arthur Brooke appointed head assistant to the commercial resident at Cuddalore
 Mr Steven Harris, appointed assistant to the military paymaster general
 Thomas Oakes, esq a member of the board of revenue
 Lionel Place, esq a member of the board of revenue
 James Taylor, esq superintendent of quality of the investment
 Edward Cox, esq deputy
 Alexander Mackenzie, esq secretary to the board of trade

MARCH
 Nicol Mein, esq to be third member of the medical board
 Mr Assistant Surgeon White, to take charge of the dispensary at Fort St George *vice* Coan, deceased.
 APRIL
 Cecil Smith esq accountant general and civil auditor
 Mr G F Travers deputy accountant general and commercial
 Mr M Forbes, deputy revenue accountant
 Mr Macartom Simon, Armenian translator and interpreter to the supreme court of judicature

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL, &c FOR MADRAS

Right honourable Edward Lord Clive governor
 Lieut general James Stuart, commander in chief
 William Petrie, esq
 Mungo Dick, esq
Principal Secretaries to Government
 John Chamier, esq chief secretary, and appointed to succeed to the first vacancy in council
 George Buchan, secretary in the military department
 John Hodgson, do revenue and judicial do
 George Gilbert Keble, do public and commercial do

BOMBAY

JULY 1801

Mr John Smee to be senior merchant, *vice* Ramfay, returned to Europe
 Mr G W Gilho to be senior merchant, *vice* Cephane, returned to Europe
 Mr C Wren, to be junior merchant, *vice* Smee promoted
 Mr T Day, to be factor, *vice* Gilho, promoted

AUGUST

Mr J H Cherry custom master at Bombay, *vice* Maister, proceeded to England
 Mr George Brown commercial resident at Surat *vice* Cherry, called to the presidency

SEPTEMBER

Mr George Kirkpatrick, to be senior

in chart *vice* Maister, gone to Europe
 Mr John Hume Olphant to be junior merchant, *vice* Kirkpatrick, promoted
 Mr William Crozier to be factor, *vice* Olphant promoted
 Mr P Hall to be the honourable Company's solicitor
 Mr Edward Popham, clerk of the peace, *vice* Constable, deceased
 Mr Camberlidge conductor of government prosecutions, *vice* Hall, resigned

DECEMBER

Mr George Patterson, to be alderman in the room of Mr Harding
 Mr Edward Atkins, to be mayor for the ensuing year
 Mr James Douglas Richardson, to be sheriff for do

Mr

Mr George Wood to become, *vice* Richardson, resigned
 Mr John Smee, to be paymaster of extraordinary, *vice* Smith resigned
 Mr Peter Pare Travers to be first assistant to the treasurer, *vice* Smith, resigned
 Mr John Williams to be second assistant to ditto *vice* Travers, promoted

MARCH, 1802

Mr D C Ramsay promoted to the rank of a senior merchant *vice* Taylor, proceeded to England
 Mr R Church, promoted to the rank of a senior merchant, *vice* George Patterson deceased
 Mr J V Drury to be a junior merchant, *vice* Ramsay, promoted
 Mr J Hallett do *vice* Smith, proceeded to England
 Mr H S Pearson to be a junior merchant, *vice* R Church promoted
 Messrs Munro Flower Crawford Williams Drummond Richardson Lovett, Diggle, Steadman, Baber and Goodwin are also promoted to the rank of factors
 Mr John Fell to the rank of a junior merchant, *vice* Bowler, deceased —
 And Mr J Elphinstone, to the rank

of a junior merchant, *vice* Fell, promoted
 John Hector Cherry, esq temporary member of council, *vice* William Page esq proceeded to England
 Robert Henshaw esq acting customs master, *vice* Cherry, called into council

APRIL

John Spencer esq to be judge and magistrate of Sultete, &c *vice* Lewis Cockran, proceeded to England
 George Waddell, esq to be senior merchant *vice* J H Cherry, esq called into council
 George Brown esq ditto ditto, *vice* James Is dylon, gone to Europe
 N H Smith esq ditto ditto, *vice* D Ramsay ditto ditto
 James Lee esq *vice* Lewis Cockran, esq ditto ditto
 John Elphinstone esq to be junior merchant *vice* Waddell promoted
 G L Pendergraft esq to be junior merchant *vice* Brown promoted
 J A Grant, to be junior merchant, *vice* Smith, promoted
 G Waddell esq is appointed commissary of receipt and issue of provisions
 David Deas Ingles esq paymaster to the detachment serving in Guzerat

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL, &c. FOR BOMBAY.

The honourable Jonathan Duncan, president and governor

John Hector Cherry, esq temporary member
 Robert Rickards, esq *sec to government*

MILITARY PROMOTIONS, &c.

BENGAL

In His Majesty's Regiments

APRIL 1801

By the COMMANDER IN CHIEF

27th Light Dragoons. Cornet F Clark, to be Lieut *vice* Whiter, deceased, 24th May 1801, Adjutant V Bengal,

to be Cornet, *vice* Clark, promoted, do Cornet C Deme, to be Lieut by purchase, *vice* J M Partridge, who retires, 25th do J H Barstley, gent to be Cornet by purchase, *vice* Dean 1st Dec 1800

† G 3

1916

- 12th Foot** Ensign H Kater to be Lieut *vice* J Gordon deceased, 1 Nov 1800 Adjutant Jaeger to be Ensign, *vice* Kater promoted do Ensign J Fogerty, to be Lieut *vice* E Nevill deceased, 15th do C Crawford gent to be Ensign *vice* Fogerty, promoted, do Ensign F Campbell fr m the 8th Foot to be Lieut *vice* M Price called up 15th Jan 1801
- 33d Foot** Capt Lieut F R West to be Captain of a company *vice* C Fusta appointed to command the 4th 63th reg 8th March 1800 Lieut A Eustace to be Captain Lieut *vice* West promoted do Ensign S J Bulkeley to be Lieut *vice* Eustace, promoted do
- 73d Foot** Lieut W Fraser, to be Adjutant without purchase *vice* Pitt, who retires 25th Aug 1798 Sergeant Major D R K to be Quarter master without purchase *vice* the hon G Tarnour, who retires, do do
- 77th Foot** G Brifton, gent comm to be Ensign *vice* S Huys, deceased, 6th Dec 1800
- 78th Foot** Ensign J J Stephenson to be Lieut by purchase *vice* Humberston 7th April 1801 James Douglass, gent to be Ensign by purchase, *vice* Stephens, promoted, 11th Dec 1799 Ensign J Lashins to be Lieut by purchase *vice* H G Rooper, promoted in the 4d West India reg 8th April 1801 W Mantell gent to be Lieut without purchase, *vice* J Lashins do do
- 80th Foot** Ensign M R Freeman, to be Lieut by purchase, *vice* Mowbra, promoted, 24th Jan 1801
- Scot b Brigad** Ensign J Bafden to be Lieut by purchase *vice* Black, 17th March 1801 — Sandrock gent to be Ensign by purchase, *vice* Late, 19th Feb do
- By His MAJESTY
- 19th Light Dragoons** Brevet Lieut Col Patrick Maxwell to be Lieut Col *vice* Major Gen Fl ad appointed to the command of the 19th Light Dragoons, 18th Sept 1800 Captain J Bailey, to be Major *vice* Maxwell, do
- 25th Light Dragoons** Lieut J Price to be Captain by purchase *vice* Blaquiere, promoted, 10th Oct 1799 Cornet G M Hunt to be Lieut by purchase *vice* Price do do
- 27th Light Dragoons** Cornet J Hayes, to be Lieut by purchase *vice* Brooks who retires, 1st Nov 1799
- 29th Light Dragoons** Lieut G Pillinghurst from the 7th Light Dragoons to be Captain *vice* Smith deceased, 16th Oct 1800 Veterinary Surgeon S Newman from 14th Light Dragoons, to be Veterinary Surgeon, do do
- 10th Fio** Brevet Col S Auchmuty from 7th Foot, to be Lieut Colonel, *vice* Lotts deceased, 24th Sep 1800 E Morgan gent to be assistant Surgeon *vice* Gill who resigns, 1st Nov 1799
- 12th Foot** Ensign R W Shawe, to be Lieut by purchase *vice* Eustace, promoted, 27th Nov 1799 J Fogerty, gent to be Ensign by purchase *vice* Rest promoted 10th Aug do M J Millow gent to be Ensign by purchase, *vice* Grace promoted 28th do do T Sadlier Cleaveland, gent to be Ensign without purchase *vice* S Cleaveland who declines 1st Nov do E P Pap gent to be Ensign by purchase *vice* Shawe promoted, 26th do do
- 33d Foot** Ensign W Cooper, to be Lieut *vice* Tew, deceased, 11th do do
- 51st Foot** Lieut A Moore from 73d Foot to be Lieut *vice* Warrington, who exchanges 1st Nov do Lieut T Hartup, from 43th Foot, to be Lieut *vice* Johnston who exchanges, 16th Oct 1800
- 73d Foot** Lieut J Harrington from 1st Foot to be Lieut *vice* Moore who exchanges 1st Nov 1799
- 74th Foot** J A Mein gent to be Ensign by purchase *vice* N A Mein, promoted in the 12th Foot, 14th do W Robert gent to be Ensign without purchase *vice* J Armstrong, promoted, in the 77th Foot, 26th do
- 75th Foot** Capt Lieut C Hayes to be Capt without purchase, *vice* Hall, promoted, 5th Oct do Lieut A Stewart, to be Captain Lieut *vice* Hayes, do Ensign J Ferson from the 80th Foot to be Lieut *vice* Stewart, do Brevet Major C Gray from the 77th Foot to be Major without purchase, *vice* Auchmuty promoted in the 10th Foot, 25th Sept 1800
- 76th Foot** R Coxen gent to be Adjutant, *vice* Moreland, who resigns, 26th Nov 1799
- 77th Foot** Ensign J Armstrong, from 74th

74th Foot, to be Lieut *vice* Kirkwood deceased 26th Nov 1799
 78th Foot — Stephens gent to be Ensign by purchase, *vice* Todd who retires 1st Dec 1799 J Larkins gent to be Ensign by purchase, *vice* Dagular, who retires, &c do

80th Foot Sir G C Lichbourn, bart to be Ensign without purchase *vice* Pearson promoted in the 73rd Foot, 5th Oct 1799

50th Foot Lieut J Allen, to be Captain by purchase *vice* Ewing who retires 10th Sept 1799 Ensign W A Irwin from 33d Foot, to be Lieut by purchase *vice* Allen promoted 14th Nov do Sergeant Major — Kingdom from 33d Foot to be Adjutant, *vice* Allen, who resigns 10th Sept do

Staff A Bartolacé gent to be deputy Commissary of Mustfers to the King's Troops serving on the Island of Ceylon 1st Oct 1799

Brevet Lieut T Parkinson W Davidson F Mayother F Penn, Officers of the 10th the East India Company's forces to take rank by Brevet as Captain in His Majesty's Service in the East India only. This Commission is dated 7th Jan 1796

M 3

By the COMMANDER in CHIEF

10th Light Dragoons Capt Lieut J Cuth to be Captain of a Troop, *vice* Bailey promoted 11th Sept 1801 Lieut R Lill to be Captain Lieut *vice* Cathcart Cornet J Crooks, to be Lieut *vice* Lisle do

1st Foot A Moore, gent to be Ensign by purchase, *vice* Kraus, who retires, 27th March do

1st Foot Lieut R Outram, from the Prince of Wales's Regiment of Infantry to be Ensign, *vice* Fox promoted 12th Apr do Capt J E W Chilholm to be Captain of a company, *vice* Flood deceased 6th do Lieut J Short to be Captain Lieut without purchase *vice* Chilholm do Ensign J Huskisson to be Lieut without purchase *vice* Short do J H Bloomfield, gent to be Ensign without purchase, *vice* Huskisson, 6th Apr 1801

7th Foot Capt Lieut H M Murray to be Capt of a company *vice* Swinton promoted 5th do Lieut R Macleod to be Capt Lieut without purchase, *vice* H M Murray do Ensign J A Mcin, to be Lieut with

out purchase, *vice* Macleod do B Collins gent to be Ensign by purchase *vice* Neilson promoted 13th Feb do Ensign W Robertson to be Lieut *vice* P Shank deceased 29th Apr do Ensign I Campbell, from the 78th Regiment, to be Lieut *vice* A Campbell, deceased 30th do

78th Foot Ensign J G Wain to be Lieut by purchase, *vice* Sears promoted in the 9th Foot, 1st do

77th Foot Brevet Major L Macquarie, to be Major without purchase *vice* C Crox, promoted in the 7th Reg 4th do Capt Lieut C McIntosh to be Capt of a company without purchase, *vice* Macquarie promoted do Lieut D Mackenzie to be Capt Lieut without purchase *vice* McIntosh do

8th Foot A Adamson gent to be Ensign by purchase, *vice* Mowbray promoted 11th Oct Captain H O Browne, of His Majesty's 7th Regiment to be Major of Brigade to the King's Troop serving under the British in the room of Brigade Major Maquarie, promoted to the Majority of the 7th Regiment

JUNE

By the COMMANDER in CHIEF

2nd Light Dragoons Assistant Surgeon J Sharpe, to be Surgeon *vice* J H Law deceased 15th June 1801

17th Regiment Ensign M J McIn, to be Lieut *vice* Parker deceased 28th May 1801 C Mackay gent to be Ensign without purchase, *vice* Mollis, promoted do

3rd Light Dragoons Lieut A G Gordon to be Capt Lieut *vice* Gore promoted 1st Feb 1801

7th Foot J White gent to be Ensign without purchase, *vice* J A Mcin, promoted 5th Apr 1801 J Kennedy gent to be Ensign without purchase *vice* Robertson promoted 25th do Capt Lieut R McLeod, to be Capt of a company *vice* J Campbell, deceased 30th May 1801 Lieut R Manners, to be Capt Lieut *vice* R McLeod promoted do

10th Light Dragoons Ensign R Syme, to be Lieut *vice* Bullock deceased 2d Apr 1801 F Engh gent to be Ensign *vice* Syme, promoted, 2d Apr do

77th Regiment Ensign J Grant to be Lieut *vice* A Campbell, deceased,

retaining his original rank and situation in the 77th reg. to which he was appointed viz 24th Dec 1798.

78th Regiment T. Cameron, gent to be Ensign without purchase, vice L. Campbell, promoted in the 74th reg 30th Apr 1801

84th Regiment Ensign S. Wright, to be Lieut by purchase, vice R. Anders, who retires, 24th do

86th Regiment P. Jenner, gent to be Ensign without purchase, vice F. Campbell promoted in the 12th Foot, 15th Jan 1801

In the Hon COMPANY'S Troops

APRIL 1801

By the GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL

8th Native Infantry Ensign W. Gothe, to be Lieut vice Morse, deceased, date of commission the 10th of Apr 1801

11th Native Infantry Capt Lieut C. W. Lamborne, to be Capt. of a company, vice Dec. deceased. Lieut and Brevet Capt H. W. Hicks to be Capt. Lieut, vice Lamborne promoted. Ensign J. E. Gore, to be Lieut vice Hicks, promoted

MAY

25th Native Infantry Capt Lieut J. S. Blofield, to be Capt. of a company, vice Smith, deceased date of commission, Apr 26th 1801. Lieut A. Mousforth to be Capt. Lieut vice Blofield promoted date of commission, Apr 26th 1801. Major W. Davies, to be Lieut Col from the 19th May 1801 vice Hutchinson, deceased

14th Native Infantry Capt J. Lawrie, to be Major, from the 19th May 1801, vice Davies, promoted. Capt Lieut H. Imlack, to be Capt. of a company, from 19th May 1801, vice Lawrie, promoted. Lieut and Brevet Capt W. Dick, to be Capt. Lieut from the 19th May 1801 vice Imlack, promoted. Ensign J. Harrington, to be Lieut from the 19th May 1801, vice Dick, promoted.

JUNE

4th Native Infantry Capt Lieut S. G. Barclay, to be Capt. of a company, from the 4th June 1801 vice Scott, deceased. Lieut and Brevet Capt J. Thomas, to be Capt. Lieut from the 4th of June do vice Barclay promoted. Ensign J. Clarke, to be Lieut from the 4th of June, do vice Thomas, promoted. Major J. S. Brown, to be Lieut Col from the 4th June, do. vice Clarkson, deceased.

15th Native Infantry Capt R. Haldane, to be Major from the 19th of June 1801 vice Browne, promoted. Capt Lieut H. Cheape, to be Capt. of a company from the 13th of June, do vice Haldane, promoted. Lieut and Brevet Capt T. Hurring, to be Capt. Lieut from the 13th of June do vice Cheape, promoted. Ensign N. P. Grant, to be Lieut from the 13th of June, do vice Hurring, promoted

JULY

By the COMMANDER IN CHIEF

1st Bat 1st Native Reg S. F. Mahomed Jemadar, to be Subadar, date of commission, 1st July 1801. S. Sing, Jemadar to be Subadar date of commission, 2d July do. S. Betchoo, Havildar, to be Jemadar, 1st do do. J. Sing Havildar to be Jemadar, 2d do do. M. Sing, Havildar, to be Jemadar 2d do, do.

1st Bat 2nd Native Reg. M. R. Alley, Jemadar, to be Subadar vice C. Ram, invalided, date of commission, 1st July 1801. S. Sing, Havildar, to be Jemadar, vice M. R. Alley promoted, date of commission, do do.

2d Bat 14th Native Reg. L. Sing, Havildar to be Jemadar date of commission, 1st July 1801. L. Tewary, Havildar, to be Jemadar, date of commission 2d July do.

1st Reg Native Cav. J. Beg, Jemadar, to be Subadar, vice M. H. Beg invalided, date of commission, 1st July, do. B. Khan, Havildar, to be Jemadar vice J. Beg, promoted; date of commission, 1st July 1801. S. Sing, Subadar, in the 2d batt 13th Native reg. is allowed to resign the hon. Company's service, his name is accordingly to be struck off the rolls of the reg. from the 1st of the ensuing month, and the following promotions to take place in consequence.

2d Batt 13th Reg. D. Opadesb, Jemadar, to be Subadar date of commission, 1st Aug 1801. A. Ram, Havildar,

Havildar, to be Jemadar vice D. Opadesah, promoted, date of commission 1st Aug. 1801.
11th Batt. 15th Nat. & Reg. A. Sing, Havildar, to be Jemadar, in the room of S. Miller, promoted, date of commission 1st July 1801. Carkeon 1st Hindal in the 1st company, attached to the 2nd company, without of Ardee, is promoted to the rank of Sergeant, in the room of Dumun, invalided, from the 1st July do.

AUGUST

Major Gen. H. Bristo appointed to the Staff vice R. Walsome deceased.
Artillery Brevet Col. and Lieut. Col. D. Woodburn to be Col. to rank from the 6th of Aug. 1801 vice Hulse, promoted. Brevet Lieut. Col. and Major T. Hullah to be Lieut. Col. to rank from the 6th of Aug. do. vice Woodburn, promoted. Brevet Maj. and Capt. J. Hirst to be Major, to rank from the 6th of Aug. do. vice Holland, promoted. Brevet Capt. and Capt. Lieut. H. B. Gour to be Capt. to rank from the 6th of Aug. do. vice Hirst, promoted. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. T. Dwyer to be Capt. Lieut. to rank from the 6th of Aug. do. vice Balfour, promoted. Lieut. Fireworker L. R. Gules to be Lieut. to rank from the 6th of Aug. do. vice Maxwell, retired. Lieut. Fireworker F. Bingham to be Lieut. to rank from the 6th of Aug. do. vice Dowell, promoted.

4th Native Reg. Infantry Brevet Capt. and Capt. Lieut. J. Thomson to be Capt. to rank from the 6th of Aug. 1801 vice Fade, retired. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. J. Macpherson to be Capt. Lieut. date of rank 6th of Aug. do. vice Thomson, promoted. Ensign H. Wrotesley to be Lieut. date of rank 6th Aug. do. vice Macpherson, promoted.

5th Native Reg. Brevet Capt. and Lieut. W. G. Maxwell, to be Capt. Lieut. date of rank 6th of Aug. 1801, vice Gules, retired. Ensign No. 46 to be Lieut. date of rank 6th of Aug. do. vice Maxwell, promoted.

Infantry Major R. Dunkley to be Lieut. Col. vice Hillard, deceased, date of commission 14th Aug.

16th Native Reg. Capt. S. Dubois to be Major, vice Dunkley, promoted, date of commission 10th Aug. 1801. Capt. Lieut. P. Grant, to be Capt. of a company, vice Dubois, promoted, date of commission, 10th Aug. 1801.

Lieut. and Brevet Capt. W. Fraser, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Grant, promoted, date of commission, 10th Aug. do. Ensign No. 20 to be Lieut. vice Fraser, promoted, date of commission 1st Aug. do.

Cara's Col. R. Macan, to be Col. commandant of Cavalry, from the 17th July 1801, vice Rawstone, deceased. Lieut. Col. E. Pennington to be Col. vice Macan, deceased, date of commission 17th July, do. Major L. B. Dine, to be Lieut. Col. vice Pennington, promoted, date of commission, 17th July do.

5th Reg. Native Cavalry Capt. C. Fraser, to be Major, vice Basile, promoted, date of commission, 17th July 1801. Capt. Lieut. C. Webber to be Capt. of a troop vice Fraser, promoted, date of commission, 17th July, do. Lieut. R. Clarke, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Webber, promoted, date of commission 17th July do. Cornet H. F. Roberts to be Lieut. vice Clarke, promoted, date of commission, 17th July, do.

5th Reg. Native Cavalry Capt. Lieut. R. Clarke, to be Capt. of a troop, vice Minter, deceased, date of commission, 4th Aug. 1801. Lieut. L. R. O'Brien, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Clarke, promoted, date of commission, 4th Aug. do. Cornet J. Jones to be Lieut. vice O'Brien, promoted, date of commission, 4th of Aug. do. Mr. J. C. Grant, and Mr. T. C. T. Fluker, now in India, have been appointed conditional cadets on this establishment by the honourable court of directors.

JANUARY 1802

By the GOVERNOR GENERAL and COUNCIL

Capt. M. Sharr, to be military Secretary to his excellency the Governor-general during the absence of Capt. J. Malcolm at Port St. George.

Calcutta European Militia Capt. F. Mure, to be Major vice Gladwin 1st Jan. 1802. Lieut. H. Trail to be Capt. of a company, vice Mure promoted, 1st Jan. do. Lieut. A. Colvin, to be Capt. of a company, vice C. H. Barlow 2d Jan. do. Lieut. G. U. Lawce, to be Capt. of a company, vice J. Butler 3d Jan. do. Lieut. J. Palmer to be Capt. of a company, vice Burroughs, on the 4th Jan. do. Lieut. J. Gilchrist, supernumerary from the Portuguese

guezze milina to be Lieut. vice Trail, promoted 1st Jan 1801 Lieut. H. P. Forster, supernumerary from the *Porto guezze milina* to be Lieut. vice Calvin promoted, 2d Jan do. Ensign H. C. Plowden to be Lieut. vice Lawrie promoted 3d Jan do. Ensign J. Caul held to be Lieut. vice Palmer promoted 4th Jan do. Ensign R. Fleming to be Lieut. vice Ball, on furlough, 5th Jan do. Ensign T. N.

Browne, to be Lieut. vice Shaw on furlough 6th Jan do. Ensign C. F. Martyn, to be Lieut. vice Uday, 7th Jan do.
To be Ensigns Mr. H. Ramus, 1st Jan 1802 Mr. H. Abbot, 2d do. Mr. H. J. Darrell, 3d do. M. J. Monteton, 4th do. Mr. J. Thornhill, 5th do. Mr. W. Logan, 6th do. Mr. A. Stewart, 7th do.

BENGAL GENERAL STAFF

The most noble Richard Marquis Wellesley, Captain General
 Lieut. General Gerard Lake, Commander in Chief
 Major General David Baird, H. M. S.
 ——— The hon. F. St. John, H. M. S. commanding at Calcutta
 ——— J. H. Frazer, H. M. S. commanding at Dinapore
 ——— Hector Brisco, commanding at Berhampore
 ——— William Popham commanding at the Presidency
 ——— Robert Stuart, commanding at Futtighur
 ——— George Deane, commanding at Chunar
 Lieut. Col. Henry Clinton 1st Foot Guards, Adjutant General of the King's troops.
 Major William Nicholson, Acting ditto ditto
 Lieut. Col. Miles Nightingale, 38th Foot Quartermaster General of do.
 Capt. G. A. F. Lake Acting do do.
 Lieut. Col. John Gerard, Adjutant General
 Major William Campbell, Deputy do.

Col. Samuel Dyer, Quartermaster General
 Lieut. Col. J. Pringle, Deputy do.
 Captain James Salmond, Military Auditor General
 ——— William S. Greene, Deputy do.
 Major Henry Fox Calcraft, Judge Advocate General
 Captain Charles Gladwin, Deputy do. in the field
 ——— Walter Hawkes do do. at Dinapore and Chunar
 Major Robert Colebrooke, Surveyor General
 Captain Robert Macgregor, Secretary to the Commanding Officer in the Field
 Robert Bathurst, esq. Military Paymaster General
 William Edward Phillips, esq. Commissary of Musters to the King's troops and Secretary to Lieut. Governor of Prince of Wales Island
 James Grey, esq. Acting Commissary of Musters King's troops Presidency
 Captain John Burnett, Interpreter at Courts-Martial within the Provinces
 ——— B. L. Greiner, Interpreter at Courts-Martial in the Field

MADRAS.

In the Hon. COMPANY'S Troops

APRIL 1801

By the Right Hon. the GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL

1st Reg. Native Inf. Capt. T. Gillum, to be Major, vice Fenn, invalided, date of rank, 22d Apr. 1801. Capt. L. J. Hazlewood, to be Capt. of a company vice Gillum promoted date of commission, 22d Apr. do. Lieut. A.

Grant, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Hazlewood, promoted, date of commission, 22d Apr. do.

MAY

5th Reg. Native Inf. Capt. Lieut. J. S. Blotfield to be Capt. of a company vice Smith, deceased, date of commission 16th Apr. 1801. Lieut. Mouldworthy, to be Capt. Lieut. vice Blotfield, pro-

promoted date of commission, 16th Apr do Lieut Ormsby, to be Quar-
ter Master of the 2d Reg Native
Cavalry vice Bell deceased Lieut
J Limoud, to be Adjutant to the 1st
Bat Artillery vice Hathway promo-
ted Lieut G I Nixon to be Ad-
jutant of the Madras European Reg
vice Cuffance promoted Lieut R
W Davis to be Adjutant of the 1st
Bat 19th Reg Native Infantry vice
Storey promoted Sergeant J Cole of
the Madras European Reg appointed
a Conductor of Ordnance vice W
Loughby, deceased

JULY

In consequence of the death of Major
P Turpin, Capt T Wilton to be
deputy Quarter Master General to the
Army with the rank of Major at-
tached to that station

6th Reg Native Inf Lieut G Beau-
nols to be Major vice Turpin de-
ceased, date of commission 6th June
1801 Capt Lieut P Crombie
Capt of a company vice Beau-
nols promoted date of commission 6th
June, do Lieut T Ogilby, to be
Capt Lieut vice Grant promoted
date of commission, 6th June do

The following are Comd's to be Lieutenants

T O Riley C Elphinstone J Lea J
B Clarke H Dearness T Vin-
cent, L C Reynolds, H Agar W
Fair, F Godin, J Wier W
Harris, T Hick P Robertson J
Hampton H J Waters, C A Wal-
ker H W Hahnel and S Lewis
date of commission in the army 15th
July, 1800

J Woodhouse, date of rank to be fixed
hereafter

6th Reg Native Inf Eldest Capt T
Green to be Major vice Gray de-
ceased, date of commission 6th June
1801 Capt Lieut W Chambers,
to be Capt of a company vice Green,
promoted date of commission 8th
June, do Eldest Lieut N Ryan,
to be Capt Lieut vice Chambers
promoted date of commission, 6th
June do Lieut H Townsend is
appointed Adjutant to the 1st Batt
6th Reg Native Inf vice Ryan, pro-
moted.

AUGUST

ad Reg Native Cav Eldest Cornet H
Dalrymple to be Lieut vice Keir,
deceased date of commission, 11th
Aug 1801

ad Reg Native Cav Eldest Cornet R
Outlaw to be Lieut vice Bell de-
ceased date of commission, Aug 1801
6th Reg Native Cav Eldest Cornet C
W Bell, to be Lieut vice Boyle de-
ceased date of commission 11th Aug
1801

Cadets of Cavalry & Dragoons
Messrs E Hindley G Tucker, H
Nesbit M Moncreif, W C Camp-
bell A Smith date of commission the
2d Jul 1801

Cadets of Artillery & Engineers
Messrs I B Orr, L M C Stirling,
and C H Johnson date of commission
the 7th Aug 1801

Lieut C A Legrand to be charge of
the Engineer department, as en-
gineer in chief of the establishment
of the 1st Corps in India
and first ordinal fit as a Member
of the Military Academy at Bangalore
until further order

Ensign F A Liff to be post Engineer
to be held Phau in the office of the
Military Engineer at Bangalore
appointed Adjutant of Engineers
Lieut C M Gifford to be Adjutant of
the 1st Corps of Artillery & Engineers
at Bangalore

The Hon Court of Directors having
been enabled to permit Major Burrows
and Capt Hargrave of the Native Cav-
alry and Capt Lieut Henry of the Na-
tive Inf to return to India without in-
jury to their ranks the officers are ad-
mitted on the establishment accordingly

The following Gentlemen having pro-
duced certificates of their appointment to
be Cadets by the Hon the Court of Di-
rectors are admitted accordingly, viz

Cavalry Messrs J W Legard, H
Ramsden and I H Orr

Infantry Messrs R Hunter, C Wil-
son J David C Gordon P Hen-
derson W Pitchford A Grant S
Kulke H Harvey T E Hindley
P Hunter C F Smith G Pol J
Sims, R Seymour A Mitchell
G Maitland J S Chavvel R Fen-
wick R J Evans J Beaumont, R
B Broun T D Pieper

By the Hon the Col — Capt G L
to do duty as Major to the corps of the
Black Town Militia during, Major
J Wells's leave of absence, on account
of ill health Assistant Surgeon T
Evans of the Governor's Body Guard,
to do duty as Surgeon to the Black
Town Militia vice E Thomas, permitted
to go to England Sergeant Major
W Reilly, to be Adjutant to the
Black

Black Town Militia, vice Robinson, resigned

To be Lieutenants of Artillery

Messrs J Rofs W Morrison, J Rummington, and J Moorhouse

OCTOBER

Artillery Lieut R Fowler, to be Capt Lieut, date of commission 8th June 1801 Capt Lieut J Gourlay to be Capt of a company, vice Fennel deceased date of commission 9th June, do Lieut P Grant to be Capt Lieut vice Gourlay, date of commission 9th June, do Brevet Major, and Capt T Clarke, to be Major, date of commission, 14th June do Capt Lieut J Crodill to be Capt of a company vice Clarke; date of commission, 14th June do Lieut J Limond, to be Capt Lieut vice Crodill, date of commission, 14th June, do Major R Bell, to be Lieut Col date of commission, 26th Sept do Brevet Major and Capt R Howle to be Major, vice Bell date of commission 6th Sep do Capt Lieut S Dalrymple to be Capt of a company vice Howle date of commission 26th Sep do Lieut P G Blair, to be Capt Lieut vice Dalrymple date of commission, 26th Sep do Capt Lieut J Taynton to be Capt of a company, date of commission, 5th Oct do Lieut J Noble to be Capt Lieut. vice Taynton date of commission, 5th Oct do Lieut Col C Carlisle, to be Col and to command the 1st Bat of Artillery, vice Sydnam, date of commission 16th Oct do Major T Clarke, to be Lieut Col vice Carlisle date of commission 16th Oct do Brevet Major, and Capt J Bell, to be Major vice Clark date of commission 16th Oct do Capt Lieut J Hall, to be Capt of a company vice Bell date of commission, 16th Oct do Lieut A Welton, to be Capt Lieut vice Hall, date of commission, 16th Oct do Lieut R Hughes, to be Adjutant of the 2d Bat 1st reg Native Inf vice Barker promoted

16th Reg Native Inf Capt Lieut D M Donnel, to be Capt of a company, vice Leigh deceased, date of commission 18th Oct 1801 Eldest Lieut W Baxter, to be Capt Lieut vice M Donnel, date of commission, 18th Oct do

Artillery Capt Lieut M Beauman, to be Capt of a company, vice Hall, transferred to the non-effective list, date of commission, 22d Oct. 1801 Lieut R Taylor, to be Capt Lieut vice Beauman, date of commission, 22d Oct 1801

Capt A Floyer, to be commandant at Pondicherry

Mr G Buchan, to be Secretary in the Military Department of Government

Lieut Col Campbell of His Majesty's 74th Reg to command the northern division vice Shaw with the usual allowance for table money

JANUARY 1802

Capt Lieut Farquhar to be deputy commissary of stores at Muzac

Capt J Walton of the Bombay establishment to be deputy commissary of stores at Cochin, vice Gifford, resigned

6th Reg Native Cav Capt Lieut H Vinton to be Capt of a troop vice Willott transferred to the non-effective list date of commission 18th Dec 1801 Eldest Lieut W Dickson to be Capt Lieut vice Muir date of commission 18th Dec do Fioif Cornet A Scott to be Lieut vice Dickson, date of commission, 18th Dec do

4th Reg Native Inf Capt Lieut N T Shewers, to be Capt of a company, vice Mainland deceased date of commission 15th Dec 1801 Eldest Lieut H Scott to be Capt Lieut vice Showers, date of commission 15th Dec do

4th Reg of Cav Lieut Cornet H J Clute to be Lieut vice Dodd deceased, date of commission 6th Dec 1801

FEBRUARY

Eldest Major of Infantry, W Wilson, from the 15th reg Native Infantry, to be Lieut Col vice Graham, deceased; date of commission 1st Feb 1802

15th Reg Native Inf Eldest Capt J Hunt, to be Major vice Wilson date of commission 1st Feb 1802 Capt Lieut J Stoward to be Capt of a company vice Hunt, date of commission 1st Feb do Eldest Lieut F K Askell, to be Capt Lieut vice Stoward, date of commission, 1st Feb. 1802

19th Reg Native Inf Eldest Capt J. Malcolm, to be Major vice Gepp, deceased, date of commission, 3rd Jan. 1802.

1802 Capt Lieut D C Kenry, to be Capt of a company, vice M J Colm, date of commission 27th Jan do. Eldest Lieut S T Yor to be Capt Lieut vice K noy, date of commission 27th Jan do.

The following Gentlemen are admitted Cadets on this establishment

Cavalry: Messrs S Merton, P Marshall, C Turner

Engineer or Artillery: Messrs T Kinsey, G J Goreham

Infantry: Messrs J F Gibson, J A J A Turner, A B Perkins, J Math, H Swayne, J Green, T Thompson, C Hall, W Robertson, C F Pickle, J Johnston, J Warburton, T J Palmer, D Kennedy

The above mentioned Cadets of Cavalry to be Cornets, date of commission, 20th July 1801

Messrs Kinsey and Goreham, are appointed to the corps of Artillery, and promoted to the rank of Lieut. date of their commissions to be settled hereafter

Mr Surgeon J Goldie, to the Medical charge of the Lunatic Hospital, and of the 1st and 2d Madras Batt and to do Medical duty in the Black Town, vice Fitzgerald.

Capt P Bosc, to command the company of Cadets at Chingleput vice Auditons, resigned. Capt Armstrong, to command the 2d Madras Batt vice Bosc.

7th Reg Native Cav: Eldest Cornet J Woodhouse to be Lieut vice Skinner deceased, date of commission 3th No 1801

Infantry: Eldest Major W Orrock, from the 14th Reg Native Inf to be Lieut Col vice Ue, deceased date of commission, 29th Jan 1802

14th Reg Native Inf: Eldest Capt J Read to be Major vice Orrock date of commission, 24th Jan 1802. Capt Lieut B Dodd to be Capt of a company, vice Read date of commission, 29th Jan. do. Eldest Lieut W

Davies to be Capt Lieut vice Dodd, date of commission, 29th Jan do. Col J Stevenson to succeed Col Verna, in the command of the Subsidiary force at Haurabad

MARCH

Col J Pater, to command the southern division of the army. Capt J Jones, of the 14th Native reg. to be Major of brigade and Lieut V Blacker of the 1st reg. Native Cav to be secretary to the officer commanding the southern division. Lieut Col Sherrieff to command the Cantonment at Arcot, vice Pater

APRIL

Ensign E Blackman of the 1st reg. Native Inf to be Lieut. date of rank to be settled hereafter. Major of Cav T Peggion to be Lieut Col. Eldest Capt A Flower, to be Major. Capt Lieut H Mackay to be Capt of a troop. Lieut H A Daniel, to be Capt Lieut Cornet H Neerval, to be Lieut

Infantry 2d Reg: Capt J H Symonds, to be Major. Capt Lieut A Macintosh to be Capt of a company. Lieut G R A Kelly, to be Capt. Lieut

2d Reg: Ensign R Short to be Lieut. 12th Reg: Ensign J J De Criez, to be Lieut

11th Reg: R Evans, to be Lieut. Enl T Balmann to be Lieut. Lieut A Jones to be Adjutant of the 1st Batt. 17th Native reg: Lieut G Warburton, of the 1st Batt. 15th Native Reg: to act as head Assistant in the office of the Military Board. Mr Assistant Surgeon T Stephen to do medical duty with the 1st Batt. 7th Reg. Native Inf: Mr Surgeon Wile, of the 17th Native reg. to join his corps at the Presidency

8th Reg. Native Inf: Ensign J Denton, to be Lieut

MADRAS GENERAL STAFF

Lieut. General James Stuart, Commander in Chief

Douglas Campbell, Major General

Benjamin Roebuck, Esq. Military Paymaster General

Lieut. Col Patrick A. Agnew, Adjutant General

Major Frederick Pierce, deputy do. Capt. William Shaw, Assistant do.

Lieut. Col John Richardson, Quartermaster General

Major Alexander Orr, deputy do.

Lieut. Col James Branton, Military Secretary

Major

Major Patrick Bruce, Deputy Military Auditor General
 Lieut J Prendergall Head Assist do
 George Buchanan esq Secretary to Government in the Military Department
 Lieut Col John Patterson Deputy Adjutant General to the King's troops
 ——— Major C Baird, Deputy Quartermaster
 Major Kenneth Young, Aid-de-camp to do
 Capt James Leitch, Junior Adjutant General and Persian Translator to Head Quarters.

Capt John Campbell Aid-de-camp to the Commander in Chief
 ——— William Shaw, ditto
 ——— John Munro, Secretary to the Commander in Chief
 Major Alexander Orr, Military Secretary to the Governor
 Capt Mark Wilks, Private Secretary to do
 Major Kenneth Young, Aid-de-camp to do
 Lieut. James Grant, do

BOMBAY

In the Hon COMPANY'S TROOPS

APRIL 1

By the Right Hon the GOVERNOR OR IN COUNCIL

5th Native Reg Lieut J Martin to be Adjutant and Quarter-master vice Elliot resigned. Elisha J Stuart to be Lieut vice Tant, deceased, date of rank, 23d Feb 1801

MAY

2d Native Reg Capt A Howden to be Major, vice Brown retired 1d May 1801. Capt Lieut L C S Waddington to be Capt of a company, vice Howden promoted, do do. Lieut F Warden to be Capt Lieut vice Waddington do do

JUNE

Capt Lieut M Leod of His Majesty's 1st regiment to be Aid-de-camp to Major General Nicholson, vice Dunsmuir, gone to Europe

By the Commanding Officer of the Forces

Lieut A M Leachan of His Majesty's 8th regiment to be Aid-de-camp to Major General Nicholson, until the arrival of Capt M Leod

JULY

By the Right Hon the GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL

Mr J Augustus Grant to be Lieut in the Feasible reg, vice Constable promoted. Mr F Warden to be Lieut in the Feasible reg, vice Gray, permitted to resign

By the Commanding Officer of the Forces

Capt Lieut Kennedy of the 3d Janes reg to act as Adjutant and Quarter-master of the 5th Native reg until the arrival of Lieut Martin

MARCH 1802

In consequence of the departure from Bombay, of P Dordas esq, the Superintendent of the hon Company's Marine for Europe the following promotions have taken place. R Anderson esq, to be Superintendent, vice Dundas, J Smith esq to be Master Attendant vice Anderson and Capt C J Bond, to be Commander, vice Sutherland

BOMBAY GENERAL STAFF

Major General Oliver Nicholl, Commanding Officer of the Forces

——— Robert Nicholson, Chief Engineer

Lieut Col Robert Gordon, Adjutant General

Major T C Harris Deputy Adj Gen
 Lieut Col Joseph Bodley, Quarter Master General

Major Alexander Walker, Deputy do
 Colonel James Kerr, Military Auditor General

Lieutenant Alexander Hay, Deputy, Military Auditor General	Lieutenant James R. Drummond, As- sistant to the Surveyor General
William Broighton, Esq. Military Pay- master General	— J. Sutherland do
Mr. John Smee, Deputy, do	Major Loughnan Macquarie, 86th Regt- ment Military Secretary to the Go- vernor
Lieutenant Colonel James Dunlop, in Europe, Deputy Paymaster to the King's Troops	Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Boden, Aid- de-camp to do
Captain Henry O. Brownrigg, 76th Regiment Major of Brigade, King's Troops	— Samuel Wilson, do
Mr. James Loughnan, in Europe, Com- missionary of Musters, do	Captain Jasper Nicholls, Aid-de-camp to the Commanding Officer of the Forces
Lieutenant Colonel Charles Reynolds, Surveyor General	— David Price, Judge Advocate
	— John Skelton, Recruiting Officer.

ESTABLISHMENTS OF CEYLON

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT

The Hon. Frederick North, Governor	Mr. Alexander Cadder, Mr. John
Robert Arbuthnot, Esq. Secretary	D'Oyley, Mr. Alexander Johnston
Mr. L. Carrington, Esq. Chief Justice	Mr. John McDonald, Mr. Richard
Mr. Saumarez, President of the Board of Revenue	Bourne, Mr. John Davidson, Mr.
<i>Members of the Board of Revenue, and Heads of Departments</i>	Joseph Wright, Mr. Toltrey, Mr.
Mr. Scott Hay, Mr. Toltrey, Mr.	Campbell, Mr. Barclay, Mr. Mon-
Wood, Mr. Hon. Maxwell Leslie, Mr.	gomery, Mr. Barr, Mr. Gordon,
George Arbuthnot, Mr. D. Leslie	Mr. Lubguan, Mr. Lushington, Mr.
Mr. Boyd	Johnston, Mr. Dean, Mr. Plasket,
<i>Writers</i>	Mr. Montgomerie, Mr. Lavard
Mr. Charles Menage, Mr. Carrington,	Mr. Gavin Hamilton, Deputy Paymaster General

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT

Major General Hay, M.D. Vall, Com- manding the Forces	Lieutenant Colonel A. Lindsey, Military Auditor General
Captain J. Wright, Aid-de-camp and Secretary	Lieutenant A. Fair, Assistant Military Auditor General
Captain W. M'Pherson, Brigade Major to the General	G. Hamilton, Acting Military Paymaster General
Captain J. Wilson, Major of Brigade to the King's Troops	Captain J. Wilson, Fort Major at Columbo, Lieutenant A. Fair, Fort Adjutant at do
Lieutenant J. W. Kerr, Deputy Pay- master General	The Rev. J. Carrington, Chaplain at Columbo, Mr. J. Orr, Chaplain at do, Mr. M. Rev- nolds, Garrison Medical Store-keeper at do, J. N. Withius, Apothecary at do, J. J. Silva, Assistant Surgeon at do
Captain D. Blair, 1st Aid-de-camp to the Governor, Lieutenant Colgrave, 2d do	Captain P. Jones, Fort Major at Trin- comalee
Captain W. M'Pherson, Military Sec- retary to the Governor	
Lieutenant Colonel D. Robertson, De- puty Adjutant General	

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS

BIRTHS

MAY 1802.—At Calcutta, Mrs W D S Smith, of a daughter.—At Murshedabad, the Lady of Capt. Paribby of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of B. Turner Esq. of a son.—At Gooty, the Lady of Capt. Freede of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Capt. Howard of a daughter.—At Bombay the Lady of W Page, Esq. of a son.—At Nishé, the Lady of R. Toms Esq. of a son.—At Madras the Lady of J. Chunnery, Esq. of a daughter.

JUNE.—At Calcutta, Mrs W B Greenway, of a son.—Same place Mrs Grieff of a son.—Same place, the Lady of W Armstrong Esq. of a daughter.—At Madras, Mrs M. Sherman, of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Ma. r G. Proke, of a son.—Same place, the Lady of F. Herley Esq. of a daughter.—At Serampore, Mrs. Miranda, of a daughter.—At Ellore the Lady of Lieut. Col. Durand of a son.—Same place, the Lady of Major Johnston of a son.—At Bombay the Lady of Capt. Green of a daughter.—At Surat the Lady of the Rev. N. Wade of a daughter.—At Bombay, the Lady of Sir William Syer, Knt. of a daughter.—At Cuddalore the Lady of John Duncan Esq. of a daughter.—At Madras, the Lady of Lieut. Col. Dallas, of a son.—At Bombay the Lady of Capt. McInnes, of the ship *Thos*, of a son.—At St Helena, the Lady of C. Robertson, Esq. of a daughter.—At Madras, the Lady of Major Clarke of a son.—Same place, the Lady of Lieut. Col. Agnew, of a daughter.—At Cannore, the Lady of Capt. R. Lewis of two sons.—At Mahé the Lady of James Stevens, Esq. of a daughter.

JULY.—At Gwah, the Lady of J. Patch Esq. of a daughter.—At Calcutta Mrs. Talbot, of a son.—Same place, Mrs. Lloyd of a son.—Same place, Mrs. Horne, of a daughter.—Same place the Lady of Capt. J. B. Hudson of a son.—At Benares, the Lady of John Neave Esq. of a son.—At Bombay the Lady of Col. Kerr of two sons.—Same place the Lady of C. Wren,

Esq. of a daughter.—Same place the Lady of Peter Le. Medhurst, of a son.—At Goa, the Lady of Col. Sir W. Clarke of a son.—At Calcutta the Lady of Capt. R. Charlton of a son.—At Cawnpore, the Lady of brigade Major Burton, of a son.—At Combicoum in the Tanjore country the Lady of J. Wallace Esq. of a son.—At Ghazepore, the Lady of Lieut. R. Ellis, of a son.

AUGUST.—At the Mount, Madras the Lady of Major R. Beil of a daughter.—At Madras the Lady of Mungo Dick, Esq. of a daughter.—At Dindigul, the Lady of Capt. Bagshaw of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of J. Bouleau Esq. of a daughter.—Same place, Mrs. D. Gardner, of a son.—Same place Mrs. Savi of a son.—At Pallam, the Lady of Major P. C. Everett, of a daughter.—At Madras Mrs. Harrington, of a son.—At Bombay the Lady of Lewis Cockran, Esq. of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Lieut. Col. J. Collins, of a daughter.

SEPTEMBER.—At Masulipatam, the Lady of Lieut. Yarde, of a daughter.—At Pondicherry, the Lady of Col. Kerjean, of a son.—At Madras, the Lady of G. Lys Esq. of a son.—Same place, the Lady of J. Lautier, Esq. of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Capt. W. Sandys of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of Capt. W. S. Greene, of a daughter.—At Dryhottah the Lady of A. H. Lambbridge, Esq. of a daughter.—At Calcutta, Mrs. Peters, of a son.—At Patna, the Lady of T. Smith, Esq. of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of W. Farquharson, Esq. of a son.—Same place the Lady of A. Haug, Esq. of a daughter.—Same place, Mrs. Scott, of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of George Udny, Esq. of a son.—Same place, the Lady of G. Prager, Esq. of a son.—Same place, the Lady of Col. Dyer, of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of Mrs. Charles Frazer of a daughter.—Same place, Mrs. Le Clerc, of a daughter.—At Futtinghur, the

the Lady of Capt. Cumberland, of a daughter—At Malda, the Lady of H. Coughton, Esq. of a son—At Durgapore the Lady of D. Burges Esq. of a daughter—At Tannah, the Lady of Capt. M. Kennedy of a son—At Futtighur the Lady of Capt. Staunton, of a daughter—At Madras, the Lady of the Rev Mr Kerr of a daughter—At Sulaimpore the Lady of Lieut. John Gibbs of a daughter—At Ghazepore the Lady of Capt. R. Clarke of a daughter—At Futtighur, the Lady of Lieut. Col. R. Bair of a daughter

OCTOBER—At Bombay, the Lady of Lieut. T. Bayley of his majesty's 88th regt. of a son.—Same place, the Lady of Miguel de Lima e Souza Esq. of a son—At Surat the Lady of James Mackenzie Esq. of the Bombay medical service, of a son—At Bombay the Lady of Lieut. Barnes of the marine, of a son.—At Surat the Lady of Guy Lenox Prendergast Esq. resident at Broach, of a son—At Bombay the Lady of Lieut. Livi Philips of the marine of a son.—Same place the Lady of Augustus W. Hurdley Esq. of a son—At Masulipatam, the Lady of Capt. Beaumont of a daughter—At Madras, the Lady of J. K. Lane Esq. of a son—At Calcutta, the Lady of Paul Ferris, Esq. of a daughter—At Madras, the Lady of James Taylor, Esq. of a daughter—At Calcutta the Lady of Capt. James Cray of a daughter—At Ghazepore the Lady of Lieut. Col. C. Gordon, of a daughter—At Sulaimpore the Lady of Capt. J. Delamain of a daughter—At Bombay, the Lady of Lieut. Charles John Bond, of a daughter

NOVEMBER—At Calcutta, the Lady of William Farlie Esq. of a daughter—Same place, the Lady of Allan Maclean, Esq. of a daughter—Same place, the Lady of Capt. D. Rois of a daughter—Same place the Lady of Capt. Montgomery, of a daughter—At Madras, the Lady of Mr. Commissioner Bishop of a daughter—Same place, the Lady of G. G. Richardson, Esq. of a son—At Palamcottah the Lady of J. N. Watts, Esq. of a son—At Hyderabad the Lady of Capt. Abner of a daughter—At Poonamallee the Lady of Capt. Crews, of a daughter—At Madras the Lady of John de Freitas Esq. of a son—At Bombay, the Lady of Capt. Edward Moore, of a son—At Ryscottah, the Lady of Colonel

Leighton, of a son.—At Calcutta the Lady of Samuel Swanton, Esq. of a daughter—At Serampore, the Lady of J. C. Pingle Esq. Danish Commercial Chief of a daughter

DECEMBER—At Calcutta, the Lady of the Honourable the Vice President of a daughter—Same place the Lady of L. Mackintosh Esq. of a daughter—At Poonamallee, the Lady of Capt. Kinder Crews, of a daughter—At Vizagapatam the Lady of Lieut. Sheridan of a daughter—At Bombay the Lady of Robert Henlshaw Esq. of a daughter—At Calcutta, the Lady of R. F. Anster Esq. of a daughter—At Bombay the Lady of Major Samuel Wilson of a son—At Surat the Lady of M. or General Richard Jones, commandant of that garrison of a son—At Bombay, the Lady of C. Forbes, Esq. of a son—At Calcutta the Lady of Capt. Montgomery of a daughter—At Madras, the Lady of Henry Brown Esq. of a son—At Jussanapatam the Hon. Mrs. J. Lurnour of a daughter—At Madras, the Lady of J. Coldingham Esq. of a daughter—At Bombay the Lady of Charles Forbes Esq. of a son.—Same place the Lady of J. Douglas, Esq. of a daughter—At Mangalore the Lady of Lieut. J. Robertson, of a daughter

JANUARY 1862—At Calcutta, the Lady of R. C. Birch Esq. of a daughter—Same place Mrs. M. Hall, of a daughter—Same place Mrs. Sandford of a son—Same place, the Lady of Charles Bayley Esq. of a son—At Beerbhoom, the Lady of T. F. Bevan, Esq. of a son—At Kidderpore, Mrs. Burney of a daughter—At Fredericksnagore, Mrs. O. L. Bie of a son—At Calcutta, the Lady of Capt. W. Scott, of a son.—At Futtighur Mrs. Coates, of a son.—At Cunnore the Lady of Colonel Geo. Wahab of a son.—At Rampour the Lady of Francis Laurence, Esq. of a daughter—At Bombay the Lady of John Hungerford Esq. of the court of the re order of a son—In Coara, the Lady of Frederick Reeves, Esq. of a daughter

FEBRUARY—At Calcutta the Lady of Capt. Thomas Heythia of a daughter—At Cernul the Lady of E. Campbell Esq. of a son—At Calcutta the Lady of Major Colebrooke of a daughter—Same place the Lady of W. Dering Esq. of a daughter—Same place Mrs. A. Thompson, of a son—Same place, the Lady of W. Roxburgh,

burgh, M D of a son.—At Bombay the Lady of the Hon James Ravett Carnack, of a daughter.—At Poona Malike, the Hon. Mrs. St. John, of a son.

MARCH—At Madras, the Lady of James Connel, Esq. of a daughter.—Same place the Lady of D Neale, Esq. of a daughter.—At Hyderabad, the Lady of Capt. Hamilton Hall of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Capt. Gillon Rowe, of a son.—Same place, Mrs. Johnson of a son.—Same place, Mrs. Archibald Thompson, of a son.—Same place, the Lady of the Rev Dr Stauv of a daughter.—At Pulra, the Lady of J J Ullman, Esq. of a daughter.—At Madras, the Lady of Alexander Falconer Esq. of a son.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Johannes Barones, Esq. of two daughters.—At Mongheer, the Lady of Doctor Moore, of a daughter.—At Calcutta, Mrs. Mathers, of a daughter.—At Madras, the wife of Francis Armstrong, private soldier, was delivered of three fine boys, who with their mother are likely to do well.—At Calcutta, the Lady of Alexander Binny, Esq. of a son.

APRIL—At Calcutta, the Lady of C Rothman, Esq. of a daughter.—Same place, Mrs. Major Glais, of a son.—Same place, the Lady of Capt. O'Halloran, of a son.—Same place, the Lady of Capt. Dowell, of a daughter.—At Beerbhoom, the Lady of George Junus, Esq. of a daughter.—At Secrole, the Lady of Sir Frederick Hamilton Bart of a son.—At Calcutta Mrs. Cooke, of a daughter.—Same place,

the Lady of Capt. Joseph Hodges, of a son.—Same place, Mrs. Stark, of a son.—Same place, Mrs. Gunn, of a daughter.—Same place, Mrs. Pointz, of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of W I Keene, Esq. of a son.—At Serampore, the Lady of Charles Devernee, Esq. of a son.—At Madras the Lady of Lieut. Col. Sherriff of a daughter.—At Soorawo the Lady of Lieut. Henry Gibley of a son.—At Cawnpore, the Lady of Capt. James Robertson, of a son.—At Soorool, the Lady of John Chera, Esq. of a daughter.—At Rungpoor, the Lady of Alex. Wright, Esq. of a son.—At Madras the Lady of Peter Cherry Esq. collector of Chicacole, of a daughter.—Same place, the Lady of Thomas Ainsley Esq. of a son.—At Tinnevely, the Lady of Stephen Rumbold Lubington Esq. of a son.—In the province of Canara the Lady of Major Richard Coke, of a son.—At Seringapatam, the Lady of Major Paschaud, of a son.—At Arnee, the Lady of Lieut. Torriano of a son.—At Negapatam, Lady Elizabeth Richardson, of a daughter.—At Bombay the Lady of Captain Pavon of a son.—Same place, the Lady of Major Grey of the 75th regt of a daughter.—At Seringapatam, the Lady of Col. Carlisle, of the artillery, of a daughter.—At Madras, the Lady of John Underwood, Esq. of a daughter.

MAY—At Calcutta, the 5th inst. the Lady of C. R. Crommelin, Esq. of a daughter.

MARRIAGES

MAY 1801—At Jaunpore, Lieut. E. P. Wilson, to Miss Jane Dubois.—At Bombay, Lieut. Thomas Anderson, of the native infantry to Miss Elizabeth Hill.—Same time and place Mr F Toole, to Miss Elizabeth Bowker.—At Calcutta, Mr A Blackmore, of the firm of Gillet, Blackmore, and Co. to Miss Barkley.—At Mangalore Major Richard Cooke, barrack master in the province of Canara to Miss May, niece to Lieut. Col. George William Moggan commanding the troops in that district.—At Madras, Mr Freze formerly commandant of Gall, to Miss G H Bartles.—At Bombay Mr Nicolas de Luna e Souza, to Miss

Quiteria e Souza, niece to Miguel de Luna e Souza, Esq. and daughter of the late Antouza e Souza, Esq. of Madras.—Same place, Mr Roxaria de Quadros, to Miss Amelia e Souza, daughter of Miguel de Luna e Souza, Esq.

JUNE—At Bombay, Capt. J W Morris, commandant of the Bencool independent native infantry, to Miss Stevenson.—At Madras, Mr William Urquhart, printer of the Madras Gazette, to Harriet Bewley.—At Chicacole, Peter Cherry, Esq. to Miss Robison.—At Bimalipattam on the 6th inst. Richard Heating Esq. to Miss Matilda Brew.—At the residency, at Hyderabad

Flyderbad, on the 12th Capt. Samuel Dalrymple commissary of ordnance with the subsidiary force to Mds Hall. At Calcutta, Mr William Gardner, to Mds Ann Syk - Same place Mr T Hickey of the engineer detachment, to Mrs Sarah Beadle - At Jaipur, Lieut. E P Wilson of the 26th native regt to Mds Jane Dubois - At Calcutta Mr T Nicholson to Mrs Ross - Same place Mr James McFay to Mds Warham - same place Lieut William Bentley V alway, to Mrs Charlotte Dickson - At Bombay the Right Hon Lord George Stuart, to Mrs Jane Stuart

J. C. At S. A. at Lieut George Wilson of
 the 2d bat. 6th regt. native infantry
 to Miss Aymler.—At Bomba, Col. M.
 Richard Gore, commanding the 8th
 regt. of native infantry to Miss F.
 Mira Page.—At Madras Mr C. W.
 Young, master attendant of Malabar,
 to Miss Anderson daughter of James
 Anderson Esq. physician General.—At
 Goorv William Wickham Cowell, Esq.
 collector of Beambhoon to Miss Ame-
 lia Ramsay Campbell.—At Madras,
 Mr James Cox to Miss Elizabeth
 Biddell.—At Calcutta, Mr J. Jones
 head master of the lower orphan school,
 to Miss Shipway.—At Bombay Alex
 Nash, Esq. commander of the Hon.
 Company's ship *Ana Cattle* to Miss
 Isabella Mackenzie.—At Calcutta, Mr
 Gunn to Miss A. Pottinger

August.—At Bombay, Lieut. Thomas Moore, to Miss T. Mariano.—At Calcutta, Capt. Robert Morrell, of the 5th regt. native infantry, to Miss Frances Hogan.—Same place Robert Anriol Balmain Esq. lately arrived from Europe, to Miss Sudman.—At Allahabad, Lieut. John Lauer, deputy commissary to Miss Fiza. Birch, daughter of G. Buch Esq. of Shikha.—At Calcutta, W. Andrew N. Sibbald to Miss Mary Gilchrist.—At Bombay, Lieut. Dominic Stephen Pallen to Miss Charlotte Bowler.—At Madras, Thomas Bower Hurdis, Esq. to Miss Thomas.—At Bombay, Col. R. Gore to Miss Elmore Page.—At Tanjah, Fingth Thomas Garden, to Miss Graham.—At Bombay, Captain Samuel Groube, to Miss Caroline Anderick.—At Calcutta, Mr. James Wade to Miss Elizabeth Reach.—At Kidderpore Mr. Francis Purchase, to Miss Alice Downes.

SEPTEMBER.—At Madras, W B Wye
chief officer of the hon company's
ship *Princess Lievenke*, to Miss Clarke.

—At Azinghur, Lieut Charles Galley 11th regt. native infantry, to Miss Catherine Young.—At Tranquebar, the 18th Lt. H. Myer esq aged 64, to Miss Calista Couperus, a very accomplished young lady aged 16, after a courtship of five years.—At Barrackpore Lieut James Doxt 3d regt. native infantry, to Miss Elizabeth White.—At Calcutta Captain E. Barron to Miss Elizabeth Barron.—At Jamah, Lieut T. Gordon Bombay establishment, to Miss Graham.—At Cochin, Lieutenant Thomas White Bombay European regt. to Miss C. J. Grumbard.—A Bombay, Lieutenant David Prother of the native infantry, to Mrs. Louisa Powney widow of the late Captain William Powney

OCTOBER.—At Calcutta Mr Charles M Hollingberry to Mds Harriet Bri tzeke—Same place Mr John Lathrop to Mds Jane Thompson—At Trichinopoly James Dalton esq to Mds Catherine Augusta Riddle—at Bombay Lieutenant Samuel Snook, of machines, to Mrs E. Foster

NOVEMBER.—At Calcutta, George Tyler, *esq*, to Mrs. *Wm top*—Sme place, R W Partly, *esq*, collector of Purnah to Miss Lydia Pennock Read.—Same place John Shoredale to Miss Pand.—Same place Mr Wm. Dolby to Miss Elizabeth Murray.—At Mrs. Scott's Seminar Calcutta, Mr Falconer to Miss Ann Frances Bevien.—At Calcutta, Mr George Hornett, to Miss Sarah Chollet.—At Dacca Wm. Williams Maffey, *esq* to Miss Mackenzie.—At Penang Capt. Pearce, of the *Tamson Giffle* to Miss Pearson.—Same place Lieutenant W B Macvetie to Miss J. Hill.—At Bencare, Lieut. William Baxter, to Miss Charlotte Wilford.—Same place, Lieut. George Warcup, to Miss Marilda Wilford.—At Singapore Christopher Sheld Mallang, *esq* to Miss Henrietta Fern More.—At Colombo Captain Carr St, of the *last engineers*, to Miss Louisa Atkins.

DIRECTOR—At Calcutta, John De Cruz esq to Miss Elizabeth Adams—same place, Captain Ebenezer Chapman esq to Miss Rue—same place, Captain Hunt to Mrs. Morover.—At the house of the Hon. Sir John Ryda, knt. Robert Cunningham esq collector of Burdwan, to Miss Oriz.—At Calcutta, Mr John Toffer, to Miss Jane Macdonald—same place, E D Paris, esq Surgeon of the honourable company's ship *Satanstoe*, to Miss So-

plus Crabbey.—At Ghazepore, Lieut. H. R. Howarth, of native cavalry, to Miss Stewart.—At Surat, Captain William Selby of the company's measures to Miss Prendergast.—On the coast, Major Wallace, to Miss Windley.—At Cochun Captain H. M. Fitzgerald to Miss Sellernus.—At Rungpore, Archibald Montgomery, esq. to Miss Routh.—At Malacca, Mr. Vanfukling to Miss Wordth.—At Jeffere Major Baynes 76th regt. to Miss Cator.—At Madras, Richard Arthur Martland esq. to Miss Westcott.—Same place John Rowley esq. to Miss Maria Westcott.—At Surat, Lieutenant S. B. Bell, to Miss Fanny Brodie.—At Moorhedabad, Henry Parry, esq. register of the zillah court of Tipperah, to Miss Ro. ke daughter of R. Ro. ke esq. ad judge of the provincial court of appeal and circuit for the division of Moorhedabad.

JANUARY 1802.—At Calcutta, the Hon. C. A. Bruce, officiating as ad judge of the Calcutta court of appeal, to Miss Dalwood.—Same place, Mr. R. Hopkins, to Miss Howard.—At Bombay, William Crauford, esq. of the civil service, to Miss Dorothy Elizabeth Rees.—At Calcutta Robert Campbell, esq. to Miss Jennings.—Same place, Mr. W. C. Finch, to Miss Jane Wray.—Same place Mr. Ralph Campbell commander of the ship *Strenuous*, to Miss Amelia Blythe.—Same place, Mr. John Da Costa, to Miss Feliciano Vignon, second daughter of G. Vignon, esq.

FEBRUARY.—At the house of the Hon. Sir John Anstruther bart. Calcutta, William Parker esq. collector of Burdwan, to Miss Catherine Seton, daughter of Daniel Seton esq. lieutenant-governor of Surat.—At Calcutta Mr. Thomas Swam to Miss Mary Austin.—Same place, Mr. Lewis Grant to Miss Elizabeth Leal.—Same place Robert Abbot, esq. to Miss Gaique.—Same place, Mr. Lawrence Pisachy, aged 65 to Miss Martineau, aged 16.—At Futtyghur A. Duncan, adjutant ad battalion ad regiment, to Miss Lamgan.—At Berhampore, Lieutenant James Murray 19th regiment of native infantry to Miss Elizabeth Wedderburn.—At Dacca, James Irwin, esq. to Miss Ekka Bird.—At Buxar Henry Boutflower assistant surgeon, to Miss Arabella Cardin.—At Madras, Captain

Robert Taylor, of artillery, to Miss Williams.—At Bombay, Captain John Lee, of the ship *Daniel* to Miss Jessie McInnes.

MARCH.—At Calcutta, Francis Bdbie esq. purser of *Le Sybelle* to Miss Charlotte Warren.—At Chundurah, Mr. John Savage, to Miss Charlotte Louisa Dolle.—At Calcutta, Mr. D. Doughty, to Miss Jane Mackenzie.—Same place, Robert Richardson, esq. to Miss Romney.—At Mrs. Duncan's seminary at Chowringhe, Patrick Thompson, esq. to Miss Louisa Moon.—At Patna, Robert Graham, esq. to Miss Sarah Paul.—At Cuddalore, Richard Kinchant, esq. commercial resident of that factory to Miss Wilkinson, daughter of the late J. Wilkinson, esq. master in chancery of the court of the recorder at Bombay.—At Bombay, Benjamin Phillips surgeon to Miss Charlotte Page.—Same place, George Joliffe, commander of the ship *Bombay Merchant* to Miss Frances Simpson.—Same place, Captain Joseph Watson, to Miss Ann King.

APRIL.—At Calcutta, Mr. Wm. Brown mate in the pilot service, to Mrs. Elizabeth Abbey.—Same place the Rev. John Dacosta, to Miss H. Houscomb.—At Jeffere, David Bagley of Dowltpore esq. to Miss Anderson daughter of Robert Anderson, esq. surgeon at Jeffere.—At Calcutta, Mr. John Gath, to Mrs. Ann Maclean.—Same place, Lieutenant John Laughlin, 78th regt. to Mrs. Mary Mackay.—Same place, Mr. John Godfrey, senior major of the body guard, to Miss Mary Graham.—Same place Captain Mathews, to Miss Helen Berrie ad daughter of William Berrie esq.—Same place, James Thompson of the marine, to Miss Elizabeth Phillips.—Same place, James Colman, esq. to Miss Jackson.—Same place, Mr. Thomas Ball, to Miss M. Dacosta.—At Midnapore, Mr. John Everett, apothecary to Miss M. Rozario.—At Caricul, William Robert Irving esq. of the civil service, to Mademoiselle Eugene Du Perron, daughter of the late Colonel Du Perron, of the regt. of Pondicherry.—At Patna, Robert Graham, esq. to Miss Sarah Paul.—At Calcutta Mr. Henry Paul, to Miss Isabella Benado.—Same place, Charles Patterson, esq. of the civil service, to Miss Eliza Harris.

DEATHS.

DEATHS

MAY 1801.—At Calcutta, O. R. Foley esq.—Same place suddenly, Mr. C. Child jun.—Same place, Edward Burgess, esq. of the civil establishment.—At Bhaugulpore, Lieut. Col. J. Hutchinison, regulating officer of the invalid jaghurdar institution.—At Bombay, the 19th ult. Mr. Smith late 2d officer of the ship *Maria Louisa*.—At Palenmettah of the wounds he received in the late attack of Panjalm-courchy Capt. Patrick Campbell of his majesty's 74th regt. a gallant and much esteemed officer.—Same place Mrs. Elizabeth Gibson.—At Calcutta, Mr. Alex. Sannel much regretted.—At Madras, Adam Scott esq. assistant surgeon.—At Dindigul Capt. J. D. Gordon of infantry Madras establishment.—At Calcutta, Miss Harriet Smith, second daughter of J. B. Smith, esq.—At Chunar, Mr. P. Leary, conductor of ordnance.—Late at Vellore, Capt. King of the Madras European regt.—At Surat Miss Ann Powney daughter of the late Capt. A. Powney.—At Gooty in the ceded districts, Lieut. Thomas Boyle, adjutant and agent of supplies, to the 16th regt. cav.—At Musulipatam, Lieut. George Collier, 2d batt. 8th regt.—At Chunar Lieut. Gilmour Alves.—On his way from Chunar to Cawnpore Mr. T. Quartermaster, conductor of ordnance.—On the road from Musulipatam to Condapille, Lieut. Alexander Grant.

JUNE.—At Madras, on the 5th instant, Major Robert Turing secretary to the government in the military department.—A numerous assemblage of all that is respectable in the settlement, attended to pay the last tribute of affectionate regret to his remains and at the head of the select friends, who supported the pall, we distinguished the governor, and the officer commanding the army in chief. In an active service of twenty-three years in India, this officer had been present at every siege and action of importance and had shared largely in the honours of the British arms, during that eventful period. Frank, ardent, brave and generous, he united every quality that inspires admiration in the hour of difficulty professional distinction and a happy pronouncement of character made him universally known, and every acquaintance was his friend. In the

walk of private life, no human heart was ever so uncorrupted by its intercourse with the world. In cheerful and simplicity the very child of nature. Of a spirit proud and erect, but open and benevolent the influence of an interested motive had never sullied the purity of his mind.—Same place the 7th instant, Major William Basset Blacke captain in the 2d battalion of artillery after a period of twenty-two years active service in the cause of his king, country and honourable employers. The death of this active and zealous officer must be sincerely regretted by those who knew him and who have the happiness to feel as well as the courage to avow the genuine impulse of the heart and who over-looking the tinzel ornaments of refined education admire the native energy of a vigorous mind glowing with public spirit.—Same place Mrs. Westcott, lady of George Westcott esq. senior member of the board of trade.—Late with the army to the southward Lieut. D. W. Gilchrist of his majesty's 4th regt. who had not quite attained his one and twentieth year. He was killed in the breach of the fort of Panjalm-courchy, in the moment of victory. In the early death of this brave and gallant youth, his majesty's service has lost an officer of great enterprise and talent and society a beloved and most valuable member.—Same place, universally lamented Major general William Vydenham commandant of artillery. In the various stations in which he was employed, he was distinguished for integrity, zeal and ability in all he received the most honourable testimonies of public approbation. Though his heart was replete with benevolence he was judiciously strict in command merit was ever sure of his favour and protection desert observed with a discerning eye and punished with an impartial hand. To the domestic duties of husband and father he did the most ample justice, and by an affectionate wife and dutiful children his loss will be long deplored. A residence of no less than 33 years in India, during which period the social virtues ever appeared in the fullest lustre gained him the love and esteem of the community at large.—After a long and painful illness, on Saturday last, Mrs. Boug, widow of the

late Captain Bong, of the engineers.—Lately to the southward, Major T. G. Gray of the hon. company's native infantry Major Gray, whose loss is highly regretted fell in action with a party of the rebel poligars.—At Bombay, Captain David Mitchell, late owner and commander of the ship *Clarissa*.—Same place Benjamin Geraud esq. an attorney in the hon. the recorder's court.—Killed in a duel at Bombay, on the 4th ult. at the age of 22, Arthur Forbes Mitchell esq. of the civil service on that establishment and a partner in the house of Melira Smith, Forbes and Co. Mr Mitchell was a young gentleman of great promise in every point that distinguishes and fixes the character. He had already given strong proofs of his talents for public business having at the age of 19 filled a very difficult, responsible and laborious office in the province of Malabar, with equal zeal and integrity, highly to his own credit, and, in an eminent degree, to the satisfaction of his superiors. In private life, his punctuality were equally conspicuous and would, in due time have entitled him to great consideration in the commercial world. He had a mind stored with maxims for his conduct in society, which would have done honour to a much more mature age and his discretion in the practice of them, was attested by the love and esteem of a wide circle of friends who will long deplore the catastrophe by which he has been cut off from them in the flower of his youth!—At Calcutta, John Wilson esq. of the house of Melira, Davidson, Wilson and company a man of the strictest honour and integrity and possessing a mind no less independent than intelligent, with a heart warm and sincere, which with his many other amiable qualities, rendered him while living, esteemed and respected, and will long endear his memory to his friends and acquaintances, by whom he is sincerely and very deservedly regretted.—At the house of Captain Downe Alibora, Captain George Scott, of the 4th native regt.—At Calcutta, Mrs. Frances Smith daughter of the late Bryan Scourney, esq. formerly in the service of the hon. company.—Same place, Mrs. James Robertson.—Same place, Captain Ingledew.—At Mongbier, Mr. William Stokes, pensioner on the ordnance department.—At Serampore, Mrs. Mi-

tranda, daughter of the late Captain N. Bacon.

JULY 16.—At his palace of Cherpauk, his highness Omdut ul Omrah Behander, nabob of the Carnatic. His highness remains were removed on Thursday morning, attended by an escort of his highness's troops, for interment at Trichinopoly.—At Calcutta Mr. Wm. Stewart.—At Benhamptore, on the 14th instant, Major-general Edward Rawlins, commanding at that station, and commandant of the Bengal native cavalry.—At Vellore, Lieut. Thomas Kier of the 2d regt. native cavalry.—At Calcutta, on the 25th ult. Mr. Robert Paterson, the hon. company's master carpenter, in which capacity he served eighteen years with unblemished reputation and highly esteemed by all who knew him.—At Serampore, Lieut. Donald Fraser, of the 1st regt. native infantry.—At Hyderabad, Miss Sarah Goldsworthy youngest daughter of Captain J. Goldsworthy.—Lately, with Lieutenant-colonel Innes's detachment near Paulgacherry, Mr. Henry Palmer, assistant surgeon.—In the Dindigul provinces, Lieutenant John Parker of his majesty's 14th foot.—At Madura, sincerely regretted by his friends, Captain James Campbell of his majesty's 74th regt. who had been twenty five years in the service, served in America, in the two wars against Tippoo Sultan, and had survived both the late gallant assaults on Panjalam courtch.—At Bombay Mr. M. Marquis late second officer of the ship *Experiment*.—At Amboyna, Captain Lieutenant Thomas Ogilby, 2d batt. 1st regt. native infantry.

AUGUST.—At the garden house of the right hon. Lord Clive, to the sincere and deep regret of all to whom his great worth and amiable qualities were known, Major Alexander Grant, of the 6th regt. of native cavalry, private military secretary to the right hon. the governor, commandant of the body guard, and town major of Fort St. George.—In the 28th year of his age Lieut. William Castle, of the engineers.—At Tuticorin, of the wounds he received at Panjalam courtch, Lieut. Torrione, of the 9th regt. of native infantry.—Lately, at Pondicherry, Lieut. William Robertson, of his majesty's 14th regt.—At Bombay, Lieut. T. Haggison, of the marine.—Same place, Lieut. E. Reynolds.—Lately, Captain P. Maypothet, of the 19th regt. native infantry.

infantry.—At sea, Lieut. Chutty, of the 3d regt. native cavalry.—In the Red Sea, John Blankett, esq. rear-admiral of the red.—At Calcutta, 1 lieutenant-colonel Clarkin of the Bengal native infantry.—Same place, Captain Cutline of the extra ship *Hind*.—At Serampore, M. de Veronne sen.—Late at Palamcottah, at an interesting period of life after a long and severe illness, which she bore with exemplary patience and resignation, Miss Schuler a young lady of very amiable manners—her premature end is deeply deplored by her afflicted parents.—In the Great Desert of Arabia, John Rader, esq. partner to the Bengal detachment serving in Egypt.

S. FERRIS.—At Bombay, the 20th inst. Harry Forrester Constable, esq. as attorney in the recorder's court and solicitor to the hon. company. By the death of Mr Constable society is bereft of one of its most worthy and respectable members. In the duties of his profession he was indefatigable and his extensive practice was distinguished by a friendly zeal in the cause of his numerous clients. His frankness and good nature secured to him the love and esteem of many, and his good sense the respect of all. These qualities ingrafted in a long and familiar acquaintance with local usages had insured to him the confidence of the natives from high to low in an eminent degree. He was cut off by an inflammation in the bowels at a time of life which promised many more years of his faithful services to the public and of his encouragements to his friends. Thus much lamented character had not, by the best information we have procured attained the age of 43 of which he had passed 28 years in Bombay. His equanimity was at all times remarkable and no deviation from that happy temper has ever been observed by his associates, except to lighten conversation by an occasional display of good wit and good humour. An unusually large concourse of the inhabitants both European and native attended the funeral, and Mr Constable, having been a captain in the Bombay service, his remains were interred with military honours.—With Lieut.-colonel James's detachment, in camp at Shalavaram, Lieutenant Wolff, of his majesty's regiment de Meeuron.—At Calcutta, Master Henry Compton, only son of H Compton, esq. barrister at law.—At Madras, the infant son of George Lys,

esq.—At Calcutta, Capt. J. S. Otto.—Same place, George Parry esq.—Same place Mr James Pagan, of the country service.—Late at Chunar, Lieutenant Hilbard.—Late, on his way to Cawnpore, to join his regt. Lieut. Vere Lunley Ward of his majesty's 17th light dragoons.—Near the Mauritius on his passage to England, Lieutenant John Torm of the hon. company's 1st regt. of native cavalry.—The probity and heroic zeal by which this active officer has on all occasions distinguished himself, will long be regretted as a public loss.—On his passage to Europe, Captain Baker Fennell, of the artillery.—Drowned in Bengal river Captain Christal of the *Natwell* rice ship.—At Kuttyghur Cant. Bernard Ruk of the 7th regt. native infantry.—On his way to join his regt. at Barranch Ensign Thomas Shaw, of the 14th native infantry.—Mr Charles Rymcr surgeon's first mate of his majesty's ship *Rooney*.—Late at Pondicherry Lieutenant William Robertson of his majesty's 74th regt.—At Seringapatam 1 lieutenant-colonel Grimstone, of his majesty's 84th regt.—At Masulpatam, Mr Denton.—At Madras, Major Gillum, 1st regt. native infantry.—With Colonel Agnew's detachment, R. B. Scott, of the artillery.—On her passage to the Cape Mrs. Stewart wife of Mr Alexander Stewart, of Madras.

OCTOBER.—At Berhampore, Major J. W. Hopkins.—At Madras, Mrs. Eleanora Atkes.—At Calcutta James Logan esq.—Same place, Mr H. Chamberlayne, sixth officer of the ship *Charlotte*.—At Obya Mr William Sealy.—At Calcutta, Captain Thomas Edip.—Same place Lieutenant Stevens, of his majesty's 70th regt.—Same place, aged 82, Captain John Haggay sincerely regretted.—At Dinagapore, Mr John Thomas, formerly surgeon on board the *Earl of Oxford* Indianman, and latterly, a zealous promotor of the knowledge of christianity among the Hindus.—At Calcutta, Captain Isaac Humphreys, secretary to the military board.—On the 2th inst. at his home on the plain by d. Affan Khan, behagut, for several years confidential minister of his highness the nabob Wallajah. He died at the advanced age of 63 years.—At Dinagapore, Lieutenant Richard Nash of the 12th native regt.—At sea, the Lady of James Smith, esq. of the hon. company's civil service a lady whose death will be long and specially

specially lamented by all who knew her.—On his voyage to England, Capt George Thompson, of the ship *Kestry*.—On board the *Aras* on his passage from Bengal to England Capt. Lindsay commander of that vessel.

NOVEMBER—At Calcutta, Mr D Macintyre aged 36 a worthy and upright honest man. His death was occasioned by a fall from his horse.—At Chander nagore, the Lady of John Erskine, esq and the following day her infant child. At Secrole, Brevet Captain Andrew Donih, adjutant of the 2d batt 16th regt.—At Bombay Mr Joseph Burne, printer of the Bombay Courier.—On the evening of Tuesday last, the 10th inst of an internal complaint, Michael James esq late at Vienna at law of the hon the rear br court Synpative with the distressed and charity to the poor, were distinguishing features in his character.—At Trichinopoly, on the 19th inst the youngest son of Captain Preston.—In the late action between Scindiah and Holkar near Oujan, Lieutenant James Crisquhart, a nephew of Dr David Crisquhart of Scotland, and late a bad surgeon on the Bengal establishment.—At Surat, Captain William Selby of the marine establishment. It is merely the tribute of justice to the character of this gentleman to say that through the course of a long and laborious service, he distinguished himself on every occasion as a brave active and zealous officer, equally attentive to the interests of the hon. company as to those of individuals connected with them in the trade of the country.—At Chandernagore Lieutenant Daniel Campbell, 14th native regt.—At Ganjam, Lieutenant W. C. Duffins.—At Palamcottah, Lieutenant Lewis Gordon, of the 5th regt. native infantry.

DECEMBER—At Calcutta, Captain George Hiram Garden.—At Kedgee, on the ship *Milford* Captain George Mercer of the 1st batt 7th native regt.—In the province of Malabar, Colonel John Conrad Sartorius, of the engineers Bengal establishment.—At Calcutta, Lieutenant Thomas Poole, of the grenadier batt.—At Madras, Capt. John Maidand 4th regt. native infantry.—At Vizagapatnam, Major Thomas Fenn of invalids.—At Arcot, Cornet F M Tador, 18 regt. native cavalry.—On board his majesty's ship *Orpheus*, Mr Hardie, master.—At Calcutta, Mr John Parkinson, collector of salt.

—At Dru, Ensign Robert Allison of his majesty's 36th regt.—At Gooty, of the wounds he received in action with the Polygars Lieutenant George Dadd, 4th regt. native cavalry.—At Bencoolen, Mr Henry Fitzgerald conductor of ordnance.—At Bombay, Captain John Sampson 1st batt. 4th regt. native infantry.—Same place Lieutenant M'Lean of his majesty's ship *Braav*.—At Trichinopoly Ensign M Kay.—At Madras, Mr Chas. Carty head clerk in the office of the reviser of the supreme court.

JANUARY 1802—At Bombay, Captain Bruce Moncreiff of the engineer corps.—At Madras, Mrs. White lady of Mr White assistant surgeon.—At Chungput Mr George Gape, cadet.—At Penang, Captain Coates, of the *snaw Fort*.—Near Rungpore Mr James Pidgeon Kennedy.—At Calcutta Capt. Simpson, of the *Morneston* packet.—Same place Mr R. Beck.—On board the *Cornwallis* on his passage to England, Lieutenant colonel Richard Walker Bengal establishment. At Munfiroottah in the province of Ganjam Edward Mark Gepp esq major commanding the 1st batt. 13th regt stationed at Burrampoor.—At Bombay, the Lady of Major general Richard Jones.—At Madras, Mr Crimshore, aged 98 years.—At Sumalcentah, Lieutenant colonel George Use of the 15th regt. native infantry.—In camp with the southern detachment Lieutenant James B. Greaves, 3d regt. native infantry and quarter master of brigade to Colonel Agnew a young officer of very promising abilities.—At Trichinopoly, Lieutenant colonel James Graham commanding 1st batt. 16th regt. native infantry.—At Bombay George Parterton esq. of the hon. company's civil service and provisional member of council, after a long and painful illness which he supported with uncommon fortitude. He was a man, whose integrity, virtues and accomplishments recommended him to the respect and esteem of a widely extended and diversified acquaintance whilst they endeared him in an impressive and peculiar manner to his family and his particular friends. He was gifted with talents, and possessed of much information from his long residence in India, added to which he had a capacity of intellect and discriminating judgement.—He has left behind him the well merited reputation of

of a kind and affectionate husband a tender parent, and a sincere friend.—At Calcutta, Lieut.-Colonel Wharton, of the regt. of cavalry.—At Amboyna, Robert Addison, esq surgeon of the Madras establishment.—At Banda, Alexander Craug esq deputy commandant resident.

FEBRUARY.—At Madras, after a short illness, William Lewcock esq.—At Calcutta, Miss Rose Rolton.—At Bombay Captain Joseph Perryman, of the country service.—Same place Lieut. J Macdonald Madras establishment.—Same place, after a long and lingering illness, John Gordon esq assistant surgeon of this establishment. A gentleman whose upright principles and rectitude of conduct united with mildness of manners and modesty of deportment secured him the esteem of an extensive and respectable circle of friends and acquaintances, who sincerely lament his premature fate.—Same place Francis Godfrey esq. lat. pay master of his majesty's 10th regt.—On board the ship *Cobra* John Stewart esq assistant surgeon of the Bengal establishment.—At Chittagong, Mr Donald M Rae.—At Surat the Lady of John Church esq of the civil service.—At sea Major Thomas Riddell, 1st batt ad regt. native infantry.

MARCH.—At Bombay William Rowler esq of the civil service.—At Trichinopoly, Lieutenant Thomas Strange 2d batt. 16th regt. native infantry.—Same place, Captain W Preston 1st batt. 16th regt. native infantry.—On his passage to the Cape, Captain Andrew Moffat, of the ship *Ajax*, much regretted.—On his passage to England Captain William Clarke, commander of his majesty's ship *Suffolk*.—At Calcutta Charles Short esq.—Same place Lieutenant John Coker.—At Prince of Wales's Island, Mr John Swaine, Malay interpreter on that island.—At Ryacottah Captain John Innes, of the 14th regt. native infantry.—On his passage from Surat to Bombay Ensign J C. Knight. His promising genius, amiable disposition, attentive application to military duty and the acquisition of oriental languages, opened to him the fairest prospects of future success.—In consequence of an accident whilst exercising his men Lieutenant Colonel William Sherriff of the 7th regt. native cavalry, at the age of 40 years, twenty-eight of which have been spent as an officer of cavalry in

the service of the hon company to whom he was a most valuable servant strict in the duty and benevolent in the society of his regiment it will long regret him the number of his friends who assembled to pay the last tribute to him will best shew the universal suffrage he merited and received. As those who knew him best must have loved him most, to his afflicted family his loss is irreparable as his conjugal virtues were exemplary.—At Trincomalle, James La Hay, esq paymaster and quarter-master of his majesty's 19th regt. of foot. A gentleman possessed of many liberal acquirements a sound judgment and amenity of manners which has caused his loss to be much regretted by every one who knew him.—At Amboor, Captain Thomas Currie of the 13th regt. native infantry much regretted both as a man and as an officer. His goodness of heart conjugal and paternal affection were eminently conspicuous and his death is consequently the cause of great grief to his family and the loss of a valuable officer to the service.—At Saint Thomas, Lieutenant and Adjutant Wagh of the 1st regt. of native infantry.—At Bombay Lieutenant and Adjutant Edward Holland of his majesty's 5th regt.—At Surat, the infant son of Guy Lenox Prendergast, esq.

APRIL.—At Calcutta, Mr Isaac Gollodge, deputy assistant to the master attendant, much regretted as a worthy honest man.—Same place Mrs Wm Williams, after a lingering illness which she bore with great fortitude.—Same place Mr Wilcocks late cryer to Messrs. Tallok and Co.—Same place, after a long illness Miss Mary Chollet.—Lately in the service of Holkar Major William Henry Loe a gentleman of very distinguished abilities, author of "Observations on the Manners and Customs of the Mahrattas" He was killed in an attack upon a mud fort during the attack a musket ball took him in the right temple and put an instantaneous period to his existence.—At Cawnpore, Ensign John Murray of the 17th regt. of sepoy.—In camp, near Poleyeram Lieutenant W Pell 1st batt. 15th regt. native infantry.—Same place Lieut. Dugald Mackintosh 2d batt 8th regt. native infantry.—At Rajahmundry, Mr James Peat, assistant surgeon, 2d batt. 19th regt. native infantry.—In the district of Palamcottah, Lieutenant Philip

Philip Cole 6th regt. native infantry—At Colombo Mr Peter Judson at Trincomalle, Mr Nadora, late second lieutenant of the 8th regt.—At Mialé Captain William Taylor 8th regt. Bombay native infantry—At Bombay Lieutenant Bird, of the marines—At Dundigul after an illness of only five days, Miss Hurdis, sister of J. B. Hurdis, esq. a most amiable and accomplished young lady—At Cudalore Miss Agnes Duncan, youngest daughter of

Dr Dunham—On his way to Penhampore, when he was unfortunately drowned, Mr A. Chivers

1804 16—At Bombay James Ruett Carrage second member of council at that presidency. He was buried with military honours, and all the principal gentlemen of the settlement attended his funeral. His death has occasioned a very general regret at Bombay, where he had been long respected and beloved.

DEATHS IN EUROPE,

OF THOSE PERSONS WHO EITHER RESIDED IN INDIA, OR WERE CONNECTED WITH ITS AFFAIRS

DECEMBER 21 1801—James Findlay esq of Berne settled in the Bombay medical establishment—At Warrhead Essex Charles Thomas Coggan, of the East India house

JANUARY 1 1802—Capt. Samuel Turner author of "An Inquiry into the Court of the Felthoo Lama in Tibet containing a narrative of a journey through Bootan and part of Tibet," 4to. 1800. He was taken with an apoplectic fit the 21st of Dec. in passing through Churchyard alley Fetter-lane he was immediately conveyed to the work house, Shoe-lane, where he died.—6, At Blackheath Mr Wm. Cillest, late of the East India Company's service.—9 Nath. Spence, late commander of the East India Company's ship *Neptune*.—24, At Bedgebury Kent John Cartwright esq formerly governor of Bengal.—31 At Mllington, Capt. John Wintergill Piercy of the hon. Company's service.—Mr Harris Mitchell, late of the book office, East India-house.

FEBRUARY 17—Lady Anstruther of Fifehire mother of Sir J. Anstruther, chief justice of Bengal.—18 George Innes esq. late of Madras.—At Goswell-house Mllington the Rev. John Baines, aged 6, many years resident in India.

MAY 6—Mrs. Burling of Cloatchter place, Portman square, widow of C. Burling esq of Bengal.—1 At Bath Isaac Maddocks esq. assistant secretary to the East India Company.—William Poord, esq. on board the *Anna* from Bengal. He cut his throat as soon as he came in sight of England.

JUNE 11—George Rous esq. counsel to the East India Company. He was

21 few Flecton in which the power of expulsion is particularly considered, 8vo. 1769 2d "A Letter to the Jurors of Great Britain occasioned by the opinion of the Court of King's Bench, read by Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, in the case of the King and Woodfall and tend to have been sent by his lordship with the Clerk of parliament." 8vo. 1771 3d "A candid investigation of the present prevailing Topic." 8vo. 1772 4th "A Letter to the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, in reply to his Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs, 8vo. 1791 and some pamphlets on East India Affairs.—13 At Cumberland Captain Francis William Laigh late of the *Warren Hastings*, East Indiaman

AUGUST 19—Jeffery Jackson esq of Woodford Bridge, aged 3 formerly a commander in the service of the East India Company

SEPTEMBER 9—At Rowdon hall Mrs. Wynch, relict of Alexander Wynch, esq. late governor of Madras.—17, In Grafton street, Fitzroy square Peter Corbett, esq. late of the East India-house.—17, At Twickenham, in his 66th year, Richard Owen Cambridge esq. He was author of "Scribleriad" a mock heroic poem in six books, 4to. 1751. An account of the War in India between the English and French, on the call of Comandant from the year 1751 to 1755 &c. 4to. 1761 Some poems in the sixth volume of Dodsley's collection, and some papers in "The World"—An author Mr Cambridge was well known to the public by his several much approved writings, both in prose and verse, and his various and extensive information, his pure and classical taste, his brilliant

yet harmless wit, his uncommon cheerfulness and vivacity, were acknowledged, during a long series of years, by all who had the happiness of enjoying his society, which was sought for and highly valued by many of the most distinguished scholars and statesmen of this country. But his talents and his acquirements make the least part of the praise belonging to him: it is chiefly for the upright manliness and independence of his mind, for his mild and benevolent disposition, his warm and unvaried affection to his family and friends, his kindness to his dependents and for his firm faith and trust in the christian religion which were manifested through life by the practice of every christian duty and produced the most exemplary patience under the various infirmities of a tedious decline, that those who were near witnesses of his amableness and worth, will continue to cherish the memory

of this excellent man, and reflect with pleasure on his many virtues.

OCTOBER 6.—At Belmont-place, Vauxhall Mrs. Waters, wife of Mr Waters of the hon. Company's ship *Britannia* —7, In Upper Brook-street, Colonel Gilbert Ironside, late of the East India Company's service.—[See *Characters*, p. 25.]—15 At Ramsgate, James Daniell, esq. of Wimpole street, formerly of the Madras establishment.

DECEMBER 16.—At Bath John Hunter, esq. This gentleman was a director of the East India Company, and made a most princely fortune by a course of industry as a merchant at Bombay. Towards the latter period of his life he devoted much of his time to agricultural pursuits at Gubbins, in Hertfordshire and but very lately obtained the gold medal for a plantation of oaks. He died at the advanced age of between eighty and ninety.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE CHRONICLE

His Excellency the Governor and Captain General is pleased to publish in General Orders to the Army, the following Letters and Extracts of Letters.

To the Most Noble MARQUIS CORNWALLIS, K G &c &c

MY LORD,

It having been resolved by the army which achieved the conquest of Mysore, to request your lordship's acceptance of the sword and war turban of the deceased Tippoo Sultan, and also the sword of the Maharaja chief Marlar Row (who at various contests became prisoner to Hyder Ali), I have now the honour, in the name, and by the desire of that gallant army, to present your lordship with the swords and turban.

In performing this pleasing duty, sensations arise in my mind, which any language I possess can very inadequately convey.

When it is considered, your lordship laid the basis of the system, which the energy and decision of the marquis Welllesley has so firmly secured that my greatest merit under the part allotted to me, in bringing this undertaking to so happy a conclusion, consisted in following the example which I had the satisfaction to witness, when your lordship having brought your operations to the point at which you thought it right to stop dictated to the sultana, terms so distinguished for their moderation towards him, and justice towards the allies, when touching at this kingdom on my return from the scenes of your lord-

ship's former glory, I find you effecting even greater services to your country, and when to these considerations is added, warm personal gratitude for the protection with which your lordship has long honoured me Your lordship may conceive the satisfaction which I feel, in having been chosen as the medium to present to you a mark of genuine respect from an army long separated from your lordship, with little probability of ever again having the honour to be placed under your command.

I avail myself of the earliest opportunity of forwarding the swords and turban, by colonel Gent, whom I beg leave to mention to your lordship, as an officer, whose conduct in the charge of the engineer department, during the siege of Seringapatam, gave me the highest satisfaction, and I have to regret, that urgent domestic concerns have compelled me to lose the honour of personally waiting upon your lordship on so interesting an occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) G HARRIS

Manhip Indiaman, Cove of Cork,
30th of June, 1800.

To Lieut Gen HARRIS, &c &c
Dublin Castle June 9, 1800.

SIR,

I have received the favour of your letter, which has been delivered to me by colonel Gent, together

gether with the sword and war turban of Tippoo Sultaun, and the sword of the Mahratta chief Marwar Row, of which the gallant army that achieved the conquest of Mysore has so obligingly deigned my acceptance.

This distinguished mark of the esteem and regard of those brave officers and soldiers who have rendered such important services to their country, is most highly gratifying to my feelings, and I request that you will have the goodness to assure them, that whilst I live, I shall most gratefully feel the high honour which they have conferred upon me, by this most flattering token of their remembrance and approbation.

I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) CORNWALLIS

Extract of a General Letter to His Majesty the Court of Directors, in the Military Department, dated 27th of February 1800

Par 47 On our proceedings of the annexed date are recorded a letter from lieutenant-general Harris to the right hon^{ble} the Governor general, requesting in the name of the army which achieved the conquest of Mysore, his lordship's acceptance of a star and badge of the order of St Patrick. His lordship's reply to the letter from lieutenant general Harris is recorded on the same date.

(A true Extract,) L. Hook
Secy to Govt Mil Dept

Right Hon^{ble} Earl of MORNINGTON,
K G &c &c

Madras, Nov 12 1799

MY LORD,

The army which, by your lordship's directions, proceeded to the capital of the late Tippoo Sultaun, and achieved the conquest of My-

fore, resolved on the plains of Seringapatam, to request your lordship's acceptance of a star and badge, of the order of St. Patrick, made from the jewels of the fort, as a mark of their high respect.

In the name, and by desire of that army, I have now the honour to present your lordship with the star and badge.

In performing this pleasing duty, I am proud to feel and to acknowledge, that the splendid success, of the late campaign must, under Divine Providence, be in justice referred to the instructive wisdom and characteristic energy of your lordship's councils. Those councils have formed a memorable era in the History of India. From their effects, the Company has gained a new source of increasing prosperity, and in their operation, the widespread interests of the British empire in the East, being consolidated and raised on a firm and durable basis, have attained an emence of elevation and security hitherto unknown.

The glory of having been made by your lordship instrumental to the acquirement of some of these inestimable advantages, excites in my mind, feelings of satisfaction and gratitude, which no language can adequately convey.

A copy of the letter to me from Major general Floyd, president of the prize committee, I have the honour to enclose.

I remain, &c

(Signed) GEO HARRIS
Lieut Gen.

To Lieut Gen HARRIS, Commander in Chief, &c

(Enclosed in the foregoing.)

SIR,

The army that, under your command, achieved the conquest of the empire

empire of the late Tippoo Sultan, in the *spring* of this year, being anxious to offer the earl of Mornington, ~~the~~ P Governor general, whose wisdom prepared and directed that event, some marks of its high esteem, has caused a star and badge of the order of St Patrick to be prepared, in which, as many of the jewels as could be found suitable, were taken from the treasury of Tippoo.

I have now the pleasure of sending you the same, in a gold box, and wooden case.

I have the honour to request you will be pleased to present the star and badge to the earl of Mornington, in the name of the army, as a mark of its respect.

I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) J FLOYD, M G

President Prince Com

Choultry Plain Nov 9, 1799

To His Excellency Lieut General
HARRIS, Esq

Fort William, Jan 7, 1800

SIR,

Any mark of the respect of that gallant army, which achieved the conquest of Mysore, must ever be esteemed by me as a distinguished honour.

The resolution now communicated to me by your excellency, having been adopted by the army in the hour of victory, and on the field of conquest, affords a most satisfactory testimony of the intention to associate my name with the memory of their unexampled triumph.

Under this impression, the sentiments of public zeal, and the just sense of honourable ambition, concur to render me sincerely desirous of accepting the gift of the army, and of wearing it, as an emblem of their glory, and of their good will towards me.

I am satisfied that it never was in the contemplation of the legislature of Great Britain to prohibit the acceptance of such honorary marks of distinction; but an attentive examination of the laws relating to the government of the British possessions in India, will convince your excellency, that I could not accept the gift, which you present to me in the name of the army, without violating the letter of existing statutes, and without creating a precedent, which might hereafter become the source of injury to the public service.

I must therefore request your excellency, in assuring the army, of my high estimation of the honour which they design to confer upon me, to signify, that my acceptance of it is precluded by the positive letter of the law.

I return your excellency my thanks for the obliging expressions of your letter, it is the unsigned wish of my heart that your excellency may long enjoy the grateful recollection of your eminent public services, and that you and the unrivalled army, employed in the late glorious war, may receive from your King and Country, every public demonstration of the same sentiments of admiration, gratitude, and affectionate respect, which your conduct has excited throughout the British empire in India.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MORNINGTON

Extract of a General Letter from the Honourable the Court of Directors in the Military Department, dated 10th of June 1801

Par 148 We are thoroughly sensible of the propriety and delicacy of the motives which induced our Governor general to decline

shine the acceptance of this token of respect to his lordship, from the gallant conquerors of Mysore. In order, however, further to testify the very high sense which we entertain of the distinguished services to this Company, of the most noble the marquis Wellesley, by the superior wisdom and energy of whose counsels, the late war in Mysore was brought to so speedy and glorious a termination, we hereby present the star and badge of the order of St. Patrick, formed from the jewels taken at Seringapatam, to his lordship's acceptance, the same having been rendered to, and received by the court of directors for that purpose.

(A true F. tract, L. Hook
See to Govt. M. D. pt)

*To the Hon. the Court of Directors
for the Hon. United Company of
Merchants of England Trading
to the East Indies*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

It has afforded me considerable satisfaction to find by the 148th paragraph of the general letter from your honourable court to the Governor general in council in the military department, dated the 10th of June 1801, that my conduct with respect to the star and jewels, presented to me by the army, employed in Mysore, had met with your approbation.

The judicious and liberal measures which your honourable court has been pleased to pursue for giving effect to that honourable testimony of the good opinion of the army, without creating a precedent injurious to the public service in India, demand my most cordial expressions of gratitude and respect. I now have the honour of submitting to your honourable court my respectful acceptance of the additional mark

of favour, which you have been pleased to confer upon me, by presenting to me the star and jewels of Tippoo Sultan, originally tendered to me by the gallant army, which achieved the conquest of Mysore, and I assure your honourable court, that this distinguished honour is greatly enhanced in my estimation, by the grateful reflection, that the favourable sentiments of such an army, on an occasion so glorious to the British name, and so interesting to my public character, should have been sanctioned by the deliberate voice of your honourable court.

I have the honour to inform your honourable court, that in conformity to your orders, Lieut. general Stuart has transmitted to me the star and jewels from Fort St. George and I have received the same by the hands of Major Malcolm, together with a letter from Lieut. general Stuart, of which I have the honour to annex a copy, as well as a copy of my reply to that respectable officer.

I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) WELLESLEY
Camp near Bangalore, March 8, 1802.

COPY

(Enclosed in the foregoing)

MY LORD,

I have learnt with peculiar satisfaction, that your excellency's mind has been relieved from the legal impediments which had induced your excellency to decline the acceptance of an honorary mark of public gratitude, and that your excellency has been solicited by the honourable court of directors to receive the star and badge of the order of St. Patrick, presented to your excellency by Lieut. general Harris, in the name of that army, which under the direction of your lordship's counsels, achieved the conquest of Mysore.

The return to Fort William of

your excellency's private secretary, Major Malcolm, who shared in the glory of that memorable campaign, and participates the sentiments of respect which this token is intended to commemorate, has afforded me the most appropriate means of repeating the request of the army, and of transmitting the star and badge to your excellency, in the confident hope that you will do them the honour of accepting this memorial of their esteem and admiration.

The circumstances which have rendered me the ultimate channel of conveying to your excellency, this mark of the high sense entertained of your public services on that most arduous occasion, combine the flattering exercise of a public duty, and the highest gratification of my personal feelings.

I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) J STUART

Head Quarters, Choultry Plain
6th February 1802.

His Excellency the Most Noble
the Marquis Wellesley, &c.

To Lieut General STUART, &c
SIR,

Ist I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, under date the 6th of February, which was delivered to me by Major John Malcolm this morning, together with the star and jewels originally

considered to me by the gallant army, which reduced the hostile power of Tippoo Sultan, and since presented to me by the honourable the court of directors.

2d In accepting this distinguished mark of honour, I reflect with the highest satisfaction, that it is the united testimony of the deliberate approbation of the honourable the court of directors, and of the kindness and favour of an army, to which I must ever remain attached by the most ardent sentiments of public and private gratitude.

3d It is peculiarly gratifying to me, that you should have been the ultimate channel of conveying to me a gift, intimately connected with the remembrance of your eminent services in the late glorious war in Mysore. I acknowledge with gratitude the expressions by which you have been pleased to accompany your communication on this interesting occasion, nor could a more agreeable addition have been made to the honour which I have received from the court of directors and from the army, than this public declaration of the favourable opinion of an officer, whose long and honourable career has placed his character among the most distinguished names in the British army.

I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) WELLESLEY

Juanpore, March 18, 1802

BOMBAY LAW REPORT,

BEFORE THE HONOURABLE THE COURT OF THE RECORDER,
APRIL 3, 1802

P C BRUCE, and Co *versus* HADJEE MAHOMMED, *Commander of the Ship Fatty Islaam*

This was a proceeding in the admiralty court of Bombay, to obtain the restoration of the ship

Fatty Islaam upon the payment of salvage.

Messrs. Bruce, Fawcett and Co. with

with others were bottomry lenders upon the said ship, to the amount of 35,000 rupees.

The ship sailed from Bombay on the 12th of July 1794, and in puffs of weather was deserted, in the month of June 1795, by her crew upon the coast of Persia, she was abandoned by the owner to the underwriters and bottomry lenders, upon intelligence arriving at Bombay of the desertion of the crew. She was taken into the possession of the akim of Somniamney, and afterwards by him transferred to the imam of Muscat, for a debt.

Upon coming, in November last, into the harbour of Bombay, she was seized under a writ of attachment issuing out of this court.

Mr DOWDRESWELL, in support of the libel, stated, that it had been determined by all the judges of England, that if a ship is pursued by enemies, the men for safeguard of their lives forsake her, and the enemies having taken and spoiled her of her goods, desert her, and she be cast upon the land where the men arrive, that the ship was not lost to her owners.

In cases of recapture of the property of allies, the law of England acts upon the principles of reciprocity, it restores upon a reasonable salvage being paid, unless another rule was adopted by the country in alliance.

In the present instance, the right of Bruce, Fawcett and Co to restoration upon a salvage being paid, had been admitted by the akim of Somniamney, in a letter to the governor of Bombay. But what was done when restoration was demanded?—it was refused, unless 20,000 rupees were paid for the vessel, which, in her then state, was only worth 35,000, and in the preservation of

which no extraordinary exertion had been made, hazard run, or expense incurred. The injustice of this demand was so apparent, that the government of Bombay authorized captains Tucker and Fridge to bring away the vessel by force, if a reasonable compensation were refused. Unfortunately this mission proved abortive, by the setting in of the monsoon. The akim of Somniamney, fearing that he should not be able to detain her much longer, in order to defeat the right of the present claimants, transferred her to the imam of Muscat. So conscious was the imam of Muscat that no good title could be derived from the akim, that before the vessel was removed from the Somniamney river, he applied to Bruce, Fawcett and Co and offered to purchase their interest. This offer was again repeated, upon the vessel proceeding to Bengal, but the terms were not accepted, 8000 rupees, which were offered, being deemed an inadequate consideration. It is stated in the answer, that the imam is a sovereign prince, and not subject to the jurisdiction of the court, but it was to be remembered, that this was a proceeding *in rem*, in a court whose decisions must be regulated by the law of nations. The vessel was within the jurisdiction, in the harbour of Bombay. She was not a ship of force, she came laden with merchandise. The imam of Muscat was not merely a prince, but a trader, and if he entered into trade, ought to be dealt with as any other trader. He was not an innocent purchaser for a valuable consideration without notice—his own acts shewed that he was not.

Had any thing been done which could be said to have divested the interest of Messrs. Bruce, Fawcett

and Co and the other insurers? the extravagant demand of the akim of Sommaney could not be considered as a regular adjudication in a court of justice, it was in the true style of eastern despotism. Mr Dowdellwell here read the paper, which stated, that the only answer which the akim condescended to give to an application for the ship was,—pay 20,000 rupees, or *you*. Were British subjects to be deprived of their property by a juggle between this akim and the imaum of Muscat? If they were, the condition of every man engaged in shipping was greatly to be lamented. Nothing more was required, than that justice should be done between the parties.—There was no objection to permit the imaum to receive the compensation due for salvage, and to consider him in the situation of sailor.—Thus the underwriters were ever willing to do, but the profits which the imaum had made by the ship during the time she was in his possession, ought to be taken into the account.

Mr MORLEY, for the impugnant, observed, that the libel was filed in the instance court of the admiralty jurisdiction, and, although the prayer of it was general, and not very intelligible, it appeared that the object of the libel was, to be put into possession of the *Futly Ilaam*, on payment of an ascertained salvage. The proponents seemed to rest their right on a defect in the title of Meer Khan, the akim of Sommaney, from whom Sayed Suldaun, the imaum of Muscat, had purchased the ship, and also on a waiver of the privileges of sovereignty in Sayed Suldaun, by his acting as a merchant.

Viewing the case, either on the principles relative to the rights of

sovereign and independent princes, or on those applicable to contracts between subjects of the same state, or in reference to those that mark the forum for the adjudication of salvage, it would be manifest that the instance court could not award any redress.

The treaty of amity and alliance in evidence between this government and the imaum of Muscat, attested the latter to be a sovereign and independent prince, and it was inconsistent with, and derogatory of, his rights, for a municipal jurisdiction like the instance court to investigate any injury imputed to him, and the only mode of obtaining redress, if the proponents had suffered any, was through the medium of the government. He admitted that the admiralty, in its prize jurisdiction, investigates the claims of neutral subjects. But, in the prize court, although the expounder of the law had a local residence, still the law administered by him was universal, it being the *jus gentium*, and even in that court, no authority was assumed over an independent prince, on claims actually disputed by himself. That court possessed no authority over neutrals, except on matters immediately connected with a state of war, as by preventing the effects of fraudulent combinations between avowed enemies, and the subjects of neutral states, and in which the subject of the neutral ought to be considered as committing a fraud on his own sovereign, and acting contrary to his will. And when the neutral sovereign himself commits an injury, and refuses redress, the only means of obtaining it is, as at Elsinore, by force of arms. The authority therefore of the prize court could not sanction a judgment in the instance court. He

could

could not acquiesce in the doctrine, that, by being a merchant, a sovereign prince renounced his privilege. For even with respect to ambassadors, whose character was by delegation, a municipal court could not exercise a jurisdiction, either over his person or property for injuries done by him in his engagement, a different medium of reparation was to be resorted to, and even should the individual suffer an injury by a violation of contract, he had partly contributed to it himself, since he must have been aware of the privileges annexed to so high and important a character. While such an incompetency of authority was in favour of a delegate, it would be preposterous to suppose, that the superior was not entitled to it. If the mercantile character were a waiver of rights attached to sovereignty, it could only refer to acts as a merchant, but not as in the case before the court, the mere navigation of the ship. The letters from the imam to the government, that would be laid before the court, would prove that the *Fatty Islaam* was the sole and absolute property of the imam. And he trusted that the court, from a conviction of its incompetence to investigate the claims of the imam, would dismiss the libel.

Even if the general statement in the libel were true, and the claims had been between subjects, he submitted that the instance court was not the proper jurisdiction. For the contract under which the rights claimed were derived, was under seal, and the obligers were personally responsible under it, and therefore the common law laid down the rules of adjudication.

He would also prove, that the

imam was a purchaser for valuable consideration, and totally ignorant of any claims on her. He said, that the ship had been in the Somnath river upwards of three years, and had only her lower fore and main masts in her. She was without rigging, cables or anchor, and her seams open and, as captain Speake had sworn, was almost a perfect wreck. In that condition she had been purchased by the imam of the akim of Somnath for upwards of thirty thousand rupees, and he had laid out in making her sea worthy, upwards of thirty thousand rupees more. However equitable the doctrine of *caveat emptor* might be, between subjects, where the transmission of property was evidenced according to particular forms, yet it could not have any force in respect to purchases from sovereigns in whose person all local laws were combined, and whose possession was evidence both of the right of property, and of the right of possession.

Whatever might have been the rights of the proponents, they were forfeited by their own acts. The *Fatty Islaam* had been abandoned, in tempestuous weather, and extreme distress, on the coast of Somnath, and in that situation she had been saved from total destruction by the inhabitants of that country. There could be no doubt of a right to liberal salvage. And who had the right of ascertaining the salvage but the akim, who possessed the authorities of government? Whether his adjudication had been moderate or extravagant, was totally immaterial, he alone in him resided the right to adjudicate to this point a case was cited.* If an injustice had been committed by the akim, the means of repara-

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tion

tion were through the government, but the recorder's court was bound to respect the judgment of the akim.—The akim, so far from having been extravagant in his demand for salvage, had been peculiarly moderate.—In the condition of almost a perfect wreck, the *Envy Isaac* had been abandoned, and even then was valued at between 50 and 60 000 rupees.—In saving her the persons must have been exposed to great danger, and have incurred some expense. And for such eminent services, the akim directed only the sum of twenty thousand rupees to be paid. In the tribunals in Europe, the general average is one half, even where extraordinary merit had not distinguished the individuals. This salvage the proponents had refused to pay, and, from having suffered the ship to remain for above three years at Sominiancy, there was no reason to expect that they would obey the orders of the akim.—Mr Morley submitted that the disobedience of the proponents to the judgment of the akim ought to operate as a forfeiture of all their rights and pretensions, and he was confident the court would see ample matter to dismiss the libel.

The court having taken time to consider, on the succeeding day judgment was given by consent, in favour of Messrs Bruce, Fawcett, and Co for 13,000 rupees.

Messrs Hall and Hangerford solicitors for the *Proponents*
Mr J Cumberlege *Impugnant*

recorder, A ADAMSON, esq and R KITSON, esq

The recorder delivered the following charge to the grand jury

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

The calendar contains a number of prisoners, accused of offences of the most heinous and atrocious nature. Out of eleven, who are in custody, all, except one stand charged with murder. In addressing the present grand jury, it is satisfactory to me to be relieved from the necessity of any particular direction or instructions. You have been in the frequent habits of investigating crimes of different natures, without being subject to that fluctuation which occurs in more extended societies.

With respect to one of the offences charged, you will find it different in point of locality to those which have formerly occupied your attention, is confined to Bombay. It is a case of murder, which is stated to have been committed upon the high seas. It will in this case, therefore, be your first duty to inquire whether the offence was committed beyond low water mark, which will ascertain the admiralty jurisdiction. If otherwise, it is cognizable by the county.

In the investigation of every case of murder, it is proper to require the most satisfactory proof that a death has been occasioned, and it were to be wished in this view, that, in cases of this kind, the dead body should always be found and identified, for the history of criminal jurisprudence affords more than one melancholy instance of persons being tried and found guilty, even of murder, who were afterwards proved to be innocent.—But though this is not necessary, or indeed possible, in every case, it

BOMBAY QUARTER SESSIONS

Wednesday, the 14th April, 1803

The quarter sessions were opened before Sir WILLIAM SYER, knt.

is highly proper that your conscience should be satisfied about the death of the party, which, however where a person is thrown overboard at sea, when no ship or chance of escape is near, may safely be presumed.

As in most cases of this nature those actually concerned in the crime are only present at its commission, it is difficult to obtain satisfactory evidence of the fact, it becomes necessary to resort to the testimony of some one concerned, which he discloses under the tacit condition of himself escaping prosecution, such evidence should however be received with caution, though the particular investigation of its effect and import is left the province of the grand, than of the petit jury—Your business is to require only such testimony as satisfies your minds of the necessity of further inquiry by the parties being put upon their trial

On Thursday, the 10th, came on the trial of *Juggoo*, goldsmith, *Jagorath*, purvoo, *Bboy*, his brother, *Bbva*, their grandmother, and *Jorahie*, slave girl, all Hindus, accused of the murder of a boy called Dammoder, on the 10th day of February last.

The prisoners being placed at the bar, and the indictment read,

Mr THREPLAND addressed the jury, at considerable length, on the part of the crown. In discharge of the duty which on this occasion he owed the public, he had to unfold a history of as much horror as ever shocked the ear of a court of justice, in this or any other country. He was aware, however, that it was his business, as he was sure it was his inclination, to abstain from whatever could rouse their indignation, or inflame their resentment,

against the miserable beings before them, whom, till their verdict laid the contrary, the humanity of English law presumed to be innocent of the crime laid to their charge. It was the jury's province, not his, to pronounce upon their guilt; but he had no hesitation in saying, that he thought he should lay a case before them, which, though it could not make their task a pleasant one, would leave no trace of doubt upon their minds, in what manner that task ought to be performed.

Entering then into the circumstances of the case, the deceased, he said, as would shortly appear from the evidence, was a boy of about 13 or 14 years of age, whose parents, like many others in this place, had an excuseable, though in the present instance, a most fatal pride, in decking him out with all the ornaments of joys and bangles which children of his age, in a certain walk of life, are in use to wear. There could be no doubt that it was the temptation which these joys held out to persons, one of whom was of a profession which enabled him readily to convert such articles in other shapes, and to dispose of them without suspicion, which had cost the unhappy Dammoder so dear.—On the 16th of February last, his parents (whom Mr Threpland said he should esteem as long as he lived, were it only for the agony of grief into which their child's fate plunged them,) were surprised at the unusual length of his absence from home, and growing more uneasy as night came on, dispatched a messenger to Parell, where his grandmother lives, in search of him. Not finding him there, and the whole night passing without his appearance, the alarm of these poor people

ple became excessive. In the morning, accident led some of their friends to the house of Jaggonath, where Juggoo being met with, who was known to be an acquaintance of Dammoder's, they brought him along with them to the father's house. His manner, more than what he uttered, exciting suspicion, Jaggonath was also sent for, and being much pressed to tell all he knew or suspected with regard to the boy, he recommended sending to Colabah, in search of him. It to gain time and avoid importunity were not the motives of this advice, there could be little doubt of its being influenced by an anxiety to shift the scene of suspicion, for as soon as the mockery of this search was over, he had recourse to other arts for the same purpose, and pretending he could tell by necromancy where the boy was, he went through certain ceremonies, which ended in fixing on Mahim, as the spot where he was to be found. His distracted parents, credulous from anxiety, would immediately have undertaken this second journey, but their friends and neighbours, who had by this time collected in the house, were fully persuaded that more was to be got by working on the fears of Juggoo, than by roaming over the country at Jaggonath's suggestion, and accordingly, having taken the former into a separate apartment, it was not long before his disposition to disclose the truth was sufficiently apparent, if Jaggonath would only stir in the confession. Being brought again together, however, something passed between them in a low tone of voice, and in a language known only to themselves, the consequence of which was, that Juggoo relapsed immediately in to his former pretence of

total ignorance. Wearied with so many evasions and delays, the general cry of the people round them now was, that a guard should be sent for, when Jaggonath, foreseeing that the next step would probably be to search his house, and knowing well what was to be expected from such a measure, resolved, if possible, to prevent it, by offering to surrender the bangles, &c which the boy had worn, and even went the length of pointing out the apartment of his house in which they would be found, hoping, no doubt, to limit search to the room which he specified.—The bangles were discovered where he had described, and some sea sand newly strewn on the back part of the compound, providentially attracting observation, it was removed, and beneath the earth, a canvas bag, sewed up at the end, was found buried there, on opening which, the jury would anticipate the shocking sight which met a father's eyes—his boy's mangled corpse, covered with blood, the wrists cut almost to the bone, and the throat in such a manner as nearly to sever the head from the body. The instrument which had done the deed, a pointed knife, clotted with blood, was found in another part of the house, a day or two afterwards, and would be produced in evidence in the course of the trial.

If these facts were proved sufficiently, Mr Threspland thought the evidence, as far as it was necessary to affect Juggoo and Jaggonath, would require very little more to render it complete but there were other prisoners at the bar, who, as yet, had only the general suspicion resting upon them, which must arise in every mind, from their being inmates of the house,

house, where it was obvious the murder had been committed

But general suspicion, he knew, was not enough, and he was sorry to say, after every possible exertion to get at the truth by other means, it was absolutely necessary to resort to one of two witnesses—either to the mother of Jaggonath, one Jewbhoy, who was present when the murder was committed, and had been recommended by the sitting magistrate to be admitted as king's evidence, (a recommendation, however, which he conceived he was by no means bound to accord to, if her testimony could be dispensed with,) or to a very young boy, about seven years of age, the son of the slave girl Sowlie, another of the prisoners. He had resolved, with the deference which became him to the opinion of the court, to whom it belonged in every case to determine what was evidence to go to the jury, to call the latter, wao, young as he was, would be found to possess extraordinary capacity, and he was mistaken if a clear, distinct, and connected narrative from one of his time of life would not carry conviction to the mind, when a relation equally articulate from one of Jewbhoy's years, and in Jewbhoy's situation, would fail to do so.

Having dwelt on this for some time, he admitted it was most revolting to bring forward a son in expectation that his evidence would take away a mother's life, but such was the nature of the deed which had been committed, a deed of darkness as well as blood, that he was reduced to a choice of horrors, and had really fixed on that which was least dreadful, for Jewbhoy, whom it would be absolutely necessary to examine if the boy was not called, was the mother of two of

the prisoners, and herself the daughter of a third!—a complication of connexion which he, owned, anxious as he was that such atrocious guilt might not escape by means of falsehood, made him tremble to bring her forward, and from the information he had received, he had every reason to believe that the boy's evidence, if admitted by the court, would render the testimony of the woman completely superfluous.

A number of witnesses were now called, of whose evidence, it is sufficient to say in general, that it completely supported the above statement of the facts which had occurred previous to, and at the time of the body being found. The bangles which the boy had worn, as well as his person, were likewise identified by several witnesses, the former, indeed, chiefly by his father.

The nature of the wounds, and their inevitable effect in producing death, were explained by Dr Baird.

Still, however, nothing had come out to affect materially the other prisoners, and though the presumption against Juggoo and Jaggonath was almost conclusive, something farther seemed to be wanting to convict them of the actual deed.

It was at this stage of the trial that Rutnev, Sowlie's son, the boy of seven, was proposed to be introduced, when Mr DOWDRELL, on the part of the prisoners, objected to his evidence, contending that, by the law of England, no witness could be heard whose years precluded the possibility of his being sufficiently acquainted with the nature and obligations of an oath, and who, if he perjured himself, could not be brought to trial for that offence. In confirmation of

this doctrine he cited the case of Powell, in Leach's Reports, p. 128. He likewise referred to a dictum of Hindu law, in the work of Mr. Colebrook, which he maintained the court were bound by the charter to pay attention to, and which laid it down that under the age of eight, a child was to be viewed as little better than a fœtus or an embryo.

Mr. THREPLAND in reply said, it was sufficiently obvious, from his friend's anxiety to prevent the boy from being put upon oath, that he was perfectly aware of his capacity to give a clear, distinct, and connected testimony, for if he failed to do this, it was plain his examination could not prejudice the prisoners. With respect to the strange fancies of the Hindu law, he had no inclination to enter the lists on that subject, nor did he think it necessary to do so, it was the law of England to which the natives of this country were amenable, and according to that law, there could not be a doubt that children of any age might be examined upon oath, provided they appeared to the court to be endowed with sufficient capacity and understanding to know the distinction between right and wrong, and were duly apprized of the guilt of falsehood. To this effect he quoted Blackstone, Buller, and Strange, and particularly referred to Brazier's case in Leach's Crown Law, where the twelve judges held that an infant of 5 years of age might be a competent witness. The case of Powell, cited by Mr. Dowdell, was not in point, there the court had permitted the child to be examined without being put upon oath, and it was on this ground solely, and not on account of the years of the witness, that judgment was respited. He denied

that any age exempted a child from being tried for an offence, if it appeared to have been committed by the infant, *sciens et prudens*. A different doctrine indeed had prevailed in the time of Lord Hale, but ever since the case of Yorke, (a boy of 10, who was tried and executed for murder, in the time of Lord Chief Justice Willis,) the maxim of law was *malitia supplet etatem*. If this was the rule of the law of England when administered at home, every circumstance connected with this country gave the doctrine additional reason to be adopted here, where every day afforded lamentable proof, that grey hairs were no preservative from the guilt of perjury.

Such indeed was the shameful laxity which universally prevailed, on this subject, among the natives of India, that it were to be wished a person of tender years could always be found to give evidence, in case of doubt and difficulty, one not hitherto corrupted by the contagion around him, who had whatever good the God of nature gave him, as yet pure in his breast, and who, though he might not have made as many *jalaams* to sun and moon, as his brothers or his parents, was not the less likely, on that account, to give a faithful narrative of events which had passed before his eyes.

The court admitted that the law of England was clearly as the counsel for the crown had stated it, and did not think themselves bound by any maxim of Hindu law upon the subject of evidence; which, if attended to at all, must be complied with throughout, and that would lead, if Mr. Huthed's book is of authority, to the rejection of every witness who has not reached the age of 15.

The boy was then examined by the

the court previous to his being sworn, and returned such answers, to the several questions put to him, as astonished every one who observed his appearance. When asked if he had received any instruction, he said he had not, but it appeared from his answer to the next question, that he supposed the instruction alluded to was instruction what to say when examined. He seemed completely aware of the guilt of telling a lie, and distinguished the punishment due to simple falsehood, and to falsehood upon oath, by saying that a person guilty of the one deserved to be flogged, but that those who were guilty of the other ought to be hanged. His general notions of right and wrong were equally correct, and all his answers were given in the most firm and undaunted manner.

Having gone through this preliminary probation, he was sworn in the usual manner, but it very soon appeared that not one word of truth was to be expected from any part of his narrative. Fortunately the story which he told was, in itself, so inconceivable, as to carry its own refutation along with it—For it was found equally impossible to get him to depart from the account he had evidently come prepared to give, as to involve him in contradictions, from which its falsehood might be apparent. According to him, Juggoo was the sole perpetrator of the murder—a hole in the wall of the room (the same room which Jaggonath had pointed out) enabled him to see the whole transaction. Juggoo struck the blow—the knife was Juggoo's. Juggoo brought the bag, put in the body, sewed it up, dug the hole and buried it, and all this in Jaggonath's house, without his

knowing any thing of the matter, though he was at home at the time! When pressed by questions, if he himself was not so much alarmed at what he saw, as to inform the family, he evidently perceived the necessity of admitting that he was, and accordingly acknowledged that he did once leave the chink at which he stood, to make Jaggonath acquainted with what Juggoo was about, and that the only remark of the former was, "If this is as you say, I'll quarrel with the goldsmith, or words to that effect with respect to his mother, Sowlee. She was all the time asleep in the verandah!"

Mr. Threipland now said he would be happy to call the very respectable gentleman, who sat by him, (Mr. Halliday,) to produce the very different account the boy had given when examined at his office, but he was aware it was not competent for him to do so, and he must therefore, after all, have recourse to the woman Jewbhoy, trusting the discernment of the jury would prevent their being misled, by any inclination she might testify to screen her own relations.

This woman, who appeared about 50, was then sworn, and after being solemnly admonished by the court, and informed that her being called to give evidence was only an indemnity to her, if she spoke the truth, she related the circumstances of the murder, which Juggoo, she said, had perpetrated, with the assistance, solely, of the slave girl Sowlee—that she herself was present in the room, and her son Jaggonath likewise, but that neither of them had any hand in the business. Her other son, the prisoner Bhow, was not in the house—and as to Bhya, her mother, she at first said she was asleep in another

another room, and knew nothing of the matter, but, on farther examination, it came out, that the *ahlo* was present, and the witness being asked, abruptly, which of the boy's legs the old woman had hold of, when Juggoo had him down, she said she did not recollect. "She had hold of one of them, however." Her answer, which was given with evident reluctance, was in the affirmative. Her son Bhow arrived after the body was buried, and whether he was informed of what had happened, or not, she could not say: she did not acquaint him. His brother Jaggonath and he went that same evening to a *Tomasha* (a play or entertainment), and did not return till 12 at night.

Here the evidence for the prosecution closed, and Mr. Dowdeswell proceeded to call several witnesses, on the part of Juggoo, chiefly with a view to prove an *akhi*, but no part of their story was at all inconsistent with his being at Jaggonath's house at the time the murder was committed.

The Recorder then addressed the jury, and having with great accuracy recapitulated the whole of the evidence, remarked, there could be no doubt, that what was deemed a murder in the eye of the law had here been committed, and the only question for the jury to determine was, to whom the guilt of that atrocious deed belonged. In considering this he would advise them, first, to pay no regard to any thing the boy Ratsey had said, who had evidently been taught a tale to save those with whom he was connected, and, unfortunately, a more apt and able scholar of his years had never come before a court. The story he had told to-day was full of improbabilities, positively contradicted

by the woman Jewbhoy, and unsupported by any other witness or circumstance in the case. But though it appeared to him entitled to no credit, the jury were the proper judges of the credit of the witnesses. One thing was certain, if they believed the boy, they must reject the evidence of the witness Jewbhoy, who directly contradicted him.

With respect to Jewbhoy's testimony, it certainly came forward in very suspicious circumstances, for having confessedly been present at the deed, it was difficult to give her credit for having been an innocent spectator, and her disposition to acquit her own family, by accusing others, was so natural a feeling, that its influence upon her evidence could not be wondered at, but, on this very account, whatever proceeded from her, to the prejudice of such near relations, was the more entitled to credit.

Of the prisoners, it would probably appear to the jury, there was less to affect Bhow than any of the others. His mother, indeed, swears positively he was not in the house at the time the murder was committed, and if it was only made known to him afterwards, his crime would not amount to that which the indictment charges against him.

With respect to Bhya, the grandmother of Bhow and Jaggonath, the only evidence which affects her is that of her daughter, who said, at first, that she was asleep at the time, and in another apartment, but afterwards expressly admitted the contrary, and even went the length of acknowledging that she held one of the legs of the deceased while Juggoo was cutting his throat. It was for the jury to determine which of these contradictory

tory averments they would believe, or whether it was possible to attach credit to either of them, when the one was so inconsistent with the other.

As to Sowhe, she also is solely affected by the evidence of Jewbhoy and her testimony with respect to this prisoner is to be regarded with very great suspicion; for she had an interest to fix as much guilt as possible on her and Juggoo, with a view to extenuate the crime of her own family.

With respect to Jaggoo and Jaggonath, he would first of all inform the jury, that any acknowledgement made by either of them, supposing it to have been extorted by promises or threats, ought to be dismissed from their consideration. A distinction indeed had been drawn by Mr. Frenland between promises held out by an individual extrajudicially, and by a magistrate in the exercise of his authority. But though there was weight in the observation, he was clearly of opinion that, had the prisoners been required to convict themselves, in return for the money and rewards which were offered to them, those offers would have destroyed the effect of the acknowledgement so far, as to have excluded it from being evidence in a court of justice. But the word "confess," it would be remarked, had never been made use of, in any of the conversations which had been held with either of them, and he had heard one of the greatest judges that ever sat on the Bench (Mr. Justice Buller) decide, that there is the most material difference between a person being merely required to tell the truth, and being offered a reward to confess a particular fact. And, in truth, the acknowledgements made by these prisoners do, none of them,

amount to a confession of the murder, they only shew that both of them were appraised, the very morning after it happened, not only where the bangles were to be found, but likewise where the body was secreted from which early intelligence of such important particulars in the history of the fact, it was impossible not to draw the most unfavourable conclusions against them.

The boy's having been seen in company with Juggoo, at a late hour of the evening when he was first missing, was also a circumstance, from which strong suspicion could not fail to arise, against him individually, but if he had been the only person concerned in the murder it was highly improbable he would have taken the boy to Jaggonath's house for the purpose of destroying him, and it is still more inconsistent with Jaggonath's innocence, that the room in which the deed was done appears to have been a retired apartment, not in general use, but opened, as would seem, for this diabolical catastrophe. Another circumstance wholly irreconcilable with Jaggonath's acquittal is, that though his mother admits he was present at the murder, and, as she pretends, averse to it, he not only makes no discovery of the fact when first required to do so, but is at pains to mislead inquiry, and to raise expectations, which, if he saw the wounds which Juggoo inflicted on the boy, even supposing he did not hold the knife himself, he must have known could never be realized.

It was for the jury, however, to take the whole of the evidence into their consideration, and he made no doubt they would return a verdict satisfactory to themselves and to their country.

About

About two in the morning of Friday the 16th, the jury were enclosed, and in less than half an hour returned a verdict of *guilty* against Juggoo and Jaggonath, but acquitted Bhow, Bhyä, and Sowlee.

The two former were then ordered to be brought up for judgment the day following, on which occasion the Recorder addressed them to the following effect

Prisoners,

You have both been found guilty of the crime of murder, a crime which in all countries is punished with death. By a divine precept, delivered to the common incitor of all nations, it is solemnly promulgated, that "whose shedderh man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Of the justice of the verdict against you, no man who heard your trial, can entertain a particle of doubt. As to you, Juggoo, the unfortunate boy was slain in your company about an hour before the inhuman deed was committed, and there is the positive evidence of Jewbhoy, that your hand struck the blow. The defence which you set up, of being in another place at the time, has totally failed you, and your acquaintance with so many circumstances attending the commission of the deed, early the next day, is another proof that it could not have been perpetrated without your knowledge and participation.

With respect to you, Jaggonath, there is the positive evidence of your mother herself, that you were in the room when the boy was murdered, a fact which you, like Juggoo, have not attempted to disprove. One cannot be much surprised that a mother, actuated by the feelings of nature, at the time she admits you were present, endeavours to palliate your guilt, by

denying your assent to the crime committed before you. But even, according to her, your expostulation with Juggoo was the slightest imaginable, and she does not pretend you opposed the smallest resistance to his acts, which you alone were able to have done, and much more with the assistance of your family, whom you might have called to your aid on such an occasion. — All the circumstances of the case considered, the boy being brought to your house by the goldsmith, being murdered in your private apartment, his property found there, and his body buried in your premises, these facts are so inconsistent with your innocence, that they tend strongly to shew that you were the original promoter of this inhuman act, and impress the mind with a conviction of the truth of the accusation made against you by the prisoner Juggoo, "that you had brought him into this disgrace. — That you participated in it was indeed not denied by yourself, for when Juggoo was accused of having acted a butcher's part, and said, "I have not done this, but the purvoo," what was your answer? not that you did not do it, but "that Juggoo was your companion in it."

With respect to the crime itself, foul as the guilt of murder always is, it was attended, in this case, with circumstances of peculiar atrocity and aggravation. The unfortunate boy had given you no provocation, been guilty of no offence. You have not to plead any sudden transport of passion, I am sorry to say, — the deed appears to have been as deliberately planned, as it was most cruelly executed, the temptation, a few palarv, insignificant bangles, the offer of which, and of all that the deceased had in the world, could not restrain your hands from

from spilling the blood of innocence.

In a case of such a nature, so proved, you must not expect the court will interpose, or recommend any mitigation of punishment. In such cases indeed pardon and forgiveness are even divinely prohibited. We are told, "we must take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer, but he shall surely die, for the land can only be cleansed of the blood which has been shed, by his blood who shed it."

I must apprise you therefore that you have but a very short time to live, and I sincerely hope you will employ the period in imploring the forgiveness of that great God, before whom you will soon be summoned to appear, and who has reserved everlasting torture for impenitent offenders.

Let me advise you then to apply to the priests and brahmins of your cast, to prepare you for another world, and by sincere contrition and repentance, may you escape that vengeance, the dreadful effects of which you will, otherwise, so soon and so painfully experience.

Nothing remains for me, but the most distressing part of my duty, which is to pass upon you the sentence of the law—that sentence is, that you be carried to the place from whence you came, and from thence, on Monday next, to the place of execution, there to be hanged by the necks until you be dead, and may the Lord have mercy on your souls!

On Saturday the 19th of April, the court met at 10 o'clock, when four prisoners, (Hindus,) called *Erriab Sarwar Tharia*, *Raggab Anarra*, *Raggab Rowjee*, and *Bhikie Bhuma*, marionets, were placed at the bar.

The indictment in this case, which was laid on the admiralty side of the court, contained two counts, the first charging the prisoners with having, on the 20th of February last, [see *Chronicle*, p. 62] upon the high seas, about 15 leagues from Buncote, on the coast of Concin, made an assault on one Iannoo Sadafew, Gopaul Cattocker, and five other persons unknown, by striking, beating, and kicking, of which striking &c they, then and there, instantly died. The second count charged them with having thrown the said persons out of the boat into the sea, with the waters whereof they were, then and there, suffocated and drowned.

The prisoners having severally pleaded not guilty,

Mr. THREPLAND rose, and addressed the jury.—In this case, as well as that which was tried on Thursday, he had the honour to address them on the part of the crown, and if the recollection of the shocking circumstance which it was then his duty to detail, still made the blood of all who were present freeze within them, heaven knew the facts he was now called upon to state were not of a nature to thaw the current. In the former case, cruel and atrocious as it was, there was but a single sufferer, in the present, there were no less than seven, two of them helpless women, and three young children, incapable of harm, all of them untimely deprived of their existence, and that by a mode of death, of all others perhaps the most dreadful.

The jury probably did not require to be informed, that there were many persons in this island, who earned a scanty subsistence by hawking the goods of others through
the

the country. With these they are entrusted in the morning, and it is their practice to return at night, to give an account of their sales, and deposit the articles they have not disposed of. Of this cast or class of men were the wretched Gopaul and Janoo, whose fate the jury was summoned to investigate. They were in the employment of one Purshotum Rowjee, who, from the regularity of their returns each evening to give an account of the preceding day's traffic, was a good deal surprised at their not making their appearance as usual, on a certain night of the month of February last. After many fruitless inquiries, both that night and for several days afterwards, Purshotum gave up his goods for lost, but little thought of the dreadful atonement the miserable men had made, by whom they were abstracted. At length, in consequence of some information which seemed likely to lead to a discovery, he went over to Old Woman's Island, where having fallen in with two of the prisoners, Ruggah and Bhikia, one of whom was wearing a turban, and the other a sash, which he immediately recognized as part of the property which was missing, he carried them, together with Erriah and the other prisoner Raggoo, to the office of the police.

It might appear extraordinary, Mr. Threipland said, that persons conscious of possessing goods which did not belong to them, should venture to appear so openly with them about their persons, but the truth he believed to be, the prisoners were ignorant of the sort of trade which Gopaul and Janoo carried on, and imagined when they had sent them to their account, there was no one left on earth who had any right to question the property

Thus wonderfully did the providence of Almighty God defeat the best laid schemes of guilt, and so vain was it for the murderer, in particular, to expect to escape that vengeance, with which the law of every country pursues the most atrocious of crimes!

Still, however, had the case stopped here, whatever suspicion the prisoners might have laboured under, of having made away with the several persons mentioned in the indictment, there would not, certainly, have been evidence sufficient to convict them of the fact, nor would he, on the part of the crown, have presumed to ask for such a verdict, but have shaped his charge in a very different manner. But shortly after Purshotum Rowjee had taken those steps which he had mentioned, a person called Govind Ram Thacoer, who had served as a mariner on board the same boat with the prisoners, was brought before Mr. Halliday, and in his presence, freely and voluntarily, without any certain assurance of favour, or the most distant hint of a reward, made a declaration, in which he explained the whole proceedings of himself and his companions, in relation to the deceased. If this man had been to be viewed as an accomplice in the crime, Mr. Threipland knew well with what extreme suspicion an intelligent jury would have listened to his testimony. But he begged to say, and he gave the prisoners whatever advantage they could derive from the observation, that it by no means followed from a person being present when a murder was committed, that he was of necessity to be held guilty of that offence. force might compel him to witness proceedings, in which he took no part, the necessity of the situation

in which he was placed might prevent his withdrawing from the scene. Not that Govind's own assertion of having been an innocent spectator, was sufficient to exculpate him, but if the jury found every one else who was present concurring in his acquittal, all agreeing that he was otherwise employed at the time, and not aiding or assisting in the fact, if the jury found the prisoners paying this tribute to his innocence, not with any view to disprove or negative the whole of the charge, but at the very moment they were confessing Govind's narrative to be true, except in so far as each individual denied its truth with respect to him self, and that too, at a time when from having heard the charge made by Govind against themselves, it was much more likely that he should have been accused by all, than acquitted by any. If the jury took all these circumstances into their consideration, he had no doubt the degree of credit they would attach to this man's evidence would be that to which a witness, *omni exceptione major*, whose veracity was wholly unimpeached, was entitled.

Having thus disposed the jury to lend a favourable ear to Govind's testimony, Mr Threspland said, it would appear from his narrative that the boat in which the seven passengers (whose appearance, sex, and age the witness would describe) embarked, was the joint property of the prisoner Erriah, and of one Baya, who, unfortunately for the cause of public justice, had effected his escape. That besides these two persons, there were on board, as mariners, the three other prisoners, the witness, and two men called Maddoo and Wuttel, neither of whom had yet been discovered.

That they all sailed from Bombay on a certain evening of February last, and after making very little progress during the first night they were at sea, continued their voyage towards Bancoote the following day. It was about nightfall of this day that a proposal was made by Baya to take possession of the passengers effects, and to silence future inquiry into the theft, by committing murder on all the seven! Mr Threspland said, he saw and participated in the horror which the jury felt at this relation, but dreadful as it was, the fact would soon appear unquestionable, that this monstrous resolution was carried into effect, about nine o'clock of the same evening, when darkness had covered the face of the deep, and the distance of land was such, that even in broad day it could scarcely have been discernible. By Govind's account, Baya, having seated himself closest to the stoutest of the two male passengers, watched his opportunity, and sent him headlong into the sea, and instantly, as if a signal had been given, the other boatmen sprung upon the remaining six, two of them, as he had already mentioned, helpless women, and three young children, one an infant not above two years of age, and consigned them all, without remorse or pity, to the same grave. It was now that Govind, who had been sent to steer the vessel, took advantage of his situation to put up the helm, in hopes of giving some one or other of those wretched victims a chance to escape, and he believed he would inform the jury that he called them several times by name, but not one voice of all the seven replied! Concluding the whole had inevitably perished, he obeyed the orders he received, and made directly for the shore,

shore, where the crew landed, and having disposed of part of the goods of which they had, at such wanton expense of human life, possessed themselves, brought back the remainder to Bombay.

The last piece of evidence he would lay before the jury was not the least important, he meant the declarations of the several prisoners, all of whom admit the fact of seven persons having been thrown overboard on the night, and in the way mentioned by Govind, though each of them, as was to be expected, denies his own accession to the deed. The credit due to these denials it was for the jury to estimate, but if they believed Govind, he was afraid it was utterly impossible for them to acquit any one of the prisoners, however much they might be satisfied that there were others equally guilty who had hitherto escaped that justice, which he did not doubt would, one day, overtake them.

Mr Threspland then explained the meaning of the two counts which the indictment, by his direction, had been made to contain, and anticipated the effect of his not being able to identify the persons of Gopaul and Janoo, which might possibly turn out to be the case.

He then proceeded to examine the witnesses for the prosecution, of whose evidence it is only necessary to say, that that given by Govind Ram Thacoor, the supposed accomplice, was extremely collected and distinct, and was so much in unison with what he had declared before Mr. Halliday, that Mr Threspland, with the view of still further strengthening his credit, called that gentleman to prove the fact of the conspiracy. This was opposed by Mr. Dowdewell, counsel for the prisoner Erriah, but,

after some discussion, the court held such evidence perfectly competent, and he was examined accordingly.

About half past eight o'clock, the evidence being closed (the prisoners having called no witnesses), the RECORDER began his charge to the jury.

Having gone over the whole of the evidence from his notes, his first remark upon it was, that it certainly did not seem very satisfactorily made out, that Gopaul and Janoo were the persons received on board the boat, chiefly from the discordancy in the testimony which two witnesses had given with respect to their size, which the jury, however, might possibly be able to reconcile. But be the passengers on board the boat who they might, there could be little doubt that one and all of them had been thrown into the sea. Thus, indeed, the prisoners themselves, respectively, admit, though each of them endeavours to shift the blame from himself, and to fasten it on his companions. Their mutual accusations, however, ought not to be received to criminate each other, on the contrary, the jury were bound to disbelieve them from their consideration. What a prisoner has said with respect to himself, is evidence, no doubt, on which he may himself be convicted, but he, who accuses another, must do so upon oath, and have any claim to be believed in a court of justice. The principal point, therefore, which the prosecution gains by these declarations is, the increase of credit which they lend to the witness Govind, whose certainly none of the prisoners attempt to accuse, and two of them expressly acquit, confirming the relation given by himself that he was at the helm, engaged in steering the vessel, when

the passengers were thrown out of it, in the manner which had been described.

Having been thus cast into the sea, the next question for the jury to consider was, whether they had perished there. In all cases of murder it was doubtless extremely desirable that the court should have evidence laid before them that the body of the deceased had been found and identified, but this was matter of satisfaction to their minds, rather than of necessity in making out the case, and the rule, if it was due, applied chiefly to murders committed upon shore, for where a person is cast into the sea, in the midst of the ocean, and is there seen to sink, there is no chance of his body being ever afterwards discovered, but no jury would hesitate, on that account, to pronounce a person committing such an act, in such a situation, guilty of the crime of murder.

Having made these observations on the mode and manner in which the deed was committed, the jury would next inquire whether the guilt of that deed had been brought home to all or any of the prisoners. There could be no question, if Govind was at all to be believed, that the person principally guilty was Bays, who had not yet been found. Had it ~~not~~ ^{been} made the horrid proposal, which Govind says was adopted by the crew without one dissenting voice, except his own. Erriah, indeed, was steering when this proposal was made and assented to, and the witness says, he did not hear it; but when Govind was sent to relieve him at the helm, he says he informed him of what Bays and the rest had just resolved on, to which his only answer was, that it was a bad business, and that he would go and smoke his shag.

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It was for the jury to consider whether that was not a pretence to deceive the witness; for, when he refused his post at the helm, which he seems to have done immediately after the bodies were dispatched, as if he had left it for no other purpose but to assist in their destruction, he had no cheroot, and, as the witness swears, did not appear to have been smoking. If this is a circumstance to be taken into consideration, as far as relates to Erriah, they would consider how far the evidence which had been submitted to them, of the manner in which the deed itself was committed, entitled them to pronounce that person and the other prisoners guilty of the crime severally imputed to them in the indictment. Now Govind states, that he saw Bays throw one of the passengers over board, and only one, and that the rest were all thrown over by the other part of the crew; and though he does not pretend to specify by which of the prisoners in particular, all or any of the rest lost their lives, he swears positively the whole of the crew were aiding and assisting in the general design, and that none of them opposed the slightest resistance to its being carried into effect.

This, which itself was almost conclusive against them, the jury would probably think was a circumstance which made more strongly against Erriah than any of the other prisoners. For Erriah being joint owner of the boat with Bays, and of course a person of authority on board, would certainly, if he had really dissented from the deed, as he now pretends, have testified that dissent in a manner by no means so equivocal as to have entirely escaped the observation of the witness, who was on the watch at the time, and

† K

m

pended by ropes from a projection of the roof these were cut down to interrupt the progress below, and their rapid fall did much execution among them. In spite, however, of every annoyance, they accomplished their undertaking by noon, when a part of the wall of the upper and lower rooms fell, and brought the banditti down with it, who, in the act of falling, actually levelled their muskets and fired at captain Watson, fortunately without effect. Seven were found to have taken refuge in this *symply* - unhurt from the fall, they immediately made for the foot-path, but captain Watson having most judiciously guarded every avenue at the bottom of the hill by which an escape might have been made, they were intercepted in their retreat, and the number completely annihilated. On proceeding to the demolished building, two women were discovered, they eagerly inquired as to the fate of the party, and being informed, one of them exclaimed "then Uny Mootah is killed." Captain Watson, on hearing this acceptable exclamation, collected the bodies, and Uny Moorah being pointed out by the female in question, it was exposed and recognised by numbers who assembled for the purpose of viewing this late animated corpse, which, only a few hours before, the fears of the inhabitants of Malabar considered unapproachable; some of whom even tracked the party on their march to this fortified post, as in the pursuit of an object which would lead to their certain destruction. Another noted robber named Gooral, one of the banditti, and obviously related to Uny Mootah, escaped the fire of his comrades, but the vigilance of captain Watson is to be expected well rendered,

his career but short. Besides the casualties above enumerated, one native officer was killed, and four wounded

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AMBASSADOR from the KING of PERSIA to the BRITISH GOVERNMENT in INDIA.

His Reception.

On the 31st of May, a deputation, composed of the secretary to government, Robert Rickards, esq the assistant general, lieutenant colonel Gorton, the quarter master general, lieutenant colonel Boden, the governor's aid-de-camp, major Wilson, the acting president aid-de-camp, captain Spens, with Nicholas Hankey Smith, esq late resident at Buhire, and a friend of the ambassadors, who was appointed to act as interpreter also on the occasion, proceeded, on Thursday last, at three o'clock in the evening, to congratulate his excellency on the part of the governor of Bombay on his arrival. The deputation, on reaching the *Duncan*, was saluted with fifteen guns, and the compliment was repeated on its quitting the vessel.

The deputation was received and entertained by his excellency with the usual formalities, who, however, expressed his anxiety and hope soon to become personally acquainted with his members; when their meetings, he trusted, would prove frequent and of a less formal nature. His excellency having made known his intention of remaining on board until Saturday morning, at the hour of six, when he would land, and proceed immediately to the house which had been fitted up for him at Buzelle; and not twelve days after the signature of his most respectful vantage, before he underwent the ceremony of introduction

duction as the honourable the acting president, the deputation then took leave of his excellency,

Saturday Morning at.

The gentlemen above named, &c. accompanied by the memendar Edward Strachey, esq. at six o'clock this morning proceeded on board the *Duncan*, in the *Baloon*, richly ornamented for the occasion, and their reception was again honoured by a salute from that vessel. A separate boat, with French horns and other musical instruments adapted for the water, attended closely on the *Baloon*, and other bunder boats also followed for the purpose of bringing ashore such of the ambassador's suite as might be appointed to land with him, each boat having a marine officer on board.

At about seven the ambassador quitted the *Duncan*, and being received in a barge belonging to one of his majesty's ships, she rowed off from the *Duncan* under a salute of 17 guns, the other boats following in regular order. In this procession, the whole of the boats taking a circuitous route, passed his majesty's ship *Chiffonne*, the hon. Company's ship *Marquis Cornwallis*, and the hon. Company's frigate *Bombay*, all of which were highly decorated, and displaying a variety of ornamental colours, saluted each in their turn the ambassador's barge as he passed. After which the procession of boats proceeded in the same regular order to the shore, the music playing the whole of the time.

On the ambassador's landing at the Bunder Pier, he was saluted with 17 guns from Hornby's battery, and was received by Robert Abernethy, esq. Henry Fawcett, esq. and major general Bellasis, and lieutenant colonel Kerr, who were respectively introduced to his excel-

lency by the secretary to government, who, moreover, explained the rank and station of each of the gentlemen who had been appointed to receive him. This ceremony having been gone through, the ambassador was carried in a state palankeen, provided for his accommodation, in slow time, through a file formed of all the troops in garrison from the Bunder towards the church gate, the artillery band playing appropriate tunes, and the troops saluting him as he passed with presented arms, next to the ambassador's palankeen followed those of the gentlemen who had been appointed to receive him; and after these the palankeens of his excellency's own suite.

The procession was also preceded by led horses, trumpets, &c. &c. An immense concourse of people assembled to view the reception of the ambassador, and the number of palankeens moved along as if borne by the multitude, so great was the crowd which thronged around them.

The ambassador proceeded from the church gate to the house prepared for his reception in the country, in his state palankeen, escorted by his own horsemen and other attendants, and by a body of 200 peons dressed for the occasion, who, forming a line on each side of the ambassador's conveyance, accompanied him in that order to his house of residence.

The road was crowded with native spectators, all anxious to view and to offer their humble tribute of respect to this exalted stranger.

We are happy to add, that the ambassador has expressed his highest satisfaction at the honourable attention already shewn to him at this settlement, and with the accommo-

dation, prepared for him during his proposed stay here.

The Ambassador's first Audience with the acting Governor.

On Monday last, his excellency the Persian ambassador, Haidjee Khaleel Khan, obtained his public audience of the honourable the acting governor, James Rivett Carnac, esq. His excellency made his entry into the fort with a large train of his attendants, and body guards mounted, followed by a vast concourse of the natives. He left his house at Ryulka at about four o'clock, accompanied by the gentlemen who formed the deputation upon his bidding, and who had proceeded to his residence for the purpose of attending his excellency. The troops in garrison formed an avenue from the secretary's office to the government house, through which his excellency proceeded in his stage palanquin, and, on passing the mosque, was saluted with pre-ferred arms. On his excellency's entrance at the gates of the government house, he was met by the acting president at the head of the steps, and their introduction was announced by a salute from Hornby's battery. His excellency was then conducted to the audience apartment, which was elegantly fitted up for the occasion: on his entering it, the band, with a most happy effect, struck up "God save the King!" Having delivered to the acting president, with the usual ceremony, his credentials, his excellency was introduced to the principal officers of his majesty's and the honourable Company's service who attended at the government house. His excellency manifested great satisfaction at the attention and courtesy with which he had been received; and at about half

Wednesday having been fixed upon by the honourable the acting president for commencing the visit of his excellency the Persian ambassador, the principal officers of his majesty's and the honourable Company's service assembled at the government house, a little before four, to accompany the acting president thither. A salute from Hornby's battery announced his departure from the house, in a coach, accompanied by Sir William Syer, the recorder, John Hector Cherry, esq. second member of council, and general Nigholson, the commanding officer of the forces, followed by the gentlemen on attendance in their respective carriages, and preceded by music and trumpets, and beautiful red horses most richly caparisoned. On the Park road, a party of 500 of the Bengal volunteers joined and led the procession, through an almost impassible crowd. The acting president's reception by the ambassador was announced by another salute from Hornby's battery; his introduction was marked by the accustomed cannonade, and his entertainment conducted in the highest style of eastern magnificence. At about 4½ the acting president took his leave, and quitted the ambassador's residence in a most palanquin, of uncommon and singular elegance, escorted in the same manner as distinguished his approach.

Entertainment of the Ambassador.

June 4, being the anniversary of his majesty's birth day, the honourable the acting president, James

James, Esq. Carrac, Esq. and others, and it was a magnificent entertainment, to which his excellency the Persian ambassador Hadjee Khosel Khan, and the principal gentlemen of the settlement were invited. In the evening his excellency paid Edward Smith, Esq. a visit, where a ball was given to the ladies; he was greatly diverted with the dancing, and the fire-works prepared for the occasion engaged his attention much; for they were truly brilliant, and displayed with peculiar felicity of taste and judgement, the darkness of the night, too, in no small degree contributed to heighten the splendor of the scene.

Death of the Ambassador.

CALCUTTA GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY

Wednesday, August 14, 1803

On the 9th instant, his majesty's frigate *La Chiffonne*, captain Stuart, arrived in the river from Bombay, with despatches from that presidency to his excellency the most noble the Governor-general in council, containing the afflicting intelligence of the death of his excellency Hadjee Khosel Khan, ambassador to the British government on the part of his majesty the king of Persia.

In the afternoon of the 20th ult. a dispute unfortunately arose between the Persian servants of the ambassador, and the Sepoys of the corps of Bengal volunteers, occupying his excellency's honorary guard, at the house assigned for his residence near Mallagong. An affray ensued, and both parties resorted to arms.

At the commencement of the disturbance, his excellency the ambassador, with his nephew Aga Hosseini, and his attendants, descended into the court for the pur-

pose of quelling the tumult, and while his excellency was pursuing his endeavours with the utmost degree of humanity and civility for that purpose, he received a wound from a musket which instantly proved mortal. His excellency's nephew was severely wounded in several places. Four of the ambassador's servants were killed, and six more wounded. Tranquillity, however, was speedily restored, and medical assistance was immediately procured for the relief of the surviving sufferers.

The most active and judicious exertions were successfully employed by the acting president at Bombay, J. H. Cherry, Esq. and by the civil and military officers under his authority, for the purpose of restoring order, and of tranquillising the minds of the attendants and followers of the deceased ambassador, as well as of securing the means of bringing to justice the perpetrators of this atrocious act.

A court of inquiry has accordingly been instituted at Bombay, for the purpose of investigating, with due deliberation and solemnity, all the circumstances of the case.

The Governor-general in-council has adopted measures for affording to the relations and followers of the late ambassador, all the relief and consolation which can be administered to them under the pressure of this severe calamity.

As a testimony of the public regret for the death of the late ambassador, and of a deep sense of sorrow for the calamitous event which occasioned it, and as a mark of public respect for the high station of the deceased ambassador, and for the sovereign whom he represented, his excellency the Governor-general in council has been pleased to direct, that minute guns be directed this

on a rainy day occasion, at five o'clock, this afternoon, from the ramparts of Fort William.

By command of his excellency the most noble the Governor-general in council.

B. BOWENSTOWN,
Sec. in Coun.

Government House, Aug. 11, 1868

In consequence of the afflicting intelligence which his excellency the most noble the Governor-general has received of the death of **SHADJEE KHULLEE KHAN**, the ambassador to the British government from his majesty the king of Persia, his excellency has been pleased to postpone the levee, which was appointed to be held tomorrow, until next Thursday evening.

BURGESS CAMAL,
Ad-de Camp

Fort William, 11th Aug. 1868

His excellency the most noble the Governor-general in council has appointed major JOHN MALCOLM, his excellency's private secretary, to conduct all affairs respecting the embassy from his majesty the king of Persia to the British government in India, and has directed major John Malcolm to proceed to Bombay, for the purpose of communicating with the relations of the late **HABIB KHULLEE KHAN**.

His excellency has also been pleased to appoint Lieutenant Charles Pridley to be secretary to major Malcolm.

Loss of the CALCUTTA Transport

His excellency the most noble the Governor-general in council is pleased to direct the publication of the following information which has been received by his excellency's office, including the report of a letter from lieutenant-colonel Harrold, of

his majesty's 80th regiment, dated at Calcutta, August 7, 1868.

Calcutta, August 7, 1868.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to enclose, for your excellency's information, a copy of a letter received by me from lieutenant-colonel Harrold, commanding his majesty's 80th regiment, respecting the loss of the *Calcutta* transport.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) D BAIRD, M. G.
The Marquis Wellesley, &c.

(COPY)

SIR, June 15, 1868

I have much concern in acquainting you, that the *Calcutta* transport, with 331 of his majesty's 80th regiment, including officers (agreeable to the accompanying return), and 79 native Indian followers, was wrecked at a point about 2 m. on the 15th instant, on the Egyptian shore, in latitude 22° 33'.

The distance from the shore when the first shock did not appear more than half a mile; it was blowing fresh, the sea ran high, and the ship beat with so much violence against her shore, that the planks of her cabin were almost instantaneously flung to her upper masts; these cut away, and in attempting to get out the boats, one of them was swamped.

As her foremast was struck and used, I ordered soldiers and ship's men onto the long-boat, keeping they would make the shore; but with the most lively gale, I saw her swamps from the wreck after sunset, and the survivors were drowned, the rest fortunately I was able to save.

We had now no boat remaining; the gale increased, the sea was reported to have made six feet waves, and

and her crew were not without apprehensions of her going to pieces, at seven o'clock three ships appeared in sight, but so much to the leeward, that with the sea and wind with which they had to contend, little hope was entertained of their affording any assistance; however, we soon discovered one of the vessels to be his majesty's ship *Romney*, which, about ten o'clock, anchored at about two miles and a half from the *Calcutta*, when sir Home Popham directed the *Duchess of York* to anchor at a middle distance from us, and at twelve the *Romney's* launch came on board: by nine in the evening, every man of the 80th, except the seven drowned in the long boat, was taken on board the *Romney*.

It is to the skilful position sir Home Popham took up, so as to enable his boats to sail to and from the shore, to the excellence of his boats, (for although two transports came up in the course of the day, not a boat could they venture out,) and it is to the dexterity and perseverance of his well-trained boat crew, we are eminently indebted for the salvation of so many lives.

The humane personal attention of sir Home Popham to the comforts of the troops, many of whom reached the *Romney* in a very weakly state, will long be remembered with the warmest gratitude.

On the morning of the 14th, the *Romney* having dragged from her anchorage, sir Home cut his cable, and ran for this bay, leaving the *Duchess of York* to take on board any baggage that might be accidentally saved from the wreck: the ship had reached her main dock before the last division of the detachment left her.

As this place we found shelter from the sea and weather in a few

days, and the whole of the detachment on the evening of the 14th, waiting the arrival of his majesty's ship *Wellesley* from Seaz, whither sir Home Popham has dispatched directly for her to hasten to this place, to take the detachment to Madras.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) W HARRIS,
Lieut Col.

COLLEGE AT CALCUTTA.

The following is an authentic copy of the letter addressed by the vice-provost of the college to the senior student, for the general information of all the young men attached to that institution —

"MY DEAR SIR,

"As some unforeseen rumour prevails in college, respecting a letter from the court of directors to lord Wellesley on the subject of the college, I will thank you to mention, that the letter of the court of directors contains the most unqualified approbation of the plan and of the purposes of the institution.

"Their only objection has respect to the expense they observe "that they have great pleasure in expressing their high approbation of the public spirit and conspicuous talents of marquis Wellesley, in the conception and arrangement of a plan which, under other circumstances of the Company's affairs, they should have thought deserving the most serious consideration." They therefore propose that the college should be modelled on a reduced plan of confining it to two or three languages, and cutting off the additional allowances of the students.

"His excellency being sensible that

that such reduction would not answer the purposes of the present institution, and that the objection as to expense arises from supposing that the college is on a scale of magnitude which does not exist, has resolved to represent these circumstances to the court of directors, in the confidence that they will sanction the existing institution. In the mean time, to prevent the necessity of students coming from the other presidencies before the college be finally established, his excellency has, by an act of council, declared the abolition of the college on the 31st December 1803.

"Till that period, the existing institution shall remain as it now is, subject to the regulations and statutes concerning it, as it is his lordship's determination, that it shall be supported by every degree of energy his government can afford it, that merit, as hitherto, shall be conspicuously rewarded, and that discipline shall be strictly preserved agreeably to the statutes of the institution.

"The Bombay and Madras students of 1799 and 1800, leave college, agreeably to the regulation at the end of 1803, and those of 1801, at the end of 1803.

Your s, &c.

C. BUCHANAN,

June 14, 1802.

EMBASSY to AWA

Intelligence from Calcutta, dated June 8, 1802, mentions that the East India Company's frigate, the *Mornington*, had arrived at Rangoon on the 31st of May, having on board colonel Symes, recently appointed envoy to the court of Awa. The *Mornington* encountered a severe gale of wind in her passage,

in which she parted from the *Myrtle* transport, conveying two companies of grenadiers that composed the escort of the envoy. The *Myrtle*, however, fortunately got in on the 3^d of June, after narrowly escaping shipwreck. Colonel Symes was received with every mark of distinction, he landed on the 2^d of June, attended by captain Frost, of the *Mornington*, and the gentlemen of his suite, under a salute from the shipping and the battery on shore, he was met on the quay by the lieutenant governor and the public officers in their dresses of ceremony, and conducted to a house prepared for him, and which is the best in the town.

The following gentlemen principally compose the European suite of the Ava envoy—captain Stewart, commanding the escort, Mr Campbell, secretary, Dr B. and lieutenants Canning and Brownrigg.

CEYLON INTELLIGENCE

Extract of a Letter from Trincomalee, dated May the 9th

The court martial ordered to try the captain and officers of his majesty's ship *Le Serpente*, assembled on Friday morning at eight o'clock, on board the *Intrepid*, the captain of which, Hargood, was president.

The court continued sitting until past six in the evening, when the proceedings were closed, and sentence pronounced.

Captain Sauffe's name is to be put at the bottom of the list of commanders in the royal navy, and the matter is dismissed his majesty's service.

Lieutenant Casey, the officer of the watch at the time the ship struck, is honourably acquitted.

The court martial sat again yesterday,

terday, on the trial of lieut. Hornsey of the *Ferry's* *hore*, for mutiny and disobedience of orders, in arrest by the captain, for refusing to lower a yard, at a time when a number of men were sitting upon it, and which, upon being lowered, occasioned six persons to fall overboard.

The court, however, entertained a different opinion of the prisoner's conduct, and, after due consideration of the case, acquitted him in the fullest and most honourable manner.

Advices from Amboyna mention, that that gallant officer, capt Haves, in the honourable Company's cruiser *Swift*, having, on the 1st of August last, after three days close pursuit, brought to action, in sight of Manado, thirty three large Magindanao pirate proas, and, after a contest of four hours, sunk two, run one down, and drove fourteen on shore, where they were abandoned by the crews, and the vessels destroyed. During this gallant action capt Haves had no fewer than sixty of his crew sick, and incapable of rendering their assistance.

The above formed part of a fleet of forty proas, which had laded 1,000 men, and several pieces of brass ordnance at Amoorrang, and proceeding in their hostile view, threatened total destruction to all the honourable Company's settlements on the Celebes, which were saved by the above action.

MAHRATTA POLITICS

The Dismissal of the English Officers employed in the Service of Dow-LUT ROW SCINDIAH

We learn by letters from Oujain, of the 20th of June last, that Scindiah had dismissed the whole of the English officers that were in his

service, without alleging any motive in justification of a measure so violent to the objects of it, and apparently to hostile to the wishes of the British government. There is no doubt, however, that it is partly to be ascribed to the increasing influence of general Fenton at the court of Oujain. That officer, of whom we gave an account in the biographical department of our last volume, has long been jealous of the introduction of Englishmen into Scindiah's army, and has occasionally exerted every artifice of intrigue to frustrate their views, and to impress the prince with a notion, that though these men came into his dominions in the character of independent adventurers, they were, in reality, emissaries of the British government in whom it was not only highly impolitic, but utterly unsafe to confide. It may be necessary to inform our readers, that this representation was wholly unfounded in truth: for that the persons in question were, in fact, what they professed to be, indigenous adventurers, who travelled thither in pursuit of fortune: but nothing could have been better calculated to awaken the jealousy of a Maharratt chief: for as the secret of his political conduct consists in a peculiarly refined duplicity, he cannot conceive that those of any wise or fortunate nation are conducted on principles of public faith. Scindiah, therefore, listened to the suggestion, and adopted the advice of his insidious counsellor, and dismissed the English adventurers from his service. The time chosen for this measure challenges particular attention. It was a few days after the arrival of the English ambassador, colonel Collins, at Oujain. Whether this circumstance was supposed to arise from accident or design, our correspondent

spondent does not inform us. We believe that colonel Collins took not the smallest notice of it — But by another letter of the 31st of July last, from Futtvghur, we find that colonel Collins's embassy had unexpectedly returned to that place on the 2d of the same month

—
We understand from Bombay, that attempts are making at the Mauritius to raise cocainell, as the island abounds with the plant on which the insects live. The small birds which used to destroy the insects have almost been annihilated

—
A quantity of sugar cane has been planted at Calitura, in Ceylon, which is employed to procure spirits, and it is expected that, in a short

time, the necessity of having it imported from Bengal will be superseded. A tree called Kitoul, has been found in Candy to yield a kind of sago, which is but little inferior to the sago of the eastern isles

—
The night before the governor in council of Madras has been pleased to declare a dividend of 40,000 pagodas to the creditors of his highness the nabob of the Carnatic

—
The governor of Madras has abolished the separate command of the province of Cingara and has directed that the troops in that province shall, in future, be under the immediate orders of the officer commanding in Malabar.

HOME INTELLIGENCE.

LONDON, *January* 1803.

The RIGHT HONOURABLE the BOARD of COMMISSIONERS
FOR
THE AFFAIRS OF INDIA.

President,—Lord Viscount Castlereagh.

Duke of Portland, &c. G	Lord Glenbervie
Lord Hawkesbury	Right Hon. William Dundas
Lord Hobart	T. Wallace, Esq
Lord Pelham	Lord Arden
Right Hon. Henry Addington	Edward Golding, Esq.
Duke of Montrose K T	

Secretary—Hon. William Brodrick

Assistant Secretary and Chief Clerk—John McNeux Esq.

The HONOURABLE the COURT of DIRECTORS,

FOR
THE YEAR 1802—3

N. B. The Figures after the respective Names denote the Years they have to serve in the Direction

Sir Francis Baring, Bart. M P - - - (1)	Sir William Buntley Bart. - - - - (3)
Sir Hugh Inglis, Bart. M P - - (1)	Sir John Smith Burges, Bart. - - - (1)
Thos. Theophilus Metcalfe Esq. M P (1)	Hon. William Elphinstone - - - (3)
Paul Le Mesurier Esq. & Alderman - (1)	*William Adair Jackson, Esq. - - (3)
Geo. Woodford Thellusson, Esq. - (1)	John Travers, Esq. - - - - - (3)
John Manship Esq. - - - - - (1)	Stephen Williams, Esq. - - - - - (3)
John Roberts, Esq.— <i>Chairman</i> - - - (2)	William Devaynes Esq. M P - - (4)
Jacob Bosanquet Esq.— <i>Deputy</i> - - (2)	Charles Grant, Esq. M. P. - - - (4)
Robert Thornton, Esq. M. P. - (2)	Sir Stephen Lushington, Bart. - - (4)
Joseph Cotton Esq. - - - - (2)	George Smith Esq. M. P. - - - (4)
Sir Lionel Dorell, Bart. - - - - (2)	William Thornton, Esq. - - - - (4)
Edward Parry, Esq. - - - - - (2)	Sweny Toone, Esq. - - - - - (4)

* Elected in January 1803, in the Room of J. Hunter Esq. deceased.

Whitchell,

Whitbal, May 14, 1801

The king has been pleased to grant unto Jam s Rivett, of Bombay, esq in the civil service of the honourable the united company of merchants trading to the East Indies upon their establishment of Bombay, his royal license and authority, that he and his issue may assume and take the surname of Carnac, (such arms being first duly exemplified according to the law of arms, and recorded in the Herald's Office,) pursuant to the last will and testament of General John Carnac, late of Bombay aforesaid, deceased and also to order, that this his majesty's concession and declaration be registered in his college of arms.

Pursuant to the tenor of his majesty's patent which Mr Carnac has received, that gentleman will in future assume and use the name James Rivett Carnac.

June 22, 1801 William Foord, esq. who came passenger in the *Anna*, from Bengal, cut his throat with a razor, on board that vessel, as soon as he arrived in sight of Brighton. It appeared, that the loss of an amiable wife in India had affected his intellects. He had four children with him, who were landed a few hours after he expired.

June 23—This day a court of directors was held at the India House, when WILLIAM ADA K, esq was sworn in as standing counsel to the company, vacant by the death of George Rous, esq. Same day, the dividend for the half-year ending the 5th of July next, was declared to be $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

Nov 10—A court of directors of the India Company was held at the East India House, when GEORGE HILARIO BARLOW, esq was appointed to succeed to the govern-

ment-general of India, upon the retirement of the most noble the Marquis Wellesley.

Dec 10—A court of directors was held at the East India House, when the following arrangements was made in the council at Fort St George, in consequence of the late appointment of Lord WILLIAM CAVENDISH BENTINCK, as governor.

Lieutenant general James Stuart, commander in chief, and second in council, William Petrie, esq third in council, and provisional governor John Chamier, esq fourth in council, in the room of Munro Dick, esq who resumes his station as inspector of the Company's investments.

EAST-INDIA-HOUSE.

Dec 22, 1803—A quarterly general court was held at the East India House, when the dividend for the last half year was declared to be $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

Mr R JACKSON asked if the shipping papers ordered to be printed half yearly, were nearly ready for publication?

The Chairman (Mr ROBERTS) stated, that the extreme pressure of business had alone prevented their completion, but that they would shortly be laid before the proprietors.

Mr R JACKSON wished to know if the committee for the inspection of the bye-laws had lately made any report? And on being told by the chair, that none had been made for four or five years, expressed his surprise that a committee formed for a particular purpose, should not think it expedient to report their proceedings. The court adjourned *fine die*.

The troops belonging to his majesty

jeffs, which are first to be embarked on the honourable Company's ships of this season, for the purpose of completing some of the king's regiments serving in the East Indies, amount to 1000 men. They will shortly be embarked.—Dec 31

SHIP LAUNCH

On Saturday, January 8, 1803, two fine East India ships were launched in the river, at Messrs Randall and Brunt's yard. One named the *Union*, of 500 tons burden, the other, *Lady Castlereagh*, of 800 tons. The *Union* cannot fail of being considered as a very strong and useful vessel, perfectly adapted to the purposes of mercantile navigation, her bottom is coppered, and she draws 21 feet forward, and 19 abate. All her knees and riders are of iron, strongly bolted, and the measures near six feet between decks. Her rudder head is formed upon a new construction, and her stern is extremely neat and pretty, principally adorned with carved leaves and scrowls. The figures of her head are a shield, in which is a red rose and a crown. Her sides are pierced for guns, and she is capable of carrying twenty-two twelves, if necessary, in war time.

The *Lady Castlereagh* was laid down by one of the first builders, and is considered a very fine vessel. She is much larger than the *Union*, and has iron knees between decks. The orlop-deck and the cable tiers are extremely commodious. Her cabins also are fitted up in a manner that affords much convenience. She is extremely broad upon the beam, and has great stowage in her hold. Her bottom is coppered, and she is pierced to mount upwards of 40 guns.

On the head is the shield of Britannia, adorned with flags, warlike trophies, scrowls and leaves. Her stern is richly carved and beautifully ornamented with supporting figures, that rest upon the angles of her quarters. Just below the tail a pelican is seen feeding its young, surrounded with various embellishments, carved with the greatest judgment, and making an extremely handsome appearance.

At half past two, the workmen began to take away the shores that supported the ships in the slips, and shortly after, the *Union* was launched in a most grand and majestic style, amidst the plaudits of an immense concourse of spectators, who covered the banks of the river. She went through the water for the space of about four minutes with the greatest grandeur, when her anchor was let go, and she was brought up abreast the yard.

The other ship, the *Lady Castlereagh*, of 800 tons, was shortly after set in motion, and went off the slip with the same regularity and solemnity as the *Union*, the spectators waving their hats, and sending the air with exclamations of applause. After driving for a short period, she anchored at her moorings. Notwithstanding the multitude of persons who had met upon this occasion, and were seen standing in the most perilous situations, the only accident that happened, was the falling of a person, named William Sawyer, from the stern of the 74 gun ship building in the yard, from a height of about 40 feet. As it happened to be high water, he escaped without any other injury than a severe ducking.

After the launch, a company of upwards of 300 proceeded to dine off a cold collation, to which they were

were invited by the owners of the vessels. The room where the tables were spread belongs to the dock-yard, and is generally used for moulding of the ships, it is upwards of 150 feet long, and 30 feet wide, the sides and ceiling were covered with British naval colours, such as ensigns and flags. It was lighted up with a great number of chandeliers, and made a most brilliant appearance. The collation consisted of cold meats, hams, foals, &c. prepared at the London Tavern, and laid out with taste and elegance.

At five o'clock the company had done dinner, the cloth was then taken away the ladies retired to another apartment to tea and coffee, and the gentlemen were supplied with the choicest wines, in a manner that bespeaks liberality of the hosts. Conviviality was the order of the evening, and several toasts were drunk to the prosperity of the ships *Union* and *Lady Cassinereagh*, and their owners. The tables being removed, the ladies returned, and the ball was opened with country dances, mirth and festivity uniformly prevailed until a late hour when the company retired highly gratified with the liberality they had experienced. Several officers of distinction in the honourable East India Company's service took an active part in promoting the hilarity of the evening.

Loss of the Ship HINDUSTAN, Indiaman

We are extremely sorry to announce to our readers the loss of the ship *Hindustan*, East Indiaman, Captain Balfour, near the Wedge Sand, in the Queen's Channel, Margate Roads, on Tuesday, the 14th of January, about four o'clock

in the afternoon. The *Hindustan* sailed a few weeks ago from Gravesend, and as the weather has been so extremely tempestuous, considerable apprehensions were entertained for her safety. During the whole of the 12th, it was the prevailing opinion that she had put back to the *Hope*, but the same night an express reached the India house, with an account of her loss. We are concerned to state, that three midshipmen, Mr Hammond, Mr Hatchell, and Mr Kent, were drowned. Mr Clark, a cadet, and twenty six men were drowned, killed, or frozen to death. Soon after she got on the bank, she filled with water with the flood, and as the sea made breaks over her, the remaining part of the crew who were saved, were obliged to sit on the tops. Boats put off from the shore, and rescued them from their perilous situation, they were about 180 in number.

The bullion on board was private property, and amounted, we understand, to near 40,000 ounces.

The *Hindustan* was one of the finest ships in the service, her measurement 1248 tons. She was on her fourth voyage, and destined to Coast and China. It was the first voyage of Captain Balfour.

The unfortunate and melancholy wreck of the above vessel is entirely to be attributed to a tremendous gale, which baffled every effort that human skill could exert. The crew were perfectly sober, and nothing could be imputed to want of zeal and activity on their part.

Election for a Director

Wednesday the 19th of January 1803, a ballot was taken at the East India House, for the purpose of electing a director to serve two years,

years, in the room of John Hunter, Esq. deceased

At six o'clock the glasses were finally closed and delivered to the scrutineers, who reported the numbers to be,

For Wm Adair Jackson, Esq 1158
James Munro, Esq 114

MONUMENT

Of Sir WILLIAM JONES, at Oxford

A monument has lately been erected in University College chapel, Oxford, to the memory of the Late Sir William Jones, by his lady. The design is well conceived, and is simple, grand, and expressive the whole is finished in statuary marble with great taste. The bas-relief represents Sir William forming the digest and translation of the Hindu Laws, from the sacred books which the Brahmans are reading before him. The bas-relief is supported by two trusses, ornamented with tigers' heads. On the top of the monument is a Hindu lyre, a Grecian lyre, and a Caduceus. Another monument, to the memory of the same personage, has been erected in St. Mary's church, by several members of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge

*Some Account of a HINDU TEMPLE,
It erected in Melchet Park,
Hants, to WARREN HASTINGS,
Esq late Governor-general of
Bengal.*

The temple has been raised by JOHN OSBORNE, Esq of Melchet Park, near Romsey, in the county of Hants, in token of the high respect he entertains for the public and private virtues of a patron and a friend. The original design, after the choicest models of Hindu archi-

tecture, came, we understand, gratuitously from THOMAS DANIELL, Esq. R. A. It was executed in artificial stone by Mr Rossi, and the original drawing and engraving are the production of Mr WILLIAM DANIELL.

The area of the temple, including its portico, is about 22 feet by 15, and its height nearly 20 feet. The pillars and pilaster, besides the usual decorations peculiar to this order of Hindu architecture, are adorned with a number of mythological figures and emblems, particularly the principal incarnations of *Vishnu*, who, according to the belief of the Brahmans, has, from time to time, appeared under various material forms, for the support of religion and virtue, and the reformation of mankind. The figure of *Ganesa*, the genius of wisdom and policy, has its appropriate place over the portal, for he is the *Janus* of the Hindus.

An elegant pedestal, with the bust of WARREN HASTINGS, Esq rising out of the sacred flower of the Lotus, is placed in the temple, directly opposite to the door, bearing the following inscription

Sacred

To

The Genii of India,
Who from time to time,
Assume material

Forms to protect us
Nations and its laws,
Particularly

To

The immortal HASTINGS,
Who, in these our days
Has appeared the

Saviour of those Regions
To the British Empire,
This Fane was raised
By John Osborne,
In respect to his
Pre-eminent Virtues
In the Year M,DCCC.

The court of directors of the
honourable East India Company has
+ L. unanimously

unanimously received the print of this temple, from the drawing of Mr William Daniell, as a tribute to the merits of Warren Hastings, late governor-general of Bengal, and ordered that it might have a conspicuous place in the Company's newly erected library. It has likewise been distinguished by obtaining a situation still more exalted, which has given it a lustre that it could not otherwise have derived. Honours also highly creditable to Mr Hastings, have been paid to it by individuals, possessing, what alone can make men truly great, magnanimity, liberality, and a love for truth.

Regulations of the Royal Military College

In conformity to his majesty's regulations for this institution, no cadet can be admitted who is under thirteen, or above fifteen, years of age, or who has any mental or bodily defect, which may disqualify him for military service.

Every cadet is to produce a sufficient certificate of the time of his birth.

He is to be well grounded in a knowledge of grammar and of common arithmetic, and shall write a good hand.

Should he be found deficient in any of these elementary parts of learning, he will not be qualified for admission.

Cadets admitted in that class, by whom the sum of ninety guineas per annum is to be paid for education, board, and cloathing, are to pay a moiety of that sum half-yearly, in advance, during their continuance at the college. An army agent in London is to be named by such cadets, from whom the half-yearly payments are to be

received by the treasurer, and should a cadet leave the college before the expiration of any half year, he will be accounted with for the six months in advance.

Each cadet is to come provided with ten shirts, seven handkerchiefs, seven pair of short stockings, five towels, three nightcaps, two black stocks, and four pair of drawers, all deficiencies in which are to be made good, at his charge, at the yearly vacation.

No cadet is to join the junior department with a greater sum of money in his possession than one guinea: and this regulation is considered to be so indispensable, that any deviation therefrom will subject the cadet to be sent away from the college. The parents may, however, if they think proper, make an arrangement for the cadet's receiving an allowance, not exceeding half a crown a week, for pocket-money.

All repairs of cloathing, linen, shoes, and other articles belonging to the cadets, will be made at the expense of the college.

No perquisites or presents, of any kind, are allowed to be received by the masters, or any other persons, from the cadets.

As a certain number of cadets for the Royal Military College, in that class for which the sum of ninety guineas each per annum is to be paid, are to be nominated by the East India Company, the court of directors of the said Company have agreed, that one half of such expense, or forty five guineas per annum for each cadet, and no more, shall be paid by the Company, on an engagement, in writing, being entered into by the friends or parents of the cadet, being responsible persons, on his appointment to the college, to refund the amount of


of the Company's expenses on his account, provided he shall enter into any service or line whatsoever, after his being received into the college, or, if he shall not proceed to India, in the Company's military service, on receiving an appointment for that purpose.

The above-mentioned annual payment of ninety guineas, to be regulated in the following manner, viz.

The friends or parents of the cadet to advance to the army agent, to be named by him, the first half yearly payment of forty five guineas, and the Company to advance the second half yearly payment, in like manner and the subsequent half yearly payments to be made alternately, by the friends of the cadet and the Company, during the time he shall continue at the college.

PRICES OF EAST INDIA STOCK,

From January to December 1802

 The highest Price of each Day only is given.

1802.	April	23—226½	Aug	10—208	Oct.	14—205½
Jan.	11—213½	26—226½	13—206		15—205½	
	27—214	27—226½	14—203		20—202	
	28—213½	30—226	17—207½		21—202	
	29—213	3—226	20—207		22—202	
Feb	3—213½	6—225	28—203		27—200	
	11—214½	18—220	Sept.	4—203½	29—203½	
	12—215	21—219½	30—208		30—203½	
	19—214½	June	1—208	Oct.	2—203½	
	20—213½	10—211	6—207½		11—202½	
	23—213½	22—216½	7—206½		16—202½	
	29—214½	July	8—208		16—202½	
March	4—213½	9—215½	12—206		1—201½	
April	17—230	30—209	13—205½		2—201½	

LIST OF SHIPS, &c.

Taken up by the Hon East India Company for the Year 1802

Voyage	Ships	Chartered Tonnage	Commanders	Configments.
2	Ocean -	1200	Andrew Patton	The Cape Madras
2	Henry Addington	1200	John Kirkpatrick	Bombay and China
2	Cattle Eden -	818	Alexander Cumming	The Cape and Bengal
3	Lord Duncan -	870	Anthony Murray	
1	Earl Camden -	1200	Nathaniel Dance	Bombay and China
5	Bombay Castle	1200	Archibald Hamilton	
1	Royal George	1200	John F. Timins	St Helena & China
1	Cumberland -	1200	Wm Ward Farrer	Coast and China
2	City of London	820	Samuel Landon	St Helena & Bengal
3	Admiral Gardner	818	Edward Bradford	Madeira, Coast & Bay
4	Sir Stephen Lushington	608	George Cooch	Coast and Bay
1	Hannet	540	William Lynch	
2	Hugh Inglis	820	William Fairfax	
1	Lord Castlereagh	800	George Robertson	
3	Calcutta -	810	William Maxwell	Madeira and Bombay
4	Earl Howe -	876	Robert Burowes	
1	Europe -	800	William Celsun	
1	Flushingbone -	1200	Milliken Craig	
2	Windham -	820	Thomas Graham	Ceylon and Madras
2	Walpole -	820	James Sandiland	
1	Commanben -	570	John Dobree	St Helena & Bengal
1	Experiment -	550	James Carnegie	Bombay
1	Essex -	1200	George Bonham	
3	Charlton -	818	Thomas Wellad, c-	Bengal
1	Lady Castlereagh	800	William Edmeades	
1		800	Charles Lennox	
4	Princess Mary -	462	Andrew Grieve	
3	Earl Spencer -	645	Charles Raitt	Coast and China
2	Preston -	671	Henry Sturrock	
1	Wexford -	1200	Wm Stanley Clarke	
1	Warren Hastings	1200	Thomas Larkins	
5	Exeter -	1200	Henry Menton	China
2	Dorsetshire -	1200	Rt Hunter Brown	
2	Courts -	1200	Robert Lorn	
4	Hope -	100	James Pendergrafs	
4	Warley -	1200	Henry Wilson	St Helena & Bombay
4	Earl of Abercromby	1200	John Wordworth	
6	Woodford -	1180	James Martin	
3	Ganges -	1200	William Moffat	
6	Alfred -	1108	James Farquharson	Madras
1	Huddart -	550	Thomas G. Bayliff	
1	Union -	550	John Macintosh	Bombay and Madras
1	Prince of Wales	800	John Price	
1	Ceylon	800	Thomas Hadfon	

✂ We received a Copy of the following Declaration too late to insert it in its proper place we must therefore refer our Readers to the *Supplement to the Chronicle*, page 148, for an Account of the other Particulars relative to the *Persian Embassy*

From the CALCUTTA GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY,
August 23, 1802

Fort William, Aug 23, 1802

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL in Council is pleased to publish the following Declaration, which his Excellency the Most Noble the GOVERNOR GENERAL has addressed to the surviving Relations and Attendants of the deceased HADJEE KHULFEL KHAN, Ambassador to the British Government from his Majesty the KING of PERSIA and a Translation of which, in the Persian Language, has been transmitted to Bombay, for the purpose of being communicated to the Persians attached to the Embassy

N B EDMONSTONE, Sec to Govt.

Declaration of his Excellency the most Noble the Governor General &c &c addressed to the surviving Relations and Attendants of the deceased Hadjee Khulfel Khan, late Ambassador from his Persian Majesty to the Governor General in Council

“ The solicitude of the British government of India to strengthen and improve the relations of amity and honourable alliance with his Majesty the King of Persia, has been manifested by the most signal acts of systematic policy, and has been publicly acknowledged by all the states of Asia. The peculiar splendour of the embassy which conveyed the testimonies of my respect and attachment to his Majesty's presence, the extraordinary honours with which his Majesty's ambassador was received, under my express orders, on his excellency's arrival in the British territories,

the zeal and assiduity displayed by the government of Bombay, and by all ranks of British subjects at that settlement, to conciliate the good will of the Persian ambassador, and the public preparations, conducted under my immediate and personal direction, for his excellency's reception with the most dignified solemnity and honour, at the seat of the supreme British authority in India, have afforded sufficient demonstrations to the world of my high consideration for the dignity of the Persian monarch, and of my uniform intention to evince that unalterable sentiment towards the accredited representative of his royal person

“ Reviewing these incontrovertible testimonies of my anxiety to establish a friendly and honourable alliance with the power of Persia, on the most solid foundations, his Majesty and all the states of Asia,
+ L 3 will

will anticipate the deep affliction and anguish of mind with which I have witnessed the sudden interruption of our bright and happy prospects by a disaster, which as far eluded the scope of human prudence and foresight, as it surpassed the ordinary extent of human calamity, and the common vicissitudes of fortune. To this awful dispensation of Providence, I submit with resignation, but not without hope.

"In the most painful moments of my disappointment and grief, I have derived considerable consolation from the reflection, that as I have hitherto assiduously employed every possible effort to cultivate a lasting friendship and harmony of interests between his Persian majesty and the British government, my amicable sentiments have been uniformly returned with equal cordiality by the auspicious disposition of that illustrious sovereign.

"A dreadful, unforeseen, and uncontrollable calamity, has intervened to afflict both states with mutual sorrow and consternation, and to retard the completion of their reciprocal wishes, but not to suspend their established friendship by groundless jealousy and unjust suspicion, not to frustrate the natural and propitious result of their united counsels, not to destroy the fruits of their mature wisdom and justice, nor to dissolve those sacred engagements, by which they had cemented the foundations of durable concord, secured the channels of free intercourse and beneficial communication, and enlarged the sources of their common safety, prosperity and glory.

"Entertaining a due sense of the value and importance of those engagements to both states, I shall pursue, with unabated confidence and perseverance, the policy on

which the subsisting treaties are founded, and the amicable and earnest exertion by which they were obtained. The pursuit of this course cannot ultimately fail to attain success. The calamity which we have suffered is a just subject of lamentation, but its consequences are not irretrievable. From the reciprocal condolence of the two states may arise new motives of combined interest and additional securities of amity and alliance. A zealous interchange of the offices of humanity, a concurrent sense of common sorrow, and the conscious certainty of mutual sincerity and good faith, may lead to a more intimate union of sentiments and views, and the temporary suspension of this important embassy may tend to ensure and improve the benefits of our actual connection.

"Supported by these hopes, and relying on the justice and integrity of the principles and motives which have actuated the British government, I trust that the progress of our renewed intercourse with your illustrious sovereign will gradually obliterate the remembrance of this fatal and unparalleled disaster, and will amply compensate to my mind for its actual distress by the final accomplishment of the same salutary plans of policy, which had rendered a personal interview with your lamented master the object of my most cordial wishes, and of my most anxious expectation.

"To repair the severe loss sustained by his untimely decease, to demonstrate my sincere respect for his memory, and my unfeigned regret that he should have fallen by a violent death, within the British dominions, and in the immediate exercise of functions, which the laws and usages of all civilized nations have rendered sacred, it is my primary

primary duty to administer to his surviving relations and attendants every office of humanity and friendly compassion, every attainable comfort and alleviation of their just griefs, and every possible compensation for the injuries which they have suffered

“ In endeavouring to discharge this duty, I have selected an officer, who was recently vested with the honourable character of envoy from this government to the court of Persia, and who now occupies the most confidential station in my family

“ That officer is directed to proceed immediately to Bombay, and to afford you, in my name, such effectual aid and assistance, and such testimonies of affectionate

commiseration, as may tend to mitigate your sufferings, and to console your affliction

“ With the same views, I have provided the most speedy means of offering to your royal sovereign the respectful expressions of my sincere condolence on this disastrous event, and of concerting with his majesty such measures as may conduct the embassy to its original purpose, accelerate the favourable issue of every depending question, and confirm the subsisting relations between the two states, in the conciliatory spirit of the recent negotiations, and on the basis of the treaties already concluded

(Signed) “ WELLESLEY ”

Fort William, Aug 17 1802.

STATE PAPER.

MINUTE IN COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM,

Dated the 18th August 1800,

BY

THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY, K. P

CONTAINING

HIS REASONS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT

OF

A COLLEGE AT CALCUTTA.

[We are in hopes, in our next Volume, to lay before the Public, all the other Papers on this important Subject]

I.

THE British Possessions in India now constitute one of the most extensive and populous empires in the world. The immediate administration of the government of the various provinces and nations composing this empire, is principally confided to the European civil servants of the East India Company. Those provinces, namely, Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Benares, the Company's Jaghires in the Carnatic, the Northern Circars, the Barinahal, and other districts ceded by the peace of Seringapattam in 1792, which are under the more immediate and direct administration of the European civil servants of the Company, are acknowledged to form the most opulent and flourishing part of India, in which property, life, civil order, and religious liberty, are more secure, and the people enjoy a larger portion of the benefits of good government, than in any other country in this quarter of the globe. The duty and policy of the British government in India therefore require, that the system of confiding the immediate exercise of every branch and department of the government of Europeans

prans educated in its own service, and subject to its own direct control, should be diffused as widely as possible, as well with a view to the stability of our own interests, as to the happiness and welfare of our native subjects. This principle formed the basis of the wise and benevolent system introduced by Lord Cornwallis, for the improvement of the internal government of the provinces immediately subject to the presidency of Bengal.

2 In proportion to the extension of this beneficial system, the duties of the European civil servants of the East India Company are become of greater magnitude and importance: the denominations of writer, factor, and merchant, by which the several classes of the civil service are still distinguished, are now utterly inapplicable to the nature and extent of the duties discharged, and of the occupations pursued by the civil servants of the Company.

3 To dispense justice to millions of people of various languages, manners, usages, and religions, to administer a fair and complicated system of revenue throughout districts, equal in extent to some of the most considerable kingdoms in Europe, to maintain civil order in one of the most populous and litigious regions of the world: these are now the duties of the larger proportion of the civil servants of the Company. The senior merchants composing the five courts of circuit and appeal, under the presidency of Bengal, exercise in each of those courts, a jurisdiction of greater local extent, applicable to a larger population, and occupied in the determination of causes infinitely more intricate and numerous, than that of any of the regularly constituted courts of justice in any part of Europe. The senior or junior merchants employed in the several magistracies and zillah courts, the writers or factors filling the stations of registers and assistants to the several courts, and magistrates, exercise in different degrees, functions of a nature either purely judicial, or intimately connected with the administration of the police, and with the maintenance of the peace and good order of their respective districts. Commercial and mercantile knowledge is not only unnecessary throughout every branch of the judicial department, but those civil servants who are invested with the powers of magistracy, or attached to the judicial department in any ministerial capacity, although bearing the denomination of merchants, factors, or writers, are bound by law, and by the solemn obligation of an oath, to abstain from every commercial and mercantile pursuit. The mercantile title which they bear, not only affords no description of their duty, but is entirely at variance with it.

4 The pleadings in the several courts, and all important judicial transactions, are conducted in the native languages. The law which the Company's judges are bound to administer throughout the country, is not the law of England, but that law to which the natives had long been accustomed under their former sovereigns, tempered and mitigated by the voluminous regulations of the Governor general in council, as well as by the general spirit of the British constitution. These observations are sufficient to prove, that no more arduous or complicated duties of magistracy exist in the world: no qualifications more various or comprehensive can be imagined, than those which are required from every British subject who enters the seat of judgment within the limits of the Company's empire in India.

5 To the administration of the revenue, many of the preceding observations will apply with equal force, the merchants, factors, and writers employed in this department also are bound by law to abjure the mercantile denomination appropriated to their respective classes in the Company's service; nor is it possible for a collector of the revenue, or for any civil servant employed under him, to discharge the duty with common justice, either to the state, or to the people, unless he shall be conversant in the language, manners, and usages of the country, and in the general principles of the law as administered in the several courts of justice. In addition to the ordinary judicial and executive functions of the judges, magistrates, and collectors, the judges and magistrates occasionally act in the capacity of governors of their respective districts, employing the military, and exercising other extensive powers. The judges, magistrates, and collectors, are also respectively required by law, to propose from time to time to the Governor-general in council, such amendments of the existing laws, or such new laws as may appear to them to be necessary to the welfare and good government of their respective districts. In this view the civil servants employed in the departments of judicature and revenue, constitute a species of subordinate legislative council to the Governor general in council, and also a channel of communication, by which the government ought to be enabled at all times to ascertain the wants and wishes of the people. The remarks applied to these two main branches of the civil service, namely, those of judicature and revenue, are at least equally forcible in their application to those branches which may be described under the general terms of the political and financial departments, comprehending the offices of chief secretary, the various stations in the secretary's office, in the treasury, and in the office of accountant general, together with all the public officers employed in conducting the

the current business at the seat of government To these must be added the diplomatic branch, including the several residencies at the courts of our dependant and tributary princes, or of other native powers of India

6 *It is certainly desirable that all these stations should be filled by the civil servants of the Company, it is equally evident that qualifications are required in each of these stations, either wholly foreign to commercial habits, or far exceeding the limits of a commercial education*

7 *Even that department of the empire which is denominated exclusively commercial, requires knowledge and habits different in a considerable degree from those which form the mercantile character in Europe Nor can the Company's investment ever be conducted with the greatest possible advantage and honour to themselves, or with adequate justice to their subjects, unless their commercial agents shall possess many of the qualifications of statesmen, enumerated in the preceding observations The manufacturers and other industrious classes, whose productive labour is the source of the investment, bear so great a proportion to the total population of the Company's dominions, that the general happiness and prosperity of the country must essentially depend on the conduct of the commercial servants employed in providing the investment their conduct cannot be answerable to such a charge, unless they be conversant in the native languages, and in the customs and manners of the people, as well as in the laws by which the country is governed The peace, order, and welfare of whole provinces, may be materially affected by the malversations, or even by the ignorance and errors of a commercial resident, whose management touches the dearest and most valuable interests, and enters into the domestic concerns of numerous bodies of people, active and acute from habitual industry, and jealous of any act of power injurious to their properties, or contrary to their prejudices and customs.*

8. *The civil servants of the English East-India Company, therefore, can no longer be considered as the agents of a commercial concern, they are in fact the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign, they must now be viewed in that capacity with a reference, not to their nominal, but to their real occupations They are required to discharge the functions of magistrates, judges, ambassadors, and governors of provinces, in all the complicated and extensive relations of those sacred trusts and exalted stations, and under peculiar circumstances which greatly enhance the solemnity of every public obligation, and aggravate the difficulty of every public charge Their duties are those of*

statesmen in every other part of the world, with no other characteristic differences than the obstacles opposed by an unfavourable climate, a foreign language, the peculiar usages and laws of India, and the manners of its inhabitants. Their studies, the discipline of their education, their habits of life, their manners and morals, should therefore be so ordered and regulated as to establish a just conformity between their personal consideration, and the dignity and importance of their public stations, and a sufficient correspondence between their qualifications and their duties. Their education should be founded in a general knowledge of those branches of literature and science, which form the basis of the education of persons destined to similar occupations in Europe. To this foundation should be added an intimate acquaintance with the history, languages, customs, and manners of the people of India, with the Mahomedan and Hindu codes of law and religion, and with the political and commercial interests and relations of Great Britain in Asia. They should be regularly instructed in the principles and system which constitute the foundation of that wise code of regulations and laws enacted by the Governor-general in Council, for the purpose of securing to the people of this empire, the benefit of the ancient and established laws of the country, administered in the spirit of the British constitution. They should be well informed of the true and sound principles of the British constitution, and sufficiently grounded in the general principles of ethics, civil jurisprudence, the laws of nations, and general history, in order that they may be enabled to discriminate the characteristic differences of the several codes of law administered within the British empire in India, and practically to combine the spirit of each in the dispensation of justice, and in the maintenance of order and good government. Finally, their early habits should be so formed, as to establish in their minds such solid foundations of industry, prudence, integrity, and religion, as should effectually guard them against those temptations and corruptions with which the nature of the climate and the peculiar depravity of the people of India, will surround and assail them in every station, especially upon their first arrival in India. The early discipline of the service should be calculated to counteract the defects of the climate and the vices of the people, and to form a natural barrier against habitual indolence, dissipation, and licentious indulgence, the spirit of emulation in honourable and useful pursuits should be kindled and kept alive by the continual prospect of distinction and reward, of profit and honour, nor should any precaution be relaxed in India which is deemed necessary in England, to furnish a sufficient supply of men, qualified to fill the high offices of the state,

state, with credit to themselves and with advantage to the public. Without such a constant succession of men in the several branches and departments of this government, the wisdom and benevolence of the law must prove vain and insufficient. Whatever course and system of discipline and study may be deemed requisite in England to secure an abundant and pure source for the efficient supply of the public service, the peculiar nature of our establishments in the East (so far from admitting any relaxation of those wise and salutary rules and restraints) demands that they should be enforced with a degree of additional vigilance and care, proportioned to the aggravated difficulties of the civil service, and to the numerous hazards surrounding the entrance of public life in India.

II

9 It is unnecessary to enter into any examination of facts, to prove that no system of education, study, or discipline, now exists either in Europe or in India, founded on the principles, or directed to the objects, described in the preceding pages, but it may be useful in this place to review the course through which the junior civil servants of the East India Company now enter upon the important duties of their respective stations, to consider to what degree they now possess, or can attain any means of qualifying themselves sufficiently for those stations, and to examine whether the great body of the civil servants of the East India Company at any of the residencies, can now be deemed competent to discharge their arduous and comprehensive trusts, in a manner correspondent to the interests and honour of the British name in India, or to the prosperity and happiness of our native subjects.

10 The age at which the writers usually arrive in India, is from sixteen to eighteen. Their parents or friends in England, from a variety of considerations, are naturally desirous, not only to accelerate the appointment at home, but to dispatch the young man to India at the earliest possible period. Some of these young men have been educated with an express view to the civil service in India, on principles utterly erroneous and inapplicable to its actual condition, conformably to this error, they have received a limited education, confined principally to commercial knowledge, and in no degree extended to those liberal studies which constitute the basis of education at public schools in England. Even this limited course of study is interrupted at the early period of fifteen or seventeen years.

11. It would be superfluous to enter into any argument to demonstrate the

the absolute insufficiency of this class of young men to execute the duties of any station whatever in the civil service of the Company, beyond the menial, laborious, unwholesome and unprofitable duty of a mere copying clerk. Those who have received the benefits of a better education, have the misfortune to find the course of their studies prematurely interrupted at the critical period when its utility is first felt, and before they have been enabled to secure the fruits of early application.

12 Both descriptions of young men, those whose education has been originally erroneous and defective, and those, the early promise of whose studies has been unreasonably broken, when arrived in India, are equally precluded from the means, either of commencing a new and judicious course of study, adapted to their new situation, or of prosecuting that course which has been unreasonably interrupted. Not only no encouragement is offered by the present constitution and practice of the civil service to any such pursuits, but difficulties and obstacles are presented by both, which render it nearly impossible for any young man, whatever may be his disposition, to pursue any systematic plan of study, either with a view to remedy the defects, or to improve the advantages of his former education.

13 On the arrival of the writers in India, they are either stationed in the interior of the country, or employed in some office at the presidency.

14 If stationed in the interior of the country, they are placed in situations which require a knowledge of the language and customs of the natives, or of the regulations and laws, or of the general principles of jurisprudence, or of the details of the established systems of revenue, or of the nature of the Company's investment, or of many of these branches of information combined. In all these branches of knowledge, the young writers are totally uninformed, they are consequently unequal to their prescribed duties. In some cases, their superior in office, experiencing no benefit from their services, leaves them unemployed. In this state, many devote their time to those luxuries and enjoyments which their situation enables them to command, without making any effort to qualify themselves for the important stations to which they are destined. They remain sunk in indolence, until, from their station in the service, they succeed to offices of high public trust.

15 Positive incapacity is the necessary result of these pernicious habits of inaction, the principles of public integrity are endangered, and the successful administration of the whole government exposed to hazard. This has been the unhappy course of many who have con-
ceived

ceived an early disgust, in provincial stations, against business to which they have found themselves unequal, and who have been abandoned to the effects of despondency and sloth.

16 Even the young men whose dispositions are the most promising, if stationed in the interior of the country, at an early period after their arrival in India, labour under great disadvantages. They also find themselves unequal to such duties, as require an acquaintance with the languages, or with the branches of knowledge already described. If entirely employed in the subordinate details of office, they are absolutely precluded from reviving any former acquirements, or from establishing those foundations of useful knowledge indispensably necessary to enable them hereafter to execute the duties of important stations with ability and credit. Harassed with the ungrateful task of transcribing papers and accounts, or with other equally fatiguing and fruitless labours of a copying clerk or index maker, their pursuit of useful knowledge cannot be systematic, if attempted in any degree, their studies are desultory and irregular, and their attention to any definite pursuit is still more distracted by the uncertainty of the nature of those employments to which they may hereafter be nominated. — No course of study having been pointed out by public institution, no selection prescribed by authority of the branch of knowledge appropriated to each department and class of the service, diligence is lost for want of a guide, and the most industrious are discouraged by the apprehension that their studies may prove fruitless, and may frustrate, instead of promoting, their advancement in the public service.

17 When their rank in the service has entitled them to succeed to offices of importance, the current duties of these offices necessarily engross their whole attention. It is then too late to revert to any systematic plan of study with a view to acquire those qualifications, of which, in the ordinary discharge of their official functions, they feel the hourly want, if at this late season they should make an effort to acquire knowledge, it must be sought by the interruption of their current business, to the detriment of the public interests, and to the inconvenience or injury of the individuals subject to their authority.

18 With respect to the young men attached to the offices at the presidency, their duty consists chiefly in transcribing papers. This duty, if pursued with the utmost diligence and assiduity, affords little knowledge of public affairs, is often prejudicial to health, and would be better performed by any native or Portuguese writer. They obtain no distinct knowledge of the public records, because they pursue no regular course of reading, examining or comparing the documents which compose

compose those public records, they have indeed scarcely time to understand and digest those papers which they are employed to transcribe; their acquaintance even with the current affairs of the government must be limited and partial, and must rather tend to confuse than to instruct their minds. At the expiration of the period during which they usually remain in these situations at the presidency, their knowledge of public business is necessarily superficial and incorrect; having had little intercourse with the natives, these young men are in general extremely deficient in the knowledge of the language of the country. In the mean time, their close and laborious application to the hourly business of transcribing papers has been an insuperable objection to their advancement in any other branch of knowledge, and at the close of two or three years they have lost the fruits of their European studies, without having gained any useful knowledge of Asiatic literature or business. Those whose dispositions lead them to idleness and dissipation, find greater temptations to indulgence and extravagance at the presidency, than in the provinces. Many instances occur in which they fall into irretrievable courses of gaming, and totally destroy their health and fortunes. Some succeed, in the ordinary progress of the service, to employments, in which their incapacity or misconduct becomes conspicuous to the natives, disgraceful to themselves, and injurious to the state.

19. All these descriptions of young men, upon their first arrival in India, are now exposed to a disadvantage the most perilous that can be encountered at an early period of life. Once landed in India, their studies, manners, morals, expences, or conduct, are no longer subject to any degree of regulation or direction, no system is established for their guidance, improvement, or restraint, no authority has been constituted with either the duty or power of enforcing any such system, and they are abandoned at the age of sixteen or eighteen, with affluent incomes, to pursue their own inclinations, without the superintendence or controul of parent, guardian, or master; often without a friend to advise or admonish, or even to instruct them in the ordinary details and modes of an Indian life.

20. The practice of consigning the young writers to the care of friends resident in India, affords no adequate remedy to this evil. Those friends are often incompetent to the arduous and delicate task imposed upon them, and it frequently happens that they may be so far removed from the spot at which the young man may be stationed by the government, that years may elapse before he may have been able

even to see the persons appointed by his European friends to superintend his introduction into India

21 In earlier periods of our establishment, when the annual incomes of the civil servants were of a more fluctuating nature, and derived from sources more vague and indefinite, the tables of the senior servants were usually open to those more recently arrived from Europe, and the young writers, upon their first landing in India, were frequently admitted and domiciliated in the families established at the presidency or in the provinces

22 The objections of this loose and irregular system were numerous and obvious without entering upon that topic, it is sufficient to observe, that the definite and regular sources of profit established in the civil service by Lord Cornwallis have occasioned a material alteration in the economy of every private family among the civil servant

23 Incomes being limited and ascertained, and no other source of emolument now existing beyond the annual savings from the regulated salaries, the tables of the civil servants can no longer be open to receive the numerous body of writers annually arriving from Europe, still less can these young men be generally admitted to reside habitually in families of which the annual expences are now necessarily restrained within certain and regular boundaries

24 Many of the young men, on their first arrival, are therefore compelled to support the expence of a table, the result of this necessarily is obvious, and forms one leading cause of expence and dissipation

25 Under all these early disadvantages, without rule or system to direct their studies, without any prescribed object of useful pursuit connected with future reward, emolument, or distinction, without any guide to regulate, or authority to controul their conduct, or to form, improve, or preserve their morals, it is highly creditable to the individual characters of the civil servants of the East India Company, that so many instances have occurred, in various branches and departments of the civil service at all the presidencies, of persons who have discharged their public duties with considerable respect and honour

26 It has been justly observed, that all the merits of the civil servants are to be ascribed to their own character, talents, and exertions, while their defects must be imputed to the constitution and practice of the service, which have not been accommodated to the progressive changes of our situation in India, and have not kept pace with the growth of this empire, or with the increasing extent and importance of the functions and duties of the civil servants

27 The study and acquisition of the languages have however been extended

extended in Bengal; and the general knowledge and qualifications of the civil servants have been improved the proportion of the civil servants in Bengal, who have made a considerable progress towards the attainment of the qualifications requisite in their several stations, appears great, and even astonishing when viewed with regard to the early disadvantages, embarrassments, and defects of the civil service. But this proportion will appear very different when compared with the exigencies of the state, with the magnitude of these provinces, and with the total number of the civil servants, which must supply the succession to the great officers of the government. It must be admitted that the great body of the civil servants in Bengal, is not at present sufficiently qualified to discharge the duties of the several arduous stations in the administration of this empire, and that it is peculiarly deficient in the judicial, fiscal, financial, and political branches of the government.

28 The state of the civil services of Madras and Bombay is still more defective than that of Bengal. Various causes have concurred to aggravate in an extreme degree, at both those presidencies, all the defects existing in the civil service of Bengal, while many circumstances peculiar to those presidencies have favoured the growth of evils at present unknown in this. The condition of the writers on their first arrival at either of the subordinate presidencies is still more destitute, and more exposed to hazard than at Calcutta.

29 The study and acquisition of the languages, and of other necessary attainments, has not been extended in the civil service at Madras or Bombay to any considerable degree. To this remark eminent and meritorious individual exceptions exist in the civil service at both the subordinate presidencies, but those exceptions are not sufficiently numerous to constitute a general rule. But whatever may be the actual condition of the civil service in its superior classes at any of the presidencies, if the arduous duties of that service have been justly defined in the preceding pages, if the qualifications necessary for their discharge have been truly described, if the neglected and exposed condition of the early stages of the service has not been exaggerated, it must be admitted that those stages of the service require additional safeguards, and a more effectual protection. The extraordinary exertions of individual diligence, the partial success of singular talents, or of peculiar prudence and virtue, constitute no rational foundation of a public institution, which should rest on general and certain principles. If the actual state of the higher classes of the civil service were such as to justify a confidence in the general competency of the civil servants to meet the exigencies of their duties, the necessity of correcting the evil stated in the preceding pages

would still remain, unless the facts alleged could be disproved. It would still be a duty incumbent on the government to remove any obstacles tending to embarrass or retard the progress of their servants in attaining the qualifications necessary for their respective stations. The government is not released from this duty by the extraordinary or even general exertions of these servants, to surmount the early difficulties of the first stages of the service. If the good government of this empire be the primary duty of its sovereign, it must ever be a leading branch of that duty to facilitate to the public officers and ministers the means of qualifying themselves for their respective functions: the efficiency of the service cannot be wisely or conscientiously left to depend on the success of individual or accidental merit, struggling against the defects of established institutions, operating in a regular and uninterrupted course upon the various characters, talents, and acquirements of individuals. The nature of our establishments should furnish fixed and systematic encouragement to animate, to facilitate, to reward the progress of industry and virtue and fixed and systematic discipline to repress and correct the excesses of contrary dispositions.

30 From these remarks may be deduced the indispensable necessity of providing some speedy and effectual remedy for the improvement of the education of the young men destined to the civil service in India. The nature of that remedy will afford matter of serious discussion.

31 It may, however, be useful, previous to that discussion, to advert to a general topic of argument, which may possibly be adduced to disprove the necessity of any new institution for the improvement of the civil service of the East India Company. It may be contended, that this service, through a long period of years, and in the course of various changes and chances, has always furnished men equal to the exigency of the occasion, that servants of the Company have never been wanting to conduct to a happy issue the numerous revolutions which have taken place in the affairs of the Company, in India, and that these eminent personages have ultimately raised the British empire in India, on the most solid foundations of glory, wealth, and power. Why, therefore, should we apprehend that the source hitherto so fruitful, and furnishing so abundant a stream of virtue and talents, will fall in the present age, and prove insufficient to the actual demands of our interests in this quarter of the globe? The answer to this topic of argument is obvious. Extraordinary combinations of human affairs, wars, revolutions, and all those unusual events which form the marked features and prominent characters of the history of mankind, naturally bring to light talents and exertions adapted to such emergencies.—That the
civil

civil or military service of the East India Company, has supplied persons calculated to meet all the wonderful revolutions of affairs in India, is a circumstance not to be attributed to the original or peculiar constitution of either service at any period of time, that constitution has undergone repeated alterations, at the suggestion, and under the direction of the great characters which it has produced, and it has still been found answerable to every new crisis of an extraordinary nature. But it must never be forgotten that the successive efforts of those eminent personages, and the final result of various revolutions and wars, have imposed upon the East India Company, the arduous and sacred trust of governing an extensive and populous empire. It is true that this empire must be maintained in some of its relations by the same spirit of enterprise and boldness which acquired it. But duty, policy, and honour require that it should not be administered as a temporary and precarious acquisition as an empire conquered by prosperous adventure, and extended by fortunate accident, of which the tenure is as uncertain as the original conquest and successive extension were extraordinary, it must be considered as a sacred trust, and a permanent succession. In this view its internal government demands a constant, and steady, and regular supply of qualifications in no degree similar to those which distinguished the early periods of our establishment in India, and laid the foundations of our empire. The stability of that empire, whose magnitude is the accumulated result of former enterprise, activity, and resolution, must be secured by the durable principles of internal order, by a pure, upright, and uniform administration of justice; by a prudent and temperate system of revenue, by the encouragement and protection of industry, agriculture, manufacture, and commerce, by a careful and judicious management of every branch of financial resource; and by the maintenance of a just, firm, and moderate policy towards the native powers of India. To maintain and support such a system in all its parts, we shall require a succession of able magistrates, wise and honest judges, and skilful statesmen, properly qualified to conduct the ordinary movements of the great machine of government.

§2 The military establishments of this empire, form no part of the subject of this present inquiry. It may be sufficient to observe in this place, that their extent, and the spirit in which they require to be governed, must correspond with the magnitude of the empire, and with the general character of our civil policy. In the civil service we must now seek, not the instruments by which kingdoms are overthrown, revolutions governed, or wars conducted, but an inexhaustible supply of

useful knowledge, cultivated talents, and well ordered and disciplined morals, these are the necessary instruments of a wise and well regulated government, these are the genuine and unfailing means of cultivating and improving the arts of peace, of diffusing affluence and happiness, willing obedience and grateful attachment over every region and district of the vast empire, and of dispensing to every class and description of our subjects, the permanent benefits of secure property, protected life, undisturbed order, and inviolate religion. It is not the nature of these inestimable blessings to spring from a turbid source, or to flow in a contracted and irregular channel.

93 The early education of the civil servants of the East India Company is the source from which will ultimately be derived the happiness or misery of our native subjects, and the stability of our government will bear a due proportion to its wisdom, liberality and justice.

III

34 From the preceding discussion, it appears, that the actual state of the Company's civil service in India is far removed from perfection or efficiency, and that the cause of this defect is to be found principally, if not exclusively, in the defective education of the junior civil servants, and in the insufficient discipline of the early stages of the service. The facts which have been reviewed in the course of this discussion, furnish the main principles on which an improved system of education and discipline may be founded, with a view to secure the important ends of such an institution.

95 The defects of the present condition of the civil service may be comprised under the following heads —

First, An erroneous system of education in Europe, confined to commercial and mercantile studies

Secondly, The premature interruption of a course of study judiciously commenced in Europe

Thirdly, The exposed and destitute condition of young men on their first arrival in India, and the want of a systematic guidance and established authority to regulate and controul their moral and religious conduct in the early stages of the service

Fourthly, The want of a similar system and authority to prescribe and enforce a regular course of study, under which the young men, upon their arrival in India, might be enabled to correct the errors, or to pursue and confirm the advantages of their European education, and to attain a knowledge of the languages, laws, usages and customs of India, to-

gether with such other branches of knowledge as are requisite to qualify them for their several stations.

Fifthly, The want of such regulations as shall establish a necessary and inviolable connection between promotion in the civil service and the possession of those qualifications requisite for the due discharge of the several civil stations

36 It is obvious that an education exclusively European or Indian, would not afford an adequate remedy for such of these defects as relate to the morals and studies of the East India Company's servants, and would not qualify them for the discharge of duties of a mixed and complicated nature, involving the combined principles of Asiatic and European policy and government. Their education must therefore be of a mixed nature, its foundation must be judiciously laid in England, and the superstructure systematically completed in India

37 An important question may arise, with respect to the proportion of time to be employed in that part of the education of the junior civil servants, which should be appropriated to England, and accomplished previously to their departure for India. It may be contended, that many of the enumerated evils may be precluded, by not allowing the writers to proceed to India until they shall have attained a more advanced age than that at which they now usually embark, and by requiring them to undergo examinations in England, for the purpose of ascertaining their proficiency in the branches of knowledge necessary to the discharge of their duties in India

38 To this arrangement, various objections of a private, but most important nature, will arise in the mind of every parent, who may have destined his children for India. To attain any considerable progress in the course of education and study described in this paper, must necessarily require the detention of the student in Europe to the age of twenty or twenty-two years. Many parents could not defray the expense of such an education in England, even if the other means of prosecuting it now existed, or could hereafter be provided at any school or college at home

39 Other objections of a private nature might be stated against this plan, but those which are founded on public considerations appear to be absolutely insurmountable. It is a fundamental principle of policy in the British establishments in the East Indies, that the views of the servants of the Company should terminate in the prospect of returning to England, there to enjoy the emoluments arising from a due course of active and honourable service in India

40 Were the civil servants, instead of leaving England at the age of

sixteen or seventeen, to be detained until the age of twenty or twenty-two, a great proportion of them must abandon all hope of returning with a moderate competence to their native country.

41 Remaining in England to this advanced age, many would form habits and connexions at home not to be relinquished at that period of life without great reluctance, and few would accommodate themselves, with readiness and facility, to the habits, regulations, and discipline of the service in India.

42 While these causes would render the civil servants untractable instruments in the hands of the government of India, the regular progress through the service would also be retarded twenty-five years may be taken as the period within which a civil servant may regularly acquire, with proper habits of economy, an independent fortune in India. Upon this calculation, before the most successful could hope to be in a situation to return to England, they would have attained an age, when many of the powerful affections and inducements, which now attract the servants of the Company to return to their native country, would be greatly weakened, if not entirely extinguished.

43 At that age, many from necessity, and many probably from choice, would establish themselves permanently in India. It is unnecessary to detail the evil consequences which would result to the British interests in India, were such an habit to become general in the civil service.

44 Detention in England to the age of twenty or twenty-two years, would certainly afford the writers an opportunity of advancing their knowledge in the necessary branches of European study but within that period of time, even in those branches, it could scarcely be completed, especially in the important sciences of general ethics and jurisprudence, (for how few understandings are equal to such a course of study previously to the age of twenty !) and it would be entirely defective in the essential point of connecting the principles of those sciences with the laws of India, and with the manners and usages of its inhabitants. No establishment formed in England would give a correct* practical knowledge of the languages, laws, and customs of India, of the peculiar habits and genius of the people, of their mode of transacting business, and of the characteristic features of their vices or virtues. These most essential acquirements would therefore remain to be obtained after the arrival of the student in India, at an age when the study of languages is attended with additional difficulties, when any prescribed course of study,

* Sir William Jones was not intelligible to the natives of India (when he arrived at Calcutta) in any of the oriental languages.

study, when any systematic discipline, or regular restraint, becomes irksome, if not intolerable. As the East India Company's servants would arrive in India at a period of life too far advanced to admit of subjection to any system of public discipline or control, they must necessarily be left to the dictates of their own discretion with regard to whatever part of their knowledge had been left incomplete in

Europe.

45 The wants and expenses of individuals arriving in India at the age of twenty or twenty-two years, would greatly exceed the scale of the public allowances to the junior servants. At this age no restraint could be applied in India to their moral conduct, for the purpose of protecting them against the peculiar depravities incident to the climate, and to the character of the natives.

46 From the early age at which the writer are now usually sent to India, opportunity is afforded to the government, on the spot, of obtaining a knowledge of the characters of individuals, before they become eligible to stations of trust and importance. Of this advantage the government would be in a great degree deprived, if the East India Company's servants were all detained in England until the age of twenty or twenty-two. This inconvenience would prove nearly an insurmountable impediment to the important and necessary rule of selecting for public office, those best qualified to discharge its duties with propriety and effect.

47 The junior civil servants must therefore continue to embark for India at the age of fifteen or sixteen, that they may be tractable instruments in the hands of the government of the country, that their morals and habits may be formed with proper safeguards against the peculiar nature of the views and characteristic dangers of Indian society, that they may be enabled to pass through the service before the vigour of life has ceased, and to return with a competent fortune to Europe, while the affections and attachments which bind them to their native country continue to operate with full force, and lastly, that they may possess regular, reasonable, and certain means of attaining the peculiar qualifications necessary for their stations.

48 Under all these circumstances the most deliberate and assiduous examination of all the important questions considered in this paper, determined the Governor General to found a collegiate institution at Fort William by the annexed regulations†

49 This regulation comprises all the fundamental principles of the institution. The detailed statutes for the internal discipline and good government

† See the Regulations, Asiatic Register, Vol. II

government of the college will be framed gradually as circumstances may require

50 A common table and apartments are to be provided in the college, for all the civil servants who may be attached to the establishment

51 The benefits of the establishment are extended to the junior civil servants of Fort St. George and Bombay, who will be directed to proceed to Fort William, as soon as the accommodations requisite for their reception shall have been provided

52 This arrangement appeared in every respect preferable to the establishment of colleges, at both or either of those presidencies. Independent of the considerations of expense and other objections, and impediments to the foundation of such institutions at Fort St. George and Bombay, it is of essential importance that all the civil servants of the Company should be uniform, and should be conducted under the immediate superintendence of that authority, which is primarily responsible for the government of the whole of the British possession in India, and which must consequently be most competent to judge of the nature and principles of the education which may be most expedient for the public interests. It may be expected that the operation of this part of the new institution will ultimately extinguish all local jealousies and prejudices among the several presidencies. The political, moral, and religious principles of all the British establishments in India, will then be derived directly from one common source, the civil service of Bengal is unquestionably farther advanced in every useful acquisition, and in every respect more regular and correct, than that of either of the subordinate presidencies, no more speedy or efficacious mode can be devised, of diffusing, throughout India, the laudable spirit of the service of Bengal, and of extending the benefit of improvements, which, under the new institution, may be expected to make a rapid progress at the seat of government, than by rendering Fort William the centre of the education and discipline of the junior civil servants in India

53 Provision is made for admitting to the benefits of the institution, civil servants of a longer standing than three years, (on their making application for that purpose,) under such regulations as may be deemed advisable. The institution may prove highly beneficial to many servants of this description, as many of them will be received on the establishment, as its funds and other considerations may admit

54. Provision is also made for extending the benefits of the institution, to as many of the junior military servants as it may be found practicable to admit from all the presidencies, essential benefits will re-

sult

felt to the British armies in India, from the annual introduction of a number of young men well versed in the languages, with which every officer, but particularly those belonging to the natives corps, ought to be acquainted. It is also of most essential importance to the army in India, that it should be composed of officers attached by regular instruction, and disciplined habits, to the principles of morality, good order, and subordination.

55 Further regulations are in the contemplation of the Governor-general for the education of the cadets destined for the army in India, which will be connected intimately with the present foundation.

56 It cannot be denied that during the convulsions with which the doctrines of the French revolution have agitated the continent of Europe, erroneous principles of the same dangerous tendency had reached the minds of some individuals in the civil and military service of the Company in India. and the state, as well of political, as religious opinions, had been in some degree unsettled. the progress of this mischief would at all times be aided by the defective and irregular education of the writers and cadets, an institution tending to fix and establish sound and correct principles of religion and government in their minds at an early period of life, is the best security that can be provided for the stability of the British power in India. The letter of the court of Directors, under date the 25th of May 1798, has been constantly present to the Governor general's mind, it is satisfactory to know, after the fullest consideration, that many apprehensions stated in that letter, appear to have been conceived with more force than is required by the actual state of any of the settlements in India.

57 But among other important advantages of the new institution, it will provide the most effectual and permanent remedy against the evils (as far as they existed) which it was the object of the orders of the honourable court, of the 20th of May 1798, to correct.

58 The situation of the junior servants on their early arrival in India, has been fully described in that paper, under the new institution they will be immediately received by the provost, a clergyman of the church of England, they will be provided with apartments in the college, and with a common table, consequently they will be removed from the danger of profusion, extravagance, and excess. Every part of their private conduct, their expenses, their connexions, their manners and morals, will be subject to the notice of the provost, and
principal

principal officers of the college, and (through the collegiate authorities to the government itself.

50 While attached to the institution, the junior servants will have the most ample means afforded them of completing the European branch of their education, or of correcting its defects, of acquiring whatever local knowledge may be necessary for that department of the service, in which (after mature reflection on their own inclinations and talents) they may determine to engage, of forming their manners, and of fixing their principles on the solid foundations of virtue and religion.

60 The acquirements, abilities, and moral character of every civil servant may be ascertained before he can be eligible to a public station and every selection of persons, for high and important offices, may be made under a moral certainty that the public expectation cannot be disappointed.

61 The 24th clause of the regulation will afford the foundation of a law, which may at all times secure the civil service against the effects of the possible partiality or ignorance of any government.

62 It is intended that the allowance of every civil servant, of less than three years standing, being a student in the college, should be brought to one standard of 300 rupees per month, without any allowance for a moonshoe.

63 As a table and apartments will be provided for the students, this allowance will place them in a better situation than any writer of the same standing now enjoys. With these advantages, under the control of the official authorities of the college, and with the benefit of their advice and admonition, aided by statutes for the prevention of extravagance and debt, it may be hoped, that many young men will adopt early habits of economy, and will lay the foundations of honest independence, at a much earlier period than is now practicable. This advantage will be considerable in every view, in none more than as it will tend to contract the period of each servant's residence in India, to give a nearer prospect of return to England, and to keep that desirable object more constantly in view.

64 The discipline of the college will be as moderate as can be consistent with the ends of the institution. It will impose no harsh or humiliating restraint, and will be formed on principles combining the discipline of the Universities in England with that of the Royal Military Academies of France and of other European monarchies.

65 It may be expected that the great majority of young men, on their arrival in India, will eagerly embrace the opportunities afforded

to them by this institution, of laying the foundations of private character, of public reputation, and of early independence. It cannot be supposed, that many will be so insensible to their own honour and interests, and so destitute of every liberal feeling and sentiment, as not to prefer the proposed course of studies in the college, to the menial labour now imposed upon them, of transcribing papers in an office, where, in the nature of their duty, they are levelled with the native and Portuguese clerks, although infinitely inferior in its execution.

66 Those young men, who may not at the first view discover all the advantages to be derived from the institution, will soon improve by the example and communications of others, if any individual should continue insensible to the calls of public duty, and of private reputation, (and it is of importance that persons of this description should be known, before an opportunity has been afforded to them of injuring the public interests by their vices and defects,) the public good will demand that they should be punished by neglect and exclusion from employment. Considering the liberal manner in which the servants of the Company are rewarded for their services, the public may justly insist on submission to whatever regulations may be prescribed by this institution.

67 The excitements to exertion being as powerful, as the consequences of contrary habits will be ruinous, instances of gross neglect or contumacy will rarely occur. In this respect the institution possesses peculiar advantages, and it will become a powerful instrument in the hands of the government in India, who will be enabled thereby to bring the general character of the servants of the Company to such a standard of perfection as the public interests require. To every other inducement, which any collegiate institution in the world can supply for the encouragement of diligence, will be added the immediate view of official promotion, increase of fortune, and distinction in the public service.

68. If it be asked, whether it is proper that the whole time of the junior servants, for the first three years of their residence in India, should be devoted to study in the college, and that the Company should lose the benefit of their services, during that period, while the junior servants receive a salary?

69 It may be inquired on the other hand, what is now the occupation of the civil servants for the first three years after their arrival in India? What benefit the Company now derive from the services of the junior servants during that period? And what in general are now the characters and qualifications of those servants at the expiration of that

that period ? In all these questions, sufficient answers have been given in the preceding pages. Further details respecting the nature of the institution, will be forwarded officially to the court of directors at an early period.

70. The reasons which induced the Governor general to found the college, without any previous reference to England, were these :— His conviction of the great immediate benefit to be derived from the early commencement even of the partial operation of the plan. His experience of the great advantages which had been already derived by many of the young men by their attendance on Mr. Gilchrist, in consequence of the first experiment made on a contracted scale, with a view to a more extended institution. His anxiety to impart to the very promising young men, arrived from Europe within these last three years, a share of the advantages described in this paper, and his solicitude to superintend the foundation of the institution, and to accelerate and witness its first effects.

71. This institution will be best appreciated by every affectionate parent in the hour of separation from his child, destined to the public service in India. Let any parent (especially if he has himself passed through the Company's service in India) decide whether the prospect of this institution has aggravated or mitigated the solicitude of that painful hour, whether it has raised additional doubts and fears, or inspired a more lively hope of the honourable and prosperous service, of the early and fortunate return of his child.

72. With regard to the funds for defraying the expense of the institution, the Governor-general does not intend, without the sanction of the honourable court of directors, to subject the Company to any expense on account of the institution, beyond that which has already received their sanction independently of the institution.

73. The honourable court have authorised this government to purchase the writers buildings if they can be obtained on advantageous terms: these buildings cannot be obtained on such terms, nor can they be advantageously converted to the final purposes of the institution—a sum equal to the just value of the buildings, or to the rent now paid for them, will be applied towards the purchase of a proper spot of ground, and to the buildings requisite for the college.

74. The ground proposed to be employed is situated in the Garden Reach, where three or four of the present gardens will be laid together, a new road formed, and a large space of ground cleared and drained. This arrangement will improve the general health of the neighbourhood of Calcutta, as well as afford ample room for every accommodation required for the use of the college, or for the health of the students.

75 The expenses of the institution will, be provided ~~for~~ by a small contribution from all the civil servants in India, to be deducted from their salaries. This resource will probably be sufficient for all present purposes, with the addition of the fund now applied to the moonshiee allowance, and of the profits to be derived from a new arrangement of the government printing press.

76 The Governor general has not deemed it proper, in the first instance, to subject the Company to any additional expense on account of the institution. The honourable the court of directors will, however, reflect, that this institution is calculated to extend the blessings of good government to the many millions of people whom Providence has subjected to our dominions, to perpetuate the immense advantages now derived by the Company from their possessions in India, and to establish the British empire in India, on the solid foundations of ability, integrity, virtue, and religion. The approved liberality of the honourable court will, therefore, certainly be manifested towards this institution, to an extent commensurate to its importance. It would produce a most salutary impression on India, if the court, immediately on receiving this regulation, were to order the Governor general in council to endow the college with an annual rent charge on the revenues of Bengal, and to issue a similar order to the Governor in council of Fort St. George, with respect to the revenue of Mysore, leaving the amount of the endowment upon each fund to the Governor general in council.

77 All those who feel any concern in the support of the British interests in India, and especially those whose fortunes have been acquired in the service of the Company, or whose connections may now or hereafter look to this service for advancement, will undoubtedly contribute to the support of the institution. Under the auspices of the Court it is hoped, that a large sum might be raised by subscription in Europe. The Governor general considered the college at Fort William to be the most becoming public monument which the East India Company could raise to commemorate the conquest of Mysore, he has accordingly dated the law for the foundation of the college on the 4th May 1800, the first anniversary of the reduction of Seringapatam.

78 The early attention of the Governor-general will be directed to the Mahomedan college founded at Calcutta, and to the Hindu college established at Benares. In the disorder which preceded the fall of the Mogul empire and the British conquests in India, all the public institutions calculated to promote education and good morals were neglected, and at length entirely discontinued. The institutions at Calcutta and Benares may be made the means of aiding the study of the

laws and languages in the college at Fort William, as well as of correcting the defective moral principles too generally prevalent among the natives of India

79 An establishment of moonthees and native teachers of the languages under the control of the collegiate officers at Fort William, will be attached to the new college, and the young men will be supplied from this establishment, instead of being left (as at present) to exercise their own discretion, in hiring such moonthees as they can find at Calcutta or in the provinces

80 The arrangement respecting the native colleges, while they contribute to the happiness of our native subjects, will qualify them to form a more just estimate of the mild and benevolent spirit of the British government

81 In selecting the Garden Reach for the site of the buildings for the new college, two objects were in the contemplation of the Governor-general

First, That the ordinary residence of the students should be so near that of the Governor general, as that he may have the constant means of superintending the whole system and discipline of the institution. The distance of fifteen or sixteen miles, in this climate, would often embarrass the communication

Secondly, That the college should be removed some distance from the town of Calcutta. The principle of this object is sufficiently intelligible without further explanation. It is, however, desirable that the college should not be so remote from Calcutta as to preclude the young men from all intercourse with the society of that city. Advantages may be derived from a regulated intercourse with the higher classes of that society, the Garden Reach combines these advantages with many others, of space and accommodation. The situation of the writers buildings is objectionable, on account of their being placed in the centre of the town. nor could it have been practicable in that situation (even if the writers buildings could have been purchased on reasonable terms) to have obtained an area of ground sufficiently spacious for the new building

82 As it will require a considerable time before the new building in Garden Reach can be completed, it is intended in the mean while to continue to occupy the writers buildings, and to hire such additional buildings in the neighbourhood as may be required for the temporary accommodation of the students and officers of the college, for the library, the dining hall, the lecture rooms, and other purposes, it will be necessary to make some considerable purchases of books for the foundation

duction of the library, the Governor general will effect whatever purchases can be made with economy and advantage in India, lists of books will be transmitted to England by an early opportunity, with a view to such purchases as it may be necessary to make in Europe and the Governor general entertains no doubt that the court of directors will contribute liberally towards such purchases. That part of the library of the late Tippoo Sultan, which was presented by the army to the court of directors, is lately arrived in Bengal, the Governor general strongly recommends, that the oriental manuscripts composing this collection, should be deposited in the library of the college at Fort William, and it is his intention to retain the manuscripts accordingly, until he shall receive the orders of the court upon the subject. He will transmit lists of the collection by the first opportunity.

83 It is obvious, that these manuscripts may be rendered highly useful to the purposes of the new institution, and that much more public advantage can be derived from them in the library of the college at Fort William, than can possibly be expected from depositing them in London.

84 Such of the manuscripts as may appear merely valuable as curiosities, may be transmitted to England by an early opportunity.

85 It is the intention of the Governor general that the building of the college should be opened in the course of the month of November, and the lectures in several of the languages may, it is hoped, be commenced in the course of the ensuing winter.

86 With the aid of such temporary arrangement as may be immediately made, it is expected that many other branches of the institution may be brought into immediate operation, particularly those which relate to the expenses, morals, and general studies of the young men. Fortunately for the objects of the institution, the Governor general has found at Calcutta, two clergy men of the Church of England, eminently qualified to discharge the duties of provost and vice provost. To the former office he has appointed Mr Brown, the Company's first chaplain, and to the latter Mr Buchanan. Mr Brown's character must be well known in England, and particularly so to some members of the court of directors. It is in every respect sufficient to satisfy the Governor general, that his views, in this nomination, will not be disappointed. He has also formed the highest expectations from the abilities, learning, temper, and morals of Mr Buchanan, whose character is also well known in England, and particularly to Dr Porteus, bishop of London, and to Dr Milner, master of Queen's college, in

the university of Cambridge With respect to the professorships, those which relate to the languages will be best filled in India, and the Governor-general entertains little doubt that he shall soon be able to fill them permanently in an efficient manner, in the mean while, the most laudable zeal has been manifested by such persons in the civil and military service as are competent to assist the Governor general in making a temporary provision for the discharge of the duties of these professorships The persons properly qualified to fill certain of the other professorships must be sought in Europe The institution will be so framed as to offer strong inducements to such persons, and the Governor-general will endeavour at the earliest period to secure the assistance of talents learning and morals from Europe, adapted to the great purposes of this institution It may be useful to observe, in this place, that the professors and native moonthees, or teachers, will be prohibited from instructing any other persons than the students of the college, the object of this regulation is to prevent European parents, resident in India, from attempting to commence or complete, by means of the new institution, the regular education of their children in India it is an obviously necessary principle of policy to encourage the present practice of sending children born in India, of European parents, at an early age, to Europe for education

87 The Governor general means to recommend, that the court of directors should hereafter nominate all persons destined for the civil service at any of the presidencies in India, to be students at the college at Fort William to each studentship (as has been already observed) will be annexed a monthly salary of 300 rupees, together with apartments and a common table It will be for the honourable court to decide whether the ultimate destination of the student to the civil establishment of Bengal, Fort St George, or Bombay, shall be specified in the original appointment to the studentship at the college at Fort William It would certainly be more advantageous to the public service, that no such appointments should be made in England, and that the ultimate destination of each student should be determined in India, under the authority of government, on the spot, according to the inclinations and acquirements of the students respectively The improved state of the civil service at Fort St George, and the indispensable necessity for introducing the same improvements into the service at Bombay, will speedily, under the civil service, at each of those presidencies, be no less advantageous and respectable than that of Bengal.

88 The Governor-general highly applauds the wisdom of the late order of the Court, regulating the rank of the cadets for the artillery, according

according to the period of time when they may be respectively reported to be qualified for commissions, under the institution of the academy at Woolwich. It would be a most beneficial regulation to declare, that the rank of all students appointed to the college at Fort William, in the same season, should be regulated according to their respective progress in the prescribed studies of the college, and to the public testimonials of their respective merit, established according to the discipline and institution of the college.

89. If the court of directors should approve the principles and objects of this institution, and should accordingly order the Governor-general to endow it with a rent charge upon the land revenue of Bengal and Mysore, it would be a gracious act to relieve the civil service from the tax which the Governor general intends to impose on the public salaries for the support of the college. The tax will indeed be very light, but the court of directors may probably be of opinion, that such an institution as the present ought to be supported rather by the munificence of the sovereign of the country, than by any diminution, however small, of the established allowances of the public officers.

Fort William, 18th Aug 1800.

STATE PAPERS

PAPERS RESPECTING THE TRADE BETWEEN INDIA AND EUROPE

The Continuation of the Series of Official Communications that passed between the Commissioners for the Affairs of India and the Court of Directors, respecting the important Question, 'Whether or not the English Merchants resident in "India shall be allowed to send their Goods to the Port of London in their own "Ships?"'

AT a court of directors, held on Wednesday, 10th February 1802,

The chairman from the special committee laid before the court proposed paragraphs (*Vide Appendix, No XLVI*) for India, in the commercial department, prepared by the committee, for the purpose of giving effect to the arrangement formed with the right hon the chancellor of the exchequer, respecting the trade of individuals with India, and the same were read

The chairman at the same time acquainted the court, that with a view to facilitate the transmission of the paragraphs, the deputy and himself had been desired by the special committee to communicate a copy thereof to the earl of Dartmouth, that, in consequence, his lordship had returned the paragraphs, with a variety of proposed alterations, some of which had been adopted by the committee, and accompanied by a letter (*Vide Appendix, No XXIII*) dated the 28th of January last, explaining the same,

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adding, that he doubts whether it might not be expedient to suspend for the present the sending out any paragraphs at all; but that if, however, the court should think it necessary that a dispatch upon this subject should now be sent out, he has enclosed a paragraph, (*Vide Appendix, No XXXIV*) which it may be expedient to add to whatever instructions the court may determine upon sending to India

That the chairman having yesterday written to lord Dartmouth, (*Vide Appendix, No XXV*) to know whether the opinion contained in his lordship's letter above mentioned, is that of his lordship individually, or given in his official capacity?

Lord Dartmouth acquainted him, by a letter (*Vide Appendix, No XXVI*) dated yesterday, that although his lordship's letter respecting the paragraphs was intended as a private letter, he has not the slightest objection to its being shewn to the special committee, and that it is his wish that it should be produced

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to the court, adding, however, that the sentiments which it contains are entirely the result of his own private investigation, and to be understood wholly as his private opinions.

The chairman then laid before the court the several letters above mentioned, a copy of the paragraphs returned by lord Dartmouth and the additional paragraph proposed by his lordship.

And it was, on the question,

Resolved *unanimously*, That this court approve the paragraphs for India in the commercial department, as prepared by the special committee.

At a court of directors, held on Wednesday, 24th February 1802,

A letter, (*Vide Appendix*, No XXXVII) from the right hon the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, dated the 22d inst being read, stating that they have taken into their serious consideration the paragraphs on the subject of private trade, and that previously to their coming to any resolution respecting them, the board deem it proper to call for certain explanations stated in their letter now read.

Ordered, That the said letter be referred to the special committee to examine the report.

At a court of directors, held on Wednesday, 3d March 1802,

A letter (*Vide Appendix*, No XXXIX) from the hon William Brodrick, dated the 27th ult being read, signifying the desire of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India to be furnished with a report respecting the rates of freight on private trade, in pursuance of the provisions of the Act of the 39d of his present Majesty,

The chairman from the special committee laying before the court draft of a letter, (*Vide Appendix*, No XLI) to the hon William Brodrick, in reply to his letter of the 27th ult read in court this day.

The same was read and approved.

At a court of directors, held on Wednesday, 10th March 1802,

A letter (*Vide Appendix*, No XLI) from John Meheux, esq dated the 6th inst being read, requesting, by direction of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, to be furnished with an account of all foreign ships and their tonnage, that have imported and exported at the several settlements in India, for five years last past, specifying separately each nation and every year, and the same account from China, also any account that is in possession of the court, respecting the number of foreign ships that have traded to the settlements of other European nations in the East Indies, during the same period, also.

Another letter (*Vide Appendix*, No XLII) from Mr Meheux, dated the 6th inst signifying, by direction of the board, that the estimate which the secretary transmitted to Mr Brodrick on the 3d inst is not a sufficient answer to their application of the 27th ult and that the board therefore desire, that a report may be immediately made to them, agreeably to the 91st section of the Act 35d Geo III cap 52, and that they further desire, that the same be made regularly in future as the Act requires.

Ordered, That the said letters be referred to the consideration of the special committee.

The chairman from the special committee laying before the court draft

draft of a letter (*Vide Appendix, No XLIII*) to John Mcleux, esq in reply to his letter of the 6th inst read in court this day, desiring that a report may be immediately made to the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, agreeably to the 91st section of the Act of the 33d Geo III cap 52

The same was read and approved

At a court of directors, held on Tuesday, 23d March 1802,

On reading a letter (*Vide Appendix, No XLV*) from the right honourable the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, dated the 20th inst returning draft No 45, but stating that, as many alterations have occurred to them, as indispensably necessary to be made, they have substituted a new one in its room—that their object in these alterations is, that a full and fair experiment should be made, agreeably to what seemed to be the opinion of parliament relative to this subject, and that this question involving, as they think it does, some very important interests, may be placed in such a train of arrangement, as, whilst it preserves the rights of the East India Company, may also afford every facility for carrying on that trade from India, which avowedly the capital of the Company cannot embrace, and which, if obstructed or unreasonably fettered and restrained, will be forced into foreign channels of reluctance to the advantage of the Company's rivals in the markets, and to the obvious detriment of the maritime and commercial interests of this country

And the said paragraphs (*Vide Appendix, No XLVI*) being laid before the court and read,

Ordered, That the said letter and

paragraphs be referred to the consideration of the special committee

At a court of directors, held on Friday, 26th March 1802,

The chairman laid before the court a letter (*Vide Appendix, No XLVII*) from the hon William Broderick at Whitehall, dated the 2th instant, stating that the board of commissioners are of opinion, that drafts of the tenor of those therewith enclosed (marked A and B) (*Vide Appendix, Nos XLVIII. and XLIX*) should be transmitted to India, together with draft No 45 and recommending them to the adoption of the court

The said letter and drafts were read

The chairman acquainted the court that he had this morning laid those papers before the special committee, who prepared an additional report in consequence, in which they offer to the court an opinion thereon, and refer to their third report, now ready to be laid before the court

The said additional report from the special committee, dated his day, was then read, as follows &c

The committee having taken into their most mature and deliberate consideration, the amended paragraphs respecting the private trade with India, returned from the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, were preparing to lay before the court their observations thereupon, as well as upon the letter which accompanied those paragraphs, when the subject letters were laid before them by the chairman. After an attentive perusal of the whole of these papers, it is with extreme regret the committee feel themselves constrained to report to the court as their opinion, that

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that the amendments introduced by the commissioners completely and fundamentally vary the true intent and spirit of the articles agreed upon by this court with the chancellor of his majesty's exchequer and that the letter received this morning from the board, together with two commercial paragraphs to be transmitted to India, when taken altogether, demonstrate a decided and unequivocal intention of invading and destroying the commercial rights and privileges of the East-India Company

"They therefore judge it to be incumbent upon them to lay the same before the court, together with the materials which they have collected for the elucidation and defence of the Company's rights

"Still, however, flattering themselves that these rights, solemnly and deliberately granted to them by the legislature, will not be forcibly superseded or destroyed

Resolved unanimously, That this court approve the said report

The above-mentioned third report of the special committee ap-

pointed to take into consideration the private trade to and from India, dated this day, was read, and ordered to lie for consideration till Tuesday next

At a court of directors, held on Tuesday, 30th March 1802,

The court proceeding to take into consideration the third report of the special committee appointed to take into consideration the private trade to and from India, dated the 26th instant, and read in court that day,

Resolved unanimously, (*vide Appendix, No. L*) That this court approve the said third report from the special committee

A report from the special committee, dated this day, being now read,

Resolved, That the several proceedings of the court of directors and of the general court therein-mentioned, respecting the trade between India and Europe, together with an Appendix, a list whereof is annexed to the said report, be printed for the information of the proprietors.

APPENDIX

MEMORANDUM—The Paragraphs in the Commercial Department proposed by the Court to be sent to Bengal, will be found in Appendix, No. LI

No XXXIII—*Letter from the Earl of Dartmouth to the Chairman, &c of the Court of Directors*

Whitehall, 28th Jan 1802

GENTLEMEN,

I do not think it necessary to offer any apology for having so long retained in my hands the papers I now return you. The importance of the subject, the variety of matter contained in it, the nature as well as the extent of the reasoning therein urged and adverted to, are such as to have required,

on my part, no common share of diligence in their perusal, and no inconsiderable portion of anxiety respecting the opinion I conceive myself now called upon to declare upon the subject, and particularly so, when I find most unexpectedly, what I had considered as a matter of experiment, upon the result of which the future regulation of the private trade was to be formed, as in these paragraphs treated as a fixed and final determination, as a permanent system not hereafter to be

be departed from, as a regular code not in future to be infringed, by which, in every circumstance, and under all contingencies, that trade is to be regulated. Long as this matter has been in agitation, much as has been said upon it, divided as opinions still are respecting it, I confess I do not feel myself ripe for such a determination. Contending sentiments call for experiment, and in my private opinion, which in the present stage of the business, at least, is all I have to offer, no fixed resolution should be adopted, till the effect of experiment shall be known, and it appears to me particularly necessary to pause at the present moment, because we are already apprised that the state of the Company's finances in India has compelled the Governor general to call in the aid of private capital and private shipping, to complete the Company's investments, because it is more than probable, that from a continuance of the same necessity, before any paragraphs transmitted from hence to India can arrive at Calcutta, similar expedients may have already been resorted to, to meet similar difficulties, and engagements formed with the private merchant, which it would be unjust, impolitic, and ruinous to set aside, and lastly, because the proper season for permanent regulation appears to me to be that in which, by the cessation of the expences of war, and the establishment of a wise and wholesome economy, the happy moment shall have returned, when the Company's revenues in India shall produce a sufficient surplus to furnish the capital for the purchase of their investments. Under such circumstances, I am not fully convinced of the necessity of sending out any paragraphs whatever.

With regard to the general sub-

ject, (considering this in the light of a private letter,) I will not scruple to impart to you the deliberate opinion which a sedulous, and, I trust, impartial consideration of the voluminous papers which have come to my hands respecting it, has induced me to form, and I do so with confidence, because it is corroborated by that of persons whom I regard as of the first weight upon Indian topics, and without restraint, because I am not conscious of being actuated in this matter by any other motives than those of a zealous wish to be instrumental in promoting what I conceive will be productive of the greatest possible advantage to the Public and the Company. I think, in the first place, that the most liberal facilities for the purpose of drawing the trade of India to Great-Britain, can never be prejudicial (I will say more, must be advantageous) to the Company's interests.

Secondly, That every attempt to exclude India-built shipping from the trade of India, or any other branch of the British trade, is highly impolitic, and lastly, that it would be vain to expect that the surplus wealth of India should be allured to this country, unless the shippers of goods to be exported from India be allowed to provide their own shipping, at the lowest freight at which they can procure it, subject only to the following restrictions:

- 1 The merchant not to be allowed to export goods from India to Britain, except under the eye of the servants of the East India Company, or persons licensed by them.
- 2 Every person employed in India, in the conduct of that trade, to be under similar licenses.
- 3 All goods imported from India to unload at the port of

† A 3 London,

London, and be lodged in the Company's warehouses, the importers, of course, to have the full advantages resulting from the trade in which they have embarked.

- 4 The ships, when unladen, to return to India with cargoes, or be disposed of at home, at the option of the proprietors.

You will observe, that when I state this to you as my deliberate opinion, I mean no more than that these are the principles by which I should have wished the business to be regulated, if it were entirely open, unopposed by barriers right, and unshackled by restraint. I could argue much more upon the general topic, but it is reasonable that I should relieve you from this long preface, and proceed to some consideration of the proposed paragraphs.

In paragraph 3, the word "unnecessary" should be omitted. The writer of paragraph 4 seems to have forgotten, that orders for transhipment to India were frequently sent to the board, after the acquiescence of the House of Commons in Sir William Pulteney's motion.

Paragraph 5 Can it properly be said, that the "opposition to the introduction of Indian ships did not arise from a desire to exclude them from mixing in the commercial shipping of this country?" when it has been so often urged, that it would interfere with the ship building here, and the attention of the ship builders to their interests has been so repeatedly awakened upon the subject?

I have always understood that the agreement between Mr Addington and the court of directors was not intended to extend to a final arrangement, but was to be the basis of an arrangement, upon which

a system of regulations was to be built, provided that it should appear upon trial that the indulgence granted by the Company had not proved injurious to its interest.

Upon these principles, I conceive that the present is not the season for settling the principles upon which the private trade is to be conducted, I have therefore marked with a pencil part of the fifth, and the whole of the following paragraphs to twenty, conceiving that it is not expedient that they should be now sent out, and on this account I refrain from troubling you with any opinions to the argument contained in any of the paragraphs so proposed to be omitted. I should propose that the latter part of paragraph 20 should also be omitted, because it has appeared, since these paragraphs were drawn up, that the agent for the private merchant is not satisfied, and it does not seem necessary, in this place, to come to a decision that they ought to be so.

I come now to the eleven articles agreed to by the court of directors, in conferences between Mr Addington and Mr Vansittart on one side, and the chairman and deputy chairman on the other. Of these I shall say no more, than that I have never considered them in any other light than as the basis of a future arrangement.

Paragraph 22

1 Is it meant that the whole of the tonnage to be provided for the private trade, in 1803-4, is to be 5,400 tons of shipping? and connecting the tonnage here specified (2,720 tons) with the declaration in paragraph 24, "That it is our intention," &c, this seems to be intended. If so, it is scarcely adequate to the probable demands of a trade, which, in this season, in which

which little cotton was imported (rice not included,) was about two-thirds more than the quantity of tonnage proposed to be provided.

2 The words "as far as the circumstances of the respective countries will admit, are not sufficiently definite."

3 When were the ships here mentioned contracted for, and for what uses?

Paragraph 23

4 I also wish to inquire, when the contracts for these ships were entered into, and on what terms?

5 There seems to be wanting something of explanation with regard to the stipulations in article X.

6 It does not seem necessary that India built ships, intended for sale, should be restrained to any particular mode of construction; nor is it possible that the owner, when sold, can engage that they shall not return *circumlocutiously* to India. If by the word "*circumlocutiously*" is meant through foreigners, in what manner can they be prevented doing what they please with the ships they have purchased?

7 The lascars, with which the Indian ships are often in part manned, are British subjects, and not aliens. Is it possible that owners of India ships can engage, absolutely, that two thirds of their crew should be Europeans? No contract can be made unless it be conditional.

Paragraph 24

8 Of course those ships cannot be here included which are hired for the voyage home, and to be sold here. It should be more fully explained what is meant by demurrage and reasonable expenses, and some instances should be stated.

9 The necessity of this provision is not to me very apparent, as there

must be always more ships than cargoes to go outwards, and opportunity may then be taken of superceding the intended division of half and half.

10 I see no reason why it should not be provided, that whenever two or more merchants can agree together to load one ship, and make application to the governor-general, I should give them permission to do so, whether it be a British or India-built ship, directing (if the Court think proper) that the export warehouse keeper appoint a Company's servant to superintend the loading, but not to put the merchants to the inconvenience and delay of bringing all the goods to the Company's warehouse. In other case, where the ships are loaded with the goods of many unconnected merchants, the goods must go from the Company's warehouse.

11 It certainly can never be my wish that the free merchants should be independent of the Company; but if the owners of ships and goods agree that they find mutual advantage in letting the freight between themselves, it is good ground to go upon. Should the owners of goods complain against the ship owners, the directors might interfere to do them justice.

12 I do not suppose that it is here intended to deprive the merchants of the privilege of loading at the town of Calcutta, from which such advantages have arisen to them, in point of dispatch and economy.

13 The rate of freight to be paid by the merchants is not here specified.

14 Is it not rather a wasteful system, to keep gross goods in store for such a purpose, especially when they are losing articles?

15 This proposition strikes at the root of all equality, in the employment of European and India-built shipping. Suppose the private consignments for any one year to be small, and the quantity of shipping large, half English and half Indian, by this order all the English being to be first laden, all the Indian ships will be unemployed.

16 This proposal may probably be without effect, unless the permission proposed in note *nine* be granted.

17 This is not sufficiently explicit. Ships from London to India have seldom or never a full cargo, often only half a lading. In this case the account would stand thus: supposing the whole freight to be 24,000*l*. good from India would pay 18,000*l*. shipping goods from London, 6000*l*., the latter therefore, by the terms of this order, pay 6000*l*. on their cargo, that is 10*l*. per ton instead of 5*l*., Now as it cannot be intended that they should pay more than 5*l*. per ton (namely 5000*l*.) there is a loss of 3000*l*. to be made good. This may frequently happen, which would not be the case if the owners of Indian ships made their own arrangements with the private merchants, as suggested in note X.

The depriving the governments in India of the liberty they have hitherto enjoyed of importing Europeans, is a strong measure, and there is nothing in what is proposed with regard to the facilities granted to the private trade that seems to justify it.

In the remaining paragraphs I have marked a few passages, which, for obvious reasons, I should propose to be omitted. Long as this letter has necessarily been, you will perceive I have not thought myself

called upon to go much at length into the plan itself. The observations I have troubled you with have been chiefly confined to the regulations proposed for carrying that plan into execution. In the former part of this letter I stated a doubt, whether it might not be expedient to suspend, for the present, the sending out any paragraphs at all, as it is sufficiently known that provision is already made for the private trade for the ensuing season. It, however, the directors should think it necessary that a dispatch upon this subject should now be sent out, I have enclosed herewith for your perusal, a paragraph, which it may be expedient to add, or whatever instructions the court may determine upon sending to India. If you agree with me in this opinion, you will, I have no doubt, have the goodness to propose the adoption of it to the court.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

DARTMOUTH

The Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company

No XXXIV — *Additional Paragraph proposed by Lord Dartmouth, and enclosed in his Lordship's Letter*

In the letter from the Governor, general in council to the secret committee, of the 9*th* April 1801, which has been communicated to us, and to which we shall reply more fully hereafter, we observe that, in order to guard against the evils which might attend a sudden and considerable reduction of the Indian investment, the advances for which issued throughout the country furnished ultimately a resource for the payment of the land revenues, and by withholding

of which, difficulties might occur in realizing those revenues, that it had been found necessary to afford the public an assurance that the arrangement adopted in the first year, by the order in council of the 19th September, for allowing the export of goods to England on private ships, would be continued in the ensuing season. We perfectly agree in the sentiments expressed in that letter, in regard to the evil consequences likely to ensue when the Company's investment is much curtailed, if the public were not allowed to fill up the chasm. The class of manufacturers, as therein remarked, is entitled to the constant protection and encouragement of the state, otherwise that useful and valuable body of men might experience distress, the fabrics be debased, valuable branches of manufacture, now supported by the Company, wholly abandoned or materially injured, and the country suffer from the diminution of that supply of specie which is now regularly circulated through the channel of the Company's advances. We were glad to find that the Governor-general in council had taken care to prevent the operation of those evils, or to alleviate their effects, and that with this view it was deemed necessary to afford every possible encouragement to the private merchant, in order that he might be enabled to supply the place of the Company in the market, and to furnish that support to the manufactures which could not proceed from the Company's funds. Should such causes have operated with you in April 1802, or previous to the receipt of this, for encouraging the merchants to make advances at the auruṅgs for the future season 1803, and have led to the adoption of similar mea-

sures, we of course shall approve of the same, notwithstanding the above instructions, taking it for granted that you will act up to the spirit of our orders, as far as you see our interests will admit.

No XXXV — *Letter from the Chairman to Lord Dartmouth* 1

Mansfield street, Tuesday, Feb 9, 1804
MY LORD,

Upon my return to town on Sunday, I found your lordship's letter addressed to myself and the deputy chairman, on the subject of the private trade paragraphs. Upon the sentiments expressed in that letter, however discordant my opinion may be with that of your lordship, it is not my inclination, nor is it necessary, at this moment, to enter into a general discussion. The cause of my now addressing your lordship is to ascertain how far your letter is to be considered of a private nature, and intended merely for the perusal of myself and the deputy, or whether it is your lordship's wish it should be submitted to the special committee summoned to meet to-day, to consider the amendments proposed in the paragraphs? or, in other words, if I am to regard the opinion quoted in the letter as that of your lordship individually, or given in your official capacity, as fit and proper to be acted upon for the benefit of the East India Company?—I wish to be allowed to make one remark upon that part of your letter where it is observed, "you had understood the arrangements between Mr Addington and the court of directors were not intended to extend to final arrangement, but was to be the basis upon which a system of regulations was to be built, provided that it should appear upon trial that the indulgence

gence granted by the Company had not proved injurious to its interests.

That the paper presented by the deputy and myself to Mr. Addington, and altered by him, will bear such a construction, I am not willing to admit, and I shall content myself for the present with referring your lordship to the minute itself, which I now enclose for your candid consideration.

I am, &c.

C MILLS

The Right Hon. the Earl of Dartmouth

No XXXVI — *Letter from Lord Dartmouth to the Chairman*

India Board, 9th Feb. 1802.

SIR,

Though my letter respecting the private trade paragraphs was certainly intended as a private letter, that form was adopted as a convenient mode of transmitting my private opinions in the most free and explicit manner, rather than with any other view. I have not the smallest objection whatever to your shewing it to the special committee, and it is my wish that it should be produced also to the court. You will understand, however, that the sentiments which it contains are entirely the result of my own private impressions, and to be understood wholly as my private opinions. With regard to the minute accompanying your letter, I can only now say, that it does not seem to me susceptible of the latitude of construction which has been given to it. It was, however, submitted to the chancellor of the exchequer, and it is for him to state in what light he considers it.

I am, Sir, &c.

DARTMOUTH

The Hon. Chairman of the
East India Company

No XXXVII — *Letter from the Right Hon. the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, to the Hon. Court of Directors*

Whitehall, 2d Feb. 1802

GENTLEMEN,

We have taken into our serious consideration the paragraphs which you have transmitted to us on the subject of private trade, and previously to our coming to any resolution respecting them, we deem it proper to call for explanations on the following points.

Paragraph 22. As 2720 tons of shipping cannot, according to the present state of the private trade, be one half of what will be wanted, we beg to know whether this is the utmost for which you think it prudent for the Company at present to enter into permanent contracts, and your reasons for that opinion.

We desire to be informed, whether there are no contingencies, such as allowance on the building, home demurrage, or other circumstances, which, in all probability, will make the rate of freight exceed 14l per ton, as stated in this paragraph, what those circumstances may be, and if any, what excess they will or may occasion upon the 14l per ton stated by you?

Paragraph 23. We wish to know to what ships the following words apply? "As we have engaged extra ships ready built, to the amount of 2750 tons builder's measurement, for six voyages for the private trade. When were these ships advertised for, and when were they engaged, and upon what terms?"

Are there any other ships engaged for private trade, and if so, how many, and upon what conditions?

We request some explanation respecting the latter part of the 10th

proposition, viz. "Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to make void any contract or agreement into which the Company have already entered, or to prevent the Company from taking up hereafter, or contracting to build ships in Great Britain on equal or more advantageous terms than those of India. We beg you will state all the contracts already entered into to which this has reference. Are we to suppose, that after agreeing to the principle of half the ship being India and half British, that the last part of this paragraph is to refer to the directors the power of giving the preference to British ships when the terms are equal, or what construction is to be put upon it?"

You say you have engaged ship at 11 per ton, but would it not serve that there is a sufficiency for half of the private trade which is expected. In 1803 4 other ships belonging to the Company, and hired on more expensive terms, may be employed to bring home a part of the merchants goods, however, in such case, do you intend to settle the freight, so as to make it fair and equal to all the merchants whose goods it is proposed to load according to the pleasure of the Company's warehouse keepers, no choice being left to the merchants whether their goods shall go on the dearer or the cheaper ship.

We have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servants,

(Signed by order of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India)

W. BRODRICK

The Hon Court of Directors
of the East India Company

No XXXVIII—*Letter from the Secretary to the Hon William Brodrick*

East India House, 24th Feb 1802
SIR,

I am ordered by the Court of directors to express their readiness to give the board of commissioners for the affairs of India every possible information, even on subjects which, by the act of last year, present majesty, appear the Court of directors to be reserved exclusively to their own decision. With this view the enclosed observations and answers to the question proposed by the board of commissioners, are transmitted for the perusal.

I have the honour to be,

SIR

Your most obedient humble servant,

WILLIAM RAISAY, Secy

The Hon William Brodrick

The Board's Observations

Paragraph 1. As 720 tons of shipping cannot, according to the present state of the private trade, be one half of what will be wanted, we beg to know whether this is the utmost for which you think it prudent for the Company to enter into permanent contracts, and your reason for that opinion?

The Court's Answer

Paragraph 2. The Company have hitherto formed no precise or definite opinion, whether permanent contracts, to a larger amount than 2720 tons, should or should not be entered into, and of course can offer no reasons upon the subject.

If the board of commissioners will please to refer to paragraphs 23 and 24, they will see that ample provision (near 11,000 tons) is made for all the possible wants of the private trade.

11.

1st Provision is made for 2720 tons at hom, upon permanent contracts, and the like quantity is to be provided in India.

2d 2720 tons of ready built shipping are provided in England, and the like quantity may be engaged in India

3d Whenever wants shall occur in India beyond this provision, the governments are authorised to provide for the same, to an indefinite extent, it being understood that this power shall not be abused

The Board's Observations

We desire to be informed, whether there are no contingencies, such as allowance on the building, home demurrage, or other circumstances, which, in all probability, will make the rate of freight exceed 141 per ton, as stated in this paragraph, what those circumstances may be, and if any, what exceeds they will or may occasion upon the 141 per ton stated by you?

The Court's Answer

The court foresee no circumstances which can increase the rate of freight of 141 per ton, but if any such should occur, the increase will equally apply to Indian as to British ships

The Board's Observations

Par 23 We wish to know to what ships the following words apply? "As we have engaged extra ships ready built, to the amount of 2750 tons, builders' measurement, for six voyages for the private trade" When were these ships advertised for, and when were they engaged, and upon what terms?

Are there any other ships engaged for private trade, and if so,

how many, and upon what conditions?

The Court's Answer

Par 23 With respect to the "extra ships ready built, engaged to the amount of 2750 tons, for six voyages for the private trade, mentioned in the twenty-third paragraph, they were advertised for on the 20th July 1801, and engaged on the 2d October 1801, on the following terms, viz

1 Ship at £12 10 0	} per ton
1 Do at 13 15 0	
3 Do at 14 0 0	
	} freight

The court are not aware of any other ships engaged for the conveyance of private trade, to which the board's observations can apply, except the under mentioned, amounting to 2293 tons, which were engaged on the 2d December 1801, for one voyage only, viz

1 Ship at £12 10 0	} per ton
1 Do at 15 0 0	
2 Do at 12 10 0	
	} freight,

besides those already enumerated.

The Board's Observations

We request some explanation respecting the latter part of the tenth proposition, viz "Provided also that nothing herein contained shall be construed to make void any contract or agreement into which the Company have already entered, or to prevent the Company from taking up hereafter, or contracting to build ships in Great Britain, on equal or more advantageous terms than those of India." We beg you will state all the contracts already entered into, to which this has reference Are we to suppose, that after agreeing to the principle of half the ships being India and half British, that the last part of this paragraph is so reserve to the directors?

rectors

restors the power of giving the preference to British ships when the terms are equal? or what construction is to be put upon it?

The Court's Answer

Tenth proposition — The intent of this proposition can be only to bear harmless the Company and individuals, with respect to any such engagements as were entered into before an agreement had been formed for making a fair comparison of the price of Indian tonnage, and it is just and reasonable that such a reservation should exist.

The intended construction of this proposition is, that a fair comparison shall be made in respect to the price of Indian and British ships, and that no preference is to be given, except to the ships which shall be found to sail the cheapest.

The Board's Observations

You say you have engaged ships at 14l per ton, but we do not observe that there is a sufficiency for half of the private trade which may be expected in 1808-4. Other ships belonging to the Company, and hired on more expensive terms, may be employed to bring home a part of the merchants' goods. How, in such case, do you intend to settle the freight, so as to make it fair and equal to all the merchants whose goods it is proposed to load, according to the pleasure of the Company's warehouse-keepers, no choice being left to the merchants whether their goods shall go on the dearer or the cheaper ship?

The Court's Answer.

The observation relative to the tonnage provided not being more than one-half of what will be wanted for the private trade of 1808-4,

is sufficiently answered, under the reply to the board's remarks upon paragraph 22 but it should be added, that if the private trade be laden upon the vacant tonnage of the regular ships, no more than in the proportion of 14l per ton, provided it is peace, will be charged for the same, and as the admission of private trade goods at this price into the regular ships, if in any event they should not be fully freighted by the Company, would be a saving to the Company, and consequently preferable to letting those ships either return not fully freighted, or remain upon demurrage in India.

No XXXIX — *Letter from the Hon W Brodrick to the Secretary.*

Whitehall, 27th Feb 1802

SIR,

I am directed by the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, to request that you will signify to the court of directors, their desire to be furnished with a report respecting the rates of freight on private trade, in pursuance of the provisions of the act of the 3d of his present majesty.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

W BRODRICK

William Ramsay, Esq

No XL — *Letter from the Secretary to Mr Brodrick*

East India House, 3d March 1802

SIR,

In answer to your letter of the 27th instant, I am ordered by the court of directors to transmit to you, for the information of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, an account, prepared by the court of directors, on the 4th December 1793, respecting the

of freight on private trade, in pursuance of the provisions of the Act of the 3rd of his present majesty, and transmitted the same to the board, since which time no increase of the rate of freight has been made, nor has any decrease been recommended. I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,
W. F. AINSLEY, Secy
The Hon. W. Brodribb

4th December 1801

Estimate of the additional Freight and other extra Expenses in consequence of the War

	£	s.	d.
The allowed extra expenses of outfit per ton,	-	3	0 0
Allowed for sundry contingent expenses in consequence of the war,	-	1	0 0
Allowed for bounty, crimpage, and charges of manning the ships,	-	1	0 0
Difference of wages between 20s. and 45s. per month to seamen and the officers, in the usual proportion, is 70l. 7s. per month			
The river pay is reckoned a usual at two months, and it is supposed that, from the ship's sailing from Gravesend outwards, till her return to her moorings in the river will probably take up, in time of war, eighteen months more therefore twenty months, at 70l. 7s. will be	1,137	0	0
Difference of insurance — It is supposed the offices will charge sixteen guineas per cent. The Company are to pay the excess beyond eight guineas, and the outfit, by agreement, is to be estimated at 10,200l. Eight guineas per cent on this sum will be	-	1,012	10 0
Demurrage — Whole demurrage to be allowed instead of two-thirds for detention for convoy, which detention this estimate supposes thirty days, which at full demurrage amounts to	-	£625	0 0
Two-thirds	-	416	19 4
In time of war it is highly probable the ship will be detained in India and at St. Helena, three months beyond the usual periods in time of peace, the demurrage for which will be	208	6	8
	1,875	0	0
	£5,283	2	8
Which is per ton	-	-	6 12 0

Brought forward	-	-	-	£	11	12	0
Kantledge being paid for as goods, and being about 7½ tons to a ship of 800 tons, is nearly one eighth, and makes an addition of	-	-	-			1	9
						13	1

This sum of 13l 1s being reduced in the proportion that the freight prescribed by the act for the private trade bears to that paid by the Company, amounts to	-	-				10	4	0
---	---	---	--	--	--	----	---	---

Consequently one-fourth of this last sum	-		2	11	2
Added to the outward freight of	-		2	0	0
			7	11	2

And three fourths, being	-	-	-	7	13	6
Added to the homeward freight of	-	-	-	13	0	0
				22	13	6

No XLI — *Letter from Mr Mebeux to the Secretary*

Whitehall, 6th March 1802

SIR,

I am directed by the board of commissioners for the affairs of India to inform you, that the estimate which you transmitted to Mr Brodrick on the 3d instant, is not a sufficient answer to their application of the 27th ultimo — the board therefore desire, that a report may be immediately made to them, agreeably to the 91st section of the act 33d Geo III cap 52, and they further desire, that the same be made regularly in future, as the act requires

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN MEHEUX
William Ramsay, Esq

No. XLII — *Letter from Mr Mebeux to the Secretary*

Whitehall, 6th March 1802

SIR,

I am directed by the board of

commissioners for the affairs of India, to request that you will furnish them with an account of all foreign ships, and their tonnage, that have imported and exported at the several settlements in India for five years last past, specifying separately each nation and every year, and the same account from China, also any account that is in possession of the directors respecting the number of foreign ships that have traded to the settlements of other European nations in the East Indies during the same period

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN MEHEUX
William Ramsay, Esq

No XLIII — *Letter from the Secretary to Mr Mebeux*

East India House, 10th March 1802

SIR,

In answer to your letter of the 6th instant, stating, that the estimate which was transmitted to Mr Brodrick,

Brodrick, on the 2d instant, is not a sufficient answer to the application of the right hon board of commissioners for the affairs of India of the 27th ultimo, and therefore desiring that a report may be immediately made to them, agreeably to the 91st section of the act 39d Geo III cap 53, I am ordered by the court of directors to state to you, for the information of the board, that the subject to which the section of the act referred to relates has annually been under the consideration of the court since the act passed, and the result of their deliberations thereon has been transmitted from time to time to the board, with the proceedings of the court. It will be recollected that during the period in question, this nation having been continually engaged in warfare, there has been no alteration in the general state and condition of the affairs of shipping, which could operate to induce an abatement in the rates of freight, and until the prices of the articles relating to the outfit of ships, and other circumstances which influence the price of freight, shall be settled by a continuance of peace, the court can have no materials from whence to form an estimate, by which the rate of freight to be charged to private traders, in pursuance of the act, can be fixed, otherwise than by the rate of freight at which individuals have agreed to build ships for, and freight them to the Company. Upon which the court has nothing to add to what is already stated in the court's remarks, which accompanied the secretary's letter of the 24th ult.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J MADDOCKS, *Assist Sec*
John McNeux, Esq

No XLIV — *Letter from the Secretary to Mr Brodrick*

East India House, 16th March 1802

SIR,

I laid before the court of directors of the East India Company a letter from Mr Mehuux, of the 6th instant, requesting, by direction of the right honourable the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, to be furnished with an account of all foreign ships, and their tonnage, that have imported and exported at the several settlements in India, for five years last past, specifying separately each nation and every year, and the same account from China, also any account that is in the possession of the court, respecting the number of foreign ships that have traded to the settlements of other European nations in the East Indies, during the same period.

I received the court's commands thereupon, to communicate to you such information as could be obtained from the Company's records, as soon as the same could be arranged and, in obedience thereto, I now have the honour to transmit you a collection of papers, containing the most authentic documents that can be procured upon the subject, which, however, as far as respect Fort St George and Bombay, are defective, there having been no public reporter of foreign commerce at either of those presidencies.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

W RAMSAY, Sec

The Hon William Brodrick.

No 1 Statement of Foreign European and American ships, and their tonnage, arrived at and departed

parted from the port of Calcutta, from the 1st June 1795 to 31st May 1800, according to the statement of the reporter of external commerce in Bengal

No 2 Statement of the number of Foreign European and American ships, which have entered and cleared out at the Calcutta custom house, from and to Foreign Europe and America, from the 1st June 1796 to 31st May 1800, according to the statements of the reporter of external commerce in Bengal

No 3 Statement of arrivals and departures at and from the port of Calcutta of Foreign European and American ships, and their tonnage, trading to several ports and places in the East Indies and China, from the 1st June 1795 to the 31st May 1800

No 4 Fort St George list of arrivals and departures of ships, from the 31st May 1795 to 1st June 1796

No 5 Do list of arrivals and departures of ships, from the 31st May 1796 to the 1st June 1797

No 6 Do list of arrivals and departures of ships, from the 31st May 1797 to 1st June 1798

No 7 Do list of arrivals and departures of ships, from the 31st May 1798 to 1st June 1799

No 8 Do list of arrivals and departures of ships, from the 31st May 1799, to the 1st June 1800

No 9 Do statement of arrivals and departures of Foreign European and American ships, at and from Bombay, from 1st June 1795 to 27th March 1797, and from 16th December 1797 to 31st May 1800

No 10 Statement of the number of ships importing and exporting to and from China, for five years

No XLV — *Letter from the Board of Commissioners to the Court of Directors*

Whitehall, 20th March 1802

GENTLEMEN,

We return your draft No 45, but as many alterations have occurred to us, as indispensably necessary to be made in it, we have substituted a new one in its room. Our object in these alterations is, that a full and fair experiment should be made, agreeably to what seemed to be the opinion of parliament relative to this subject, and that this question involving, as we think it does, some very important interests, may be placed in such a train of arrangement as, whilst it preserves the rights of the East India Company, may also afford every facility for carrying on that trade from India, which avowedly the capital of the Company cannot embrace, and which, if obstructed, or unreasonably fettered and restrained, will be forced into foreign channels of remittance, to the advantage of your rivals in the markets, and to the obvious detriment of the maritime and commercial interests of this country

We have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servants,

(Signed by order of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India)

W BRODRICK.

The Hon. Court of Directors
of the East-India Company

No XLVI —(Draft No 45)—*Paragraphs in the Commercial Department, proposed by the Court of Directors to be sent to their Presidency at Fort Wallis & Bengal, and the Paragraphs as amended and approved by the Board of Commissioners*

The Court's Paragraphs

1 We propose, in this letter, to communicate to you our resolutions and instructions, on the subject of enlarging the privileges of private traders between India and Great-Britain, a subject which has been very much agitated within the last three or four years

2 It was our intention to have made such a communication to you at the close of the last season. We had then brought a very mature deliberation upon the subject in question to a close. Mr Dundas, the president of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, had, in a letter of the preceding year, laid down the principles by which, in his judgment, the privileges of individuals in the Indian trade ought to be regulated, and the mean by which those principles should be brought into practice

3 Sensible of the attention due to opinions coming from such authority, and perceiving the subject to have relations the most extensive, and to involve consequences the most important, we appointed a special committee of our court to take it into their most serious consideration. That committee, desirous that its nature, its tendency, and its real merits should, once for all, be thoroughly ascertained, went into a review of all that had been advanced in favour of enlarging the privileges of individuals, next, into an investigation of the principles and consequences involved in the requisitions and speculations of the private traders and their advocates, and lastly, to the conclusions result-

The Board's Paragraphs

1 We propose in this letter to communicate to you our resolutions and instructions on the subject of enlarging the privileges of private traders between India and Great-Britain, a subject which has been very much agitated within the last three or four years

2 It was our intention to have made such a communication to you at the close of the last season. We had then brought a very mature deliberation upon the subject in question to a close. Mr Dundas, the president of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, had, in a letter of the preceding year, stated the principles by which, in his judgment, the privileges of individuals in the Indian trade ought to be regulated, and the means by which those principles should be brought into practice

3 Sensible of the attention due to opinions coming from such authority, and perceiving the subject to have relations the most extensive, and to involve consequences the most important, we appointed a special committee of our court to take it into their most serious consideration. That committee, desirous that its nature, its tendency, and its real merit, should be thoroughly ascertained, went into a review of all that had been advanced in favour of enlarging the privileges of individuals, next, into an investigation of the principles and consequences involved in the requisitions of the private traders, and lastly, to the conclusions resulting from the whole, which were, in effect, to give to the

The Court's Paragraphs.

ing from the whole, which were, in effect, to give the private commerce of British subjects, every extension that appeared compatible with the permanence of the Company and the existing system of Indian policy; objects which, by general consent, were entitled to paramount regard

4. It was after the whole of these proceedings, with the facts, the principles, and reasonings adduced in the course of them, had been digested by the special committee into the form of a report, which received the unanimous concurrence of the court of directors, and was transmitted to the president of the board of control, that the letter of our Governor general, dated 30th September 1800, containing views and conclusions, very different from ours, on the subject in question, arrived. The opinions delivered in this letter unavoidably required some remarks from us, and these, with certain observations arising from the matter of another letter received from Mr Dundas, the president of the board of commissioners, occasioned a second report

5 The system laid down in this and the former report having received the sanction of a very large majority of the proprietors of India stock, we prepared, and, as already intimated, were about to transmit, in conformity to the suggestions of Mr Dundas, in his second letter, orders and instructions to our governments in India, for carrying that system into execution, when an honourable member of the House of Commons moved there, that the papers containing our proceedings relative to this subject might be laid before that house, in order to

consideration of them in the next session of parliament, and this motion

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4 It was after the whole of these proceedings, with the facts, the principles, and reasonings adduced in the course of them, had been digested by the special committee into the form of a report, which received the concurrence of the court of directors, and was transmitted to the president of the board of control, that the letter of our Governor general, dated 30th September 1800, arrived. The opinions delivered in this letter unavoidably required some remarks from us, and these, with certain observations arising from the matter of another letter received from Mr Dundas, the president of the board of commissioners, occasioned a second report

5 The system laid down in this and the former report having received the sanction of a very large majority of the proprietors of India stock, we prepared, and, as already intimated, were about to transmit it to you, when an honourable member of the House of Commons moved there, that the papers containing our proceedings relative to this subject might be laid before that house, in order to a consideration of them in the next session of parliament; and this motion having been acquiesced in, the transmission of the orders we had prepared, was, in consequence, suspended

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tion having been acquiesced in, the transmission of the orders we had prepared, was, in consequence, suspended

6 We understood, that there were parts of the subject which his Majesty's ministers conceived to be materially connected with the naval interests of the kingdom, and we supposed that considerations of this nature might have contributed to recommend to them a parliamentary discussion

7 We were, on the part of the Company, heartily disposed to render the resources of India available for the benefit of the royal navy, in such a manner as Government might think practicable and fit, and our opposition to the introduction of Indian ships here, did not arise from a desire to exclude them from mixing in the commercial shipping of this country. We were willing both to forward that object, and the facility and advantage of private commerce between Great Britain and India, in any way reconcilable with the preservation of privileges essential to the Company, and to the maintenance of the present Indian system: therefore we thought it due, both to government and to the Company, to explain our sentiments on these heads, and before the intended discussion came on in the House of Commons in the present session, an arrangement respecting the private trade was suggested, which met with the approbation of his Majesty's ministers

8 This arrangement, which changes several of the articles laid down in our resolutions of last season, and in a manner favourable to the private traders, it is the ultimate business of the present letter to convey to you, with the instructions requisite for carrying it into effect,

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6 We understand, that there were parts of the subject which his Majesty's ministers conceived to be materially connected with the naval interests of this kingdom, and we suppose that considerations of this nature might have contributed to recommend to them parliamentary discussion

7 We were, on the part of the Company, heartily disposed to render the resources of India available for the benefit of the royal navy, in such a manner as Government might think practicable and fit, and were willing, both to forward that object, and the facility and advantage of private commerce between Great Britain and India, in any way reconcilable with the preservation of privileges essential to the Company, and to the maintenance of the present Indian system: therefore we thought it due, both to Government and to the Company, to explain our sentiments on these heads, and before the intended discussion came on in the House of Commons in the present session, we submitted to his Majesty's ministers certain propositions, which they were pleased to approve, "as the basis of an arrangement between the Company and those interested in the private trade"

8 These propositions which change several of the articles laid down in our resolutions of last season, and in a manner favourable to the private traders, it is the business of this letter to convey to you, with the instructions necessary to carry them into effect

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effect, but as it will be found to consist only of brief articles, stating simply what is to be done, as in directing our governments to measures of great importance, it has been usual, and is proper for us to explain the reasons upon which they are founded, and as, on the present subject, various representations and opinions have been received by us from India, we deem it, on all these accounts, fit that the principles we hold upon it should be fully and authentically known to our servants, and placed on our records there. With these views, we forward to you, as an appendage to this letter, the two reports already mentioned, which were printed with the letters above noticed from Mr Dundas and the Governor-general, for the use of the proprietors. We are aware, that objections of different kinds have of late been published, and industriously disseminated in this country, against the matter and the reasonings of these reports, but as, in these publications, there are not a few gross errors in point of fact, so we do not think that they have overthrown any material principle or opinion for which we have contended, and we are prepared to shew, whenever it shall appear proper, the grounds of this judgment. But whilst we conceive ourselves warranted to speak thus concerning the publications in question, we are fully sensible, that on one or other of the many topics which the subject of commercial intercourse with India embraces, some persons, entitled to great consideration, may differ, and have differed from us. We must view such contrarieties, with the deference due to others, with regret, and with an increased solicitude in scrutinizing the opinions we ourselves hold but if still

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we are impressed with a conviction that these opinions are in the main right, the duty of a great public trust requires us to avow them, and to act upon them.

9 We had intended, at the end of the last season, from our solicitude respecting the present subject, to state, in addition to the matter contained in our reports, some observations concerning the constitution of the Company, and the nature of the proposed innovations, and though new circumstances have since occurred, yet as those observations are, in general, still applicable, we shall in closing as we wish now to do, the consideration of a very important question, introduce them here. Afterwards we shall state specifically the articles of the arrangement made with his Majesty's ministers, and then give our directions for carrying them into full effect, bestowing, last of all, upon any relative points before slightly touched on, such further notice as they may appear to require.

10 It appears to us, that the nature and tendency of the proposed enlargements have been less considered than any other part of this subject, especially by our servants abroad, whose view upon such a point cannot but be material to the interests of the Company. It is easy for those who are immediately concerned in obtaining new privileges, to believe, that in seeking that object, they are consulting also the public good, and the promotion of commerce has, in modern times, become so powerful a principle of policy and of action, that when this is understood to be the aim and effect of any measure, it seems with many, even of those who have no personal interest depending, to establish a controlling prepossession

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in favour of such a measure. But as it is possible to run to an extreme in this way, as it is not always easy justly to apply the theoretical principles of commerce, and in such as have had a current reception, practice not unfrequently discovers imperfections, so the peculiar constitution of the East India Company, which has been formed after experience rather than theory, and combines great political power and dominion with commercial practice, requires a direct, constant, and appropriate regard, in all proposed innovations, which have relation either to the administration of the territorial possessions of the Company, or to its privileges of trade.

¶ The constitution of the Company, as it now stands, has been fixed by repeated and solemn acts of the Legislature. When, after the Company's acquisitions of territorial power of the East, the government first, and parliament afterwards, interposed its authority for the regulation and management of so great an interest, there was not an idea advanced, of rendering, on account of that acquisition, the trade less exclusive, or the country more accessible to British merchants than it had been before. The Company succeeded to the native rulers in a delegated sovereignty, and might thence, indeed, employ, in greater numbers, servants civil and military, of its own, but the privileges of British subjects in general, with respect to that country, received no extension. It was never conceived, that because a rich annexation of territory had been made to the empire of Britain, the European subjects of that empire had thence acquired any right to enter upon its soil, or to participate individually in its trade, and

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although, generally, upon the renewals of the Company's charter, some attempt has been made at home, to reduce or to share its privileges, the Legislature has steadily adhered to the policy of making the India Company, the one great organ of intercourse between Britain and the dependent states, and of the government of those states. This policy is strenuously maintained to the present hour, as may be seen in the letters of the president of the board of commissioners, which are in the collection of printed papers now sent you, and it is thus maintained, because it is thought, with perfect justice, best to consult the true interest of the nation. The system of the East-India Company stands upon national principles.

12 A system which has been so long established, so repeatedly confirmed and so well justified by its effects, we may confidently hope the Legislature, however solicited by particular interests, will still be disposed to cherish, and never formally give up, and whilst the fitness of maintaining this system continues to be generally acknowledged, danger, which will always exist, as long as *any private interests are in opposition to this more public one*, will not perhaps be so likely to approach in the form of avowedly hostile attack, as by the gradual operation of those contrary interest, or by *impolitic measures agitated within the Company itself*, where they will, of course, be represented as compatible with its privileges and its permanence. It becomes, therefore, a duty of the first order, especially in those who have the management of the Company's affairs, vigilantly to observe, and scrupulously to examine the source, the objects, and the tendency of all
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schemes which would graft any new principles or usages of importance upon the present constitution and practice of the Company — Great circumspection, in this case, is not to be reckoned the offspring of a narrow, timid spirit, but that necessary prudence which the nature of the case requires. To reason upon the effects of material innovations, and to assign importance even to probabilities established by such reasoning, ought not to be treated as precarious speculation. Where experiments are to be made and much may be lost, any probability of loss becomes, according to its degree, a solid argument against change, whilst even an equal probability of advantage will not weigh equally in favour of innovation, because what is already possessed may by it be sacrificed — and without all this precaution the Company themselves, or their administrations abroad, may, by the promise of expected good, unwarily be led into measures capable of eventually undermining their existence.

13 We must confess it to be our opinion, that the Company, or, in other words, the present system of Indian policy, is in no way more exposed to danger of the description here given, than from the continual increase in India of Europeans not in the service, and the incessant pressing of such claims as have of late been brought forward by that class of men, or by others who support their views. The unlicensed resort of such persons to India was a consequence likely enough to follow, from the establishment of an European dominion there — and our governments have beheld it with too much indulgence, although it will hardly be denied that

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fitted to be germ of a great and perilous change in the state of that dominion, and the Indian system connected with it. This practice has been the main cause of the continuance of the clandestine trade. The continuance of the clandestine trade was one ground, on which the Company were first induced to yield a material sacrifice of their privileges, and it still serves as a plea for further inroads upon their system. Nor do we perceive any end of this plea: the ingenuity of those concerned in the trade may still contrive to carry it on, it may still be formed into a fresh argument against the Company's remaining privileges. The entire extinction of it would not, as far as we can discover, necessarily result from any measures within our competence, and this sort of reasoning, therefore, may be employed even as long as the Company have any thing to give up.

14 We believe there are those who greatly overlook the other considerations belonging to this subject, in the importance they attach to the increase which has taken, or, as they suppose may take place, in the produce and exports of our territories, an increase, however, hitherto chiefly owing to the encouragement given by the Company to the culture of indigo and sugar. But unless such persons will also contend, that the medium of the Company, and all restrictions whatever on the intercourse of the subjects of this country with India should be removed, (a doctrine which has but few avowed advocates,) they will allow that there is some point at which enlargements of the privileges of individuals ought to stop. To ascertain this point, has been the scope of our late deliberations, and to fix it, which is the design of our present

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present orders, is become absolutely necessary

15 There was, indeed, a very full discussion of this nature, on the renewal of the charter in 1793. The objects and the manner of enlargement were then clearly agreed upon, although all the principles and relations of that subject were not then brought fully into view. The object, with respect to India, was, the transfer of the trade, then clandestinely carried on between the British possessions there and foreign Europe, to the Thames. That trade was understood to arise from two sources, the remittance of British fortunes from India, and the investment of European British capital in ships sailing thither under foreign flags from the continental ports of Europe. In proposing to transfer the clandestine trade into the Thames, it was implied, that this latter part of it, carried on with European capital, would be annihilated, for as it was a consequence of the rise of the other part, which was itself now expected to cease, so it was supposed to owe its continuance, very much, to the comparative lowness of the freight paid at continental ports, which disadvantage was particularly to be remedied by the plan of transfer, and therefore the inducement to fit out ships from those ports would so far be removed. The remittance of British fortunes acquired in India, by the medium of goods, into the Thames, was then the sole object of the privilege granted to British residents in India by the Act of 1793. There was no reserve made or implied for the continuance of the employment of European British capital, which had been illegally introduced into this trade, and as the object of the enlargement was thus fairly

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fairly understood, to the manner in which it should be enjoyed was also most clearly stated. The newly privileged trade was to be brought on the ships of the Company. The memorials of the agents of the private traders, the discussions in the court of proprietors, the correspondence between the court of directors and his Majesty's ministers, every transaction on the renewal of the charter, and the act of 1793 itself, all confirm this statement. They shew, that the enlargement in view, with respect to British residents in India, went no further than to bring the fortunes of those residents to this country, in merchandize, on the Company's ships. The fortunes were to be the capital, the Company's ships the channel of the trade. This trade must, in the nature of things, have had a moderate limit, and as it was the main professed end of the charter to prevent a general trade to India so it would have been incompatible with this design to have admitted into the charter any principle of indefinite enlargement.

16 But now the British residents in India, aided by those who take up their cause here, desire to send their own ships to Britain with private merchandize, and the principle of employing European British capital in this trade, with the express view of promoting the produce and exports of India, is also contended for. It is in vain attempted to found any of these claims upon the Act of 1793. They differ essentially from the principle of that Act, they are new claims, though they proceed from the same parties, whose views are extended with the advancement they have received, and we see in them, when fairly followed

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followed into their natural consequences, nothing short of a general trade. This trade, though it might for a time be carried on through the existing forms of the Company, would, at length, supersede them, and even before arriving at that point, the British commerce with India, instead of being, as it is now, a regulated monopoly, would deserve more properly the character of a regulated free trade, a title, however, which, it is to be feared, would not suit it long. If private Indian ships and cargoes were indefinitely, that is without any limitation as to number or value, licensed to come here, it must follow as a consequence, that the capital and the merchants of Britain could be embarked in the trade. This, though forbidden, could not be prevented, and the allowed admission of that capital into it would be followed by an equally formal admission of the merchants of this country. They have, in fact, already applied for permission to send their own ships to India, and bring from thence such goods as the Company do not choose to reserve exclusively for themselves, and it is to us clear, that the moment any further principle of enlargement, beyond the remittance of British fortunes in goods, on the ships of the Company, is adopted, (we speak not here of the past concession in favour of home manufactures, which has been already noticed,) the claim of those British residents to peculiar or exclusive privileges, in the trade to Europe, is at an end.

17 We may venture to assert, also, that their peculiar advantages from such enlargement would soon cease, and that a great infusion of new competitors in this trade would probably make the situation

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tion worse than it now is, whilst, with respect to the nation at large, experience and just reasoning equally warrant us to believe, that it would not be for its benefit, even in a commercial view, setting aside other objections, to throw the trade between Britain and India indefinitely open

18 But as it cannot fairly be denied, that a trade, which however modified in its form, should be open, directly or indirectly, to all persons and all capital belonging to this country, would be, in effect, a general trade, and as a general trade between a parent state and its dependent settlements is one main principle of the colonial system of policy, so the connexion between the admission of that principle, and the gradual succession of the other principles of that system, ought never to be out of sight. It is agreed by all, except perhaps by those who may have an immediate interest to the contrary, that the colonization of Europeans in our Indian possessions ought not to be encouraged, and in excluding this end, all measures clearly favourable to it, or even involving a probability of producing it, are also in fairness excluded, at least, unless they hold forth, what is not in this case to be expected, a greater certainty or probability of more important good. That the measures, however, which are now proposed, would directly and consequentially promote the resort of Europeans to India, and their settlements there, and that there is a real relation between an indefinite enlargement of trading privileges, and the ultimate supersession of the present regulated system of Indian intercourse and Indian policy, we think the printed reports, already mentioned, have esta-

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lished, with a degree of evidence which it will be difficult ever to invalidate, because it appears to arise out of the very nature of things, and until conclusions of a contrary kind are established, with conviction still clearer, it may be justly maintained, that to venture upon the proposed innovations, will be to run the hazard of an evil of the greatest magnitude, for what, if attained, would confessedly be a very inferior good

19 Those, indeed, who have a direct interest in innovation naturally extol the advantages to be expected from it, whilst they appear insensible that any danger is to be apprehended. We are obliged to contemplate objects through another medium, and, from the views which our situation brings more within our reach of ulterior consequences, to resist things which seem to offer some present advantage

20 It is not our design to enter here into a particular consideration of the arguments employed to obviate the apprehension of future danger from the changes now proposed but the distance at which our servants are placed from this scene, induces us to advert to one position, which assumes, that it will be in the power of the Company to correct any evils which may arise from those changes. No position appears to us more unsound than this. There is a fallacy in it, which lies in tacitly supposing that the Company and the private traders would continue, after these changes in the same disposition, and the same relative power and influence they possess at present, a notion which a due consideration of the effects of those innovations may be sufficient to remove

21 After a full and deliberate con-

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consideration of this whole subject, we are thoroughly convinced, that a clear and fixed line is to be drawn between a trade in its nature colonial, and a trade merely of remittance. The first, created by transplanting capital from this country, is unnecessary, would be unlimited, and, in our decided opinion, not only subversive of the privileges, and even the existence of the Company, but prejudicial to the interests, commercial and political, of the empire and its dependencies at large. The second, from the indispensable residence in India of British subjects, who are finally to settle in their native land, and must send thither the property they acquire abroad, is become expedient, if not unavoidable, but at the same time must, in the nature of things, have a moderate limit, and to this may be added, returns for British manufactures consigned to India for sale. This remittance trade thus described, and amply provided for in the manner we are now about to describe, forms the point at which we should stop, and the necessity with which we were early impressed, of determining clearly the extent of the new trade, now shews itself more obviously than it did at first, for Mr Durdas, with whose principles we are in perfect agreement, differing with him only as to the means of carrying them into execution, has, in his letter of the 2d April 1800, strongly maintained the following positions: "*That the same principles which prove the necessity of the present mode and form of Indian government, evince the necessity of the monopoly of the trade, the surplus produce of India beyond what the appropriated capital of the East-India Company can bring home, should be considered as the means of*

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transferring the fortunes of the servants in India to Great Britain "

The merchants of this country cannot be permitted to participate with British residents in India in this trade, "*because it would be introducing a rival capital in India, against the remittance trade of the East India Company, and in competition likewise with those individuals, whose capitals, by the proposed indulgence, it is wished to transfer to Great Britain* But the Indian agents advance far different views After allowing to the Company whatever share of the trade they may find it either politic or profitable to attach entirely to themselves, *they are for giving the utmost practicable facility to British merchants in India, for exporting to the port of London the largest possible portion of the manufactures and produce of India* and those who espouse the cause of the merchants here, are for leaving it to them to *find out and adopt the most effectual means* for bringing the remainder of the produce to the port of London, and for employing, if they please, to that end, the capital of this country, all which would constitute that indefinite unlimited trade, the consequences of which are, in our opinion, so much to be feared

To the definite trade we have above described, which is in harmony with the principles laid down by the late president of the board of commissioners, we are disposed to afford every facility that can reasonably be claimed for it, every concession requisite to produce a certain, expeditious, and cheap conveyance of British fortunes, and returns for British manufactures in merchandize to this country, excluding, at the same time, what is

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not necessary to this end, and might become the instrument of that other species of trade which ought to be prevented, such as a stated permission to private ships to laden from India with private goods, at the pleasure of their resident owners, which we must therefore absolutely refuse

22 Having stated these observations, we now proceed to detail the articles of the arrangement agreed on with his Majesty's ministers, for the enlargement of the private trade. We trust they will be found to comprehend all the material provisions requisite for accomplishing the ends proposed, and for obviating any well grounded complaints of the free merchants, complaints which, so far as they have any just foundation, were in great part occasioned by the state of war, which has existed ever since the Act of 1793 passed till the present year. It has been already observed, that several of these articles differ from those contained under the thirteenth of our resolutions of 4th February 1801, annexed to the first report: the present set of articles are, therefore, to be your guide; but the preamble to the thirteenth resolution, you are still to regard as expressing the sentiment upon which we found them.

Article I. That in addition to the quantity of three thousand tons of shipping, now annually allotted to the exports of individuals from India, three, four or five thousand tons more, or as much as may be wanted, shall be assigned.

II That the shipping to be thus annually employed shall be wholly applied to the use of private traders, and shall neither be destined nor detained for political or warlike services in India, but sail from thence directly

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9 We shall therefore now proceed to detail the propositions for the present accommodation of the private trade, and we trust they will be found to comprehend the most material provisions requisite for accomplishing the ends proposed, and for obviating any well grounded complaints of the free merchants; which complaints were, in great part, occasioned by the inconveniences inseparable from the state of war, which has existed ever since the act of 1793 passed.

10. Article I. That in addition to the quantity of three thousand tons of shipping, now annually allotted to the exports of individuals from India, three, four, or five thousand tons more, or as much as may be wanted, shall be assigned.

11 II That the shipping to be thus annually employed shall be wholly applied to the use of private traders, and shall neither be destined nor detained for political or warlike services in India, but sail from thence

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directly for the port of London, at fixed periods, within the fair weather season

III That all commodities of the produce of the Continent, or of the British territories in India, shall be permitted to be laden on those ships, excepting only piece goods, which shall not be laden, unless by special licenf. from the Company, or their governments abroad, and saltpetre, which any of the governments in India shall have the power to prohibit or restrain

IV That the goods to be exported on private account be, as now, received into the Company's warehouses in India, and that the same care be taken in assorting them into cargoes, in due proportions of light and heavy goods, according to the deliveries into the warehouses, as is observed in forming the Company's own cargoes

V That these goods shall be brought to the Company's warehouses in London, and thence to their sales, in the regular order, subject to the charge of three per cent now allowed to the Company for landing, warehousing, and selling private goods.

VI That when the private goods provided for exportation from India shall not serve to fill all the ships sent out for them, the Company shall put gruff goods into those ships upon their own account

VII That no person shall be permitted to embark in this trade, as principal or agent, except such as may lawfully engage therein, according to the provisions of the Act of 33 Geo III cap 52

VIII That the ships to be employed in this service shall be built for this purpose, either in Great-Britain or India, the Company con-

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thence directly for the port of London, at fixed periods, within the fair weather season

12 III That all commodities of the produce of the Continent, or of the British territories in India, shall be permitted to be laden on those ships, excepting only piece goods, which shall not be laden, unless by special license from the Company or their governments abroad, and saltpetre, which any of the governments in India shall have the power to prohibit or restrain

13 IV That the goods to be exported on private account be, as now, received into the Company's warehouses in India, and that the same care be taken in assorting them into cargoes, in due proportion of light and heavy goods, according to the deliveries into the warehouse, as is observed in forming the Company's own cargoes

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15 VI That when the private goods provided for exportation from India shall not serve to fill all the ships sent out for them, the Company shall put gruff goods into those ships upon their own account

16 VII That no person shall be permitted to embark in this trade, as principal or agent, except such as may lawfully engage therein, according to the provisions of the Act of 33 Geo. III cap 52.

17 VIII That the ships to be employed in this service shall be built for the purpose, either in Great Britain or India, the Company contracting

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trafficking with those who shall undertake to build, or be the owners of them, for their service during eight voyages, and that the construction of them shall be agreeable to a plan already adopted by the Company in England, for ships intended to carry their own gross goods

IX That in order to ascertain the rates at which ships of this construction, built of teak, can be obtained for eight voyages certain in India, the court will authorise their government there, immediately to advertise such of the above description as are likely to be required, and to engage them for the Company, provided the freight demanded shall not exceed the rate of those lately contracted for in England

X Or ships already built in India may be engaged for two or more voyages, for the purpose of carrying the private trade, if they shall not exceed the rate of peace freight actually paid by the Company for ships of the like description this season, and provided they are, in all respects, approved by their master attendants, or other proper officers in India provided also, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to make void any contract or agreement, into which the Company have already entered; or to prevent the Company from taking up hereafter, or contracting to build ships in Great Britain, on equal or more advantageous terms than those of India

XI That the above ships shall be relet by the Company, without profit, to such merchants as may be disposed to export goods to India, or to import goods from India, as above described, charging to the exporter and importer respectively, such

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trafficking with those who shall undertake to build, or be the owners of them, for their service during eight voyages, and that the construction of them shall be agreeable to a plan already adopted by the Company in England, for ships intended to carry their own gross goods

18 IX That in order to ascertain the rates at which ships of this construction, built of teak, can be obtained for eight voyages certain in India, the court will authorise their governments there, immediately to advertise for such a number of ships of the above description as are likely to be required, and to engage them for the Company, provided the freight demanded shall not exceed the rate of those lately contracted for in England

19 X Or ships already built in India may be engaged for two or more voyages, for the purpose of carrying the private trade, if they shall not exceed the rate of peace freight actually paid by the Company for ships of the like description this season, and provided they are, in all respects, approved by their master attendants, or other proper officers in India provided also, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to make void any contract or agreement, into which the Company have already entered, or to prevent the Company from taking up hereafter, or contracting to build ships in Great Britain, on equal or more advantageous terms than those of India

20 XI That the above ships shall be relet by the Company, without profit, to such merchants as may be disposed to export goods to India, or to import goods from India, as above described, charging to the exporter and importer respectively,

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such proportion only of the total freight for the voyage as shall be due, according to the proportions established by the Act of the 33d George III cap 52.

21 We shall next lay down such particular instructions, as appear to us most material for carrying these articles into due execution

First, for the supply of Indian tonnage, until ships built, or engaged by contract for that purpose, come into employ

Although no official advices have reached us of the terms upon which you engaged with the owners of Indian ships taken up for the Red Sea, we have nevertheless received private intimation thereof, and have consented to confirm that part of the agreement, by which they are to make one voyage to Europe and we now direct, that at the discretion of the governor general in council, the same concession may be extended to all the ships engaged on that service, or as some of these may have been disabled or lost, we allow others of equal burthen to be substituted for them, provided they leave Bengal or Madras before the 1st of April, or Bombay before the 1st of July 1803

It is highly probable that the India built ships already engaged by you for the expedition to the Red Sea, with the extra tonnage taken up by us this season for the exports from hence, will furnish more than sufficient conveyance for the private trade goods which may

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tively, such proportion only of the total freight for the voyage as shall be due, according to the proportions established by the Act of 33d Geo III cap 52

21 We think it expedient, in this place, to apprise you, that it is our intention, provided the terms are equal, to open a fair competition between Indian and British ships, for bringing home the private trade

22 We shall next lay down such particular instructions, as appear to us most material for carrying these articles into due execution

23 First, for the supply of Indian tonnage, until ships built, or engaged by contract for that purpose, come into employ

24 Although no official advices have reached us, of the terms upon which you engaged with the owners of Indian ships taken for the Red Sea, we have nevertheless received private intimation thereof, and have consented to confirm that part of the agreement, by which they are to make one voyage to Europe and we now direct, that at the discretion of the governor-general in council, the same concession may be extended to all the ships engaged on that service, or as some of these may have been disabled or lost, we allow others of equal burthen to be substituted for them, provided they leave Bengal or Madras before the 1st of April 1803, or Bombay before the 1st of July 1803

25 It is highly probable that the India built ships already engaged by you for the expedition to the Red Sea, with the extra tonnage taken up by us this season for the exports from hence, will furnish more than sufficient conveyance for the private trade goods which may

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be offered for exportation until April 1803 if not the further tonnage wanted in them for that trade, must be supplied by ships taken up in India for one voyage so that the ships engaged by permanent contracts in India do not come into employ until after April 1803

22 Secondly, for the supply of Indian tonnage for the private trade, by permanent contracts

In order to be prepared, after the period of April 1803, to comply with the intent and meaning of the articles above stated, we further direct, that you advertise for the building, within our territories, of six ships, of between 500 and 750 tons, to be laden before April 1804, or as many as can furnish tonnage to the extent of about 2720 tons, being the quantity we have contracted for here, for bringing home the private trade of 1803-4

These ships shall, as far as the circumstances of the respective countries will admit, be built conformably to the terms and conditions particularized in a printed schedule herewith transmitted to you, which has formed the standard whereby the ships lately hired here for the private trade, have been prepared and equipped. And the said ship shall be engaged by the Company for six or eight voyages, provided the freight demanded shall not exceed the rate of 141 per ton for the homeward and outward cargo, which is the rate of the ships mentioned above to have been lately contracted for by us

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be offered for exportation till April 1803 If not, the further tonnage required for that trade must be supplied by ships taken up in India for one voyage, so that the ships engaged by permanent contracts in India do not come into employ until after April 1803

26 Secondly, for the supply of Indian tonnage for the private trade, by permanent contracts

27 In order to be prepared, after the period of April 1803, to comply with the intent and meaning of the articles above stated, we further direct, that you advertise for the building, within our territories, six ships, of between 500 and 600 tons, to be laden before April 1804, or as many as can furnish tonnage to the extent of 2720 tons, being the quantity we have contracted for here, for bringing home the private trade of 1803-4

28 These ships shall, as far as the circumstances of these respective countries will admit, be built and equipped conformably to the terms and conditions particularized in a printed schedule herewith transmitted to you, which has formed the standard whereby the ships lately hired here for the private trade have been prepared and equipped And the said ship shall be engaged by the Company for six or eight voyages, provided the freight demanded shall not exceed the rate of 141 per ton, together with 31 per ton in the building and demurrage, provided those allowances are continued to British ships taken up in time of peace for the homeward and outward cargo, which is the rate of the ships mentioned above to have been lately contracted for by us

23 Thirdly,

29 Thirdly,

The Court's Paragraphs.

28 Thirdly, in case tenders should not be made for building by contract Indian ships, on terms as low as those above stated, at which we have lately engaged British ships

If the ships which, agreeably to the above direction, shall be advertised for in India, are tendered at a rate of freight higher than the said English rate for ships of the same description, and if, at any future time, Indian ships, which may be so advertised for by our order, should be offered on terms higher than the latest English terms known to you for ships of like burthen and equipment, in either of these cases it cannot be expedient to contract for the building of English ships to be permanently employed in the Company's service, and in order to supply otherwise the tonnage which may be immediately wanted, we authorise you to take the following methods. As we have engaged extra ships, ready built, to the amount of 2700 tons, builders measurement, for six voyages, for the private trade, the like amount of tonnage, in ready built India ships, may be engaged by our governments there, provided they can be had at a rate not exceeding 14l. per ton to England and back, and in all other respects conformable to the manner already mentioned in the printed terms and conditions. As it may not suit residents in India to enter into contracts for six or eight voyages, we consent that you engage ships for the term of four or two voyages only, the terms and conditions in the printed schedule being always observed in such engagements, and likewise the stipulations in the tenth article, and both to afford a provisional aid to the supply of a due proportion of

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29 Thirdly, in case tenders should not be made for building by contract Indian ships, on terms as low as those above stated, at which we have lately engaged British ships

30 If the ships which, agreeably to the above direction, shall be advertised for in India, are tendered at a rate of freight higher than the said English rate for ships of the same description and if, at any future time, Indian ships, which may be so advertised by our orders, should be offered on terms higher than the latest English terms known to you for ships of like burthen and equipment, in either of these cases it cannot be expedient to contract for the building of Indian ships to be permanently employed in the Company's service, and in order to supply otherwise the tonnage which may be immediately wanted, we authorise you to take the following methods. As we have engaged extra ships, ready built, to the amount of 2700 tons, builders measurement, for six voyages, for the private trade, the like amount of tonnage, in ready built India ships, may be engaged by our governments there, provided they can be contracted for at a rate not exceeding 14l. per ton to England and back, and in all other respects conformable to the printed terms and conditions, as far as the circumstances of the different countries will admit. As it may not suit residents in India to enter into contracts for six or eight voyages, we consent that you engage ships for the term of four or two voyages only, the terms and conditions in the printed schedule (and likewise the stipulation in article 10) being always observed in such engagements. And both to afford a pro-

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The Court's Paragraphs

Indian tonnage for the private trade, and also to give encouragement to the disposal of Indian ships in this country, we permit extra ships of that description to be hired for one voyage home, under the express stipulation, that they are not to return to India, either directly or circuitously, on account of any British subject whatever

With regard to the manning of all these Indian ships, we should certainly choose that the crews should be entirely composed of European seamen, but the act of navigation allows one-third of the crew to be aliens, and therefore lascars to this extent may be employed, but by no means in any greater proportion. The security of the ships and cargoes, and the preference so justly due to our own seamen, both recommend this limitation. This article not to extend to ships taken up for one voyage only, or for sale in Europe

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visional aid to the supply of a due proportion of Indian tonnage for the private trade, and also to give encouragement to the disposal of India ships in this country, we permit extra ships, built within our territories in India, and properly equipped, to be hired for one voyage home, under the express stipulation, that they are not to return to India, but to be sold in this country

91 With regard to the manning of all Indian ships, we should certainly prefer that the crew should be entirely composed of European seamen, but as that may not, in all cases, be practicable in India, where the voyages commence, we direct that, with respect to all ships which may be engaged to the Company for two or more voyages, it be an express condition, conformably to the directions of the navigation act, two-thirds, at least, of the crews shall be composed of Europeans. We, however, empower you to grant a special license, when in your judgment circumstances shall require it, permitting the crew of any particular ship to be composed of one-fourth only of Europeans, the neglect of which must be considered as a breach of contract, and subject to a penalty of 20*l* for each European seaman so deficient upon such succeeding voyage, and a clause should be inserted in every charter party to that effect. The owners of these ships must be under the usual obligation to carry back to India the whole of the lascars they may have on board upon their first voyage to England, free of all expence whatever to the Company

92 We are aware, that it cannot be practicable in India to find commanders and officers, bred up in our service, and duly qualified thereby

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24. Fourthly, other directions to be observed, in engaging Indian ships, and letting them on freight.

The advertisements for ships wanted in India should be issued at such early periods as will afford the best opportunity for offers in consequence, and the result of such advertisements and offers should be transmitted to us, by the very first conveyance, both by land and sea.

In all engagements for Indian ships, the outward and homeward freight must be included, and the freight from India should be three-fourths

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thereby for the several stations in the ships proposed to be contracted for by our governments in India, nor can it be reasonably expected, that the owners of such valuable property should be obliged to commit the management of it to men they are entire strangers to, in prejudice of others, in whose experience and abilities they have confidence. We, therefore, do not require that article in the printed conditions to be insisted on. We also trust to the discretion of our governments, to vary or dispense with such other articles as the circumstances of the country may render necessary, but we do this in a full reliance that you will conform to the terms of the printed schedule, both for building and freighting, in every respect, that shall be practicable.

33. These orders are given with a view to make an experiment between British and Indian ships, for the purpose of ascertaining which can be furnished for the private trade of India on the cheapest and most convenient terms: and upon the result of this experiment we shall, in due time, come to a final arrangement on this important subject.

34. Fourthly, other directions to be observed in engaging Indian ships, and letting them on freight.

The advertisements for ship wanted in India should be issued at such early periods as will afford the best opportunities for offers in consequence, and the result of such advertisements and offers should be transmitted to us, by the very first conveyance both by land and sea.

35. In all engagements for Indian ships, the outward and homeward freight must be included, and the freight from India should be three

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fourths of the whole rate contracted for, and subject also to an addition for demurrage, or any reasonable expense, in cases where the safety of the ship and cargo may be involved.

It is our intention to give an equal participation, on equal terms, to the Indian ships, in bringing home the private trade, and for every ship engaged by us on permanent contract for this service, in Indian ship may be engaged on a similar contract, but our hiring at any time a ship or ships casually, (which is a mode we shall never be inclined to prefer,) it is to give no preference to the Indian ship owners for furnishing ore in that way, or on such terms. It is however, in any season, after loading for Europe all the engaged ship British or Indian, there should still be a want of more tonnage, an Indian extra ship may be hired for one voyage, without being limited to the rate of a British extra ship, but procured on such terms as circumstances may admit. It is, however, our special direction, that this indulgence shall only be granted in case of necessity, and where there is no reason to suspect any indirect management or collusion.

The ships engaged in India are not, on any account, to be relet to the owners or others, to be loaded at their pleasure, but are to be laden in the same manner as the ships we consign to you for the private goods lodged in our warehouse, whither all privilege goods must first be sent, as heretofore practised, and thence, being duly entered at the custom house, be assorted into cargoes, and shipped in the manner laid down in the foregoing propositions.

With regard to the rate of freight

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three fourths of the whole rate contracted for, and subject also to an addition for demurrage, or any reasonable expense, in cases where the safety of the ship and cargo may be involved.

56 We have already observed, that it is our intention to give an equal participation, on equal terms, to the Indian ships, in bringing home the private trade, and for every ship engaged by us on permanent contract for this service, an Indian ship may be engaged on a similar contract.

7 It is, however, in any season, after all the ships engaged for private trade, British as well as Indian, shall have full cargoes, there shall still be a want of tonnage, an Indian extra ship or ships may be hired for one voyage on the cheapest terms the state of circumstances will allow, either at Bengal, or our other presidencies.

34 It is, however, our special direction, that this indulgence shall only be granted in cases of necessity, and where there is no reason to suspect any indirect management or collusion.

59 Agreeably to the eleventh proposition hereinbefore stated, these ships are to be relet by the Company, without profit, to such merchants as may be disposed to export goods to India, or import goods from India; and you will lade them with such privilege goods as may from time to time be lodged in our warehouses, whither all privilege goods must first be sent, as heretofore practised, and thence being duly entered at the Custom-house, be assorted into cargoes, in as fair and equitable a manner as possible, and with the greatest practicable convenience to the trader.

40 With regard to the rate of freight

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freight to be paid by owners of goods laden on ships taken up in India, as there will be no more uncertainty or delay in the times at which those ships shall sail, we hold it just, that the rate should be the same at which the Company engage the ships. If this is a fair rate, which it ought to be, the proprietors of goods cannot reasonably complain. We are not convinced, by the arguments which the owners of Indian ship and goods have advanced, to shew the mutual advantage of leaving them to deal with each other, free of the Company's intervention. This mode might, no doubt, be favourable to the increase of Indian shipping in the European trade, and to that independence of the free merchants on the Company, which it is sufficiently obvious they desire, but we do not equally discern in it the interest of the shippers of goods and when uncertainty and delay in the dispatch of ships, which were the best arguments for the mode preferred by the merchants, are removed, all just objection to the method we now enjoy will, in our opinion, be also done away.

In respect to the charges that must attach in lodging private goods in our warehouses, and embarking them in sloops from thence, if the goods shall not be loaded at Calcutta for the ships, perhaps the most convenient way of settling them would be, by fixing tables of rates, according to which the shippers may pay and make out their invoices without further trouble.

We must here direct, that if, at any future period the goods provided for the Company's investment, after adopting all practicable means for that end, shall not be sufficient to furnish full cargoes for the Company's

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freight to be paid by the owners of goods delivered into our warehouses, and shipped from thence upon ships taken up in India, or sent from England, it is reasonable that the same price should, in similar cases, be charged to all the merchants, and that price should be ascertained and determined by the freight at which the Company have engaged the ships, and apportioned in the manner directed by the 80th, 90th and 91st sections of the act of 1793.

41 In respect to the charges that must attach in lodging private goods in our warehouses, and embarking them in sloops from them, if the goods shall not be loaded at Calcutta, perhaps the most convenient way of settling them would be, by fixing tables of rates, according to which the shippers may pay and make out their invoices without further trouble.

42 We must here direct, that if, at any future period, the goods provided by the Company's investment, after adopting all practicable means for that end, shall not be sufficient to furnish full cargoes for the Company's

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Company ships, and recourse should, in consequence, be again had to private merchants to supply the deficiency, as in the instance mentioned in your dispatch of 9th April last, to which we shall have occasion to reply particularly hereafter, the Company's Europe ships are to be fully laden before you engage India built ships for that purpose, beyond the number and tonnage which, by a preceding paragraph, are to be provided for the accommodation of the private trade goods

23 Fifthly With regard to the dispatch of the ships Care must be taken, according to the second proposition, that the ships, whether engaged by us or our governments to bring home private trade, sail at proper fixed periods, and be not detained nor diverted from regularly pursuing their voyages on any account

It has been already said, that if the ships employed to bring home the private trade should not be fully laden with the goods of individuals, the deficiency should be filled up by gross goods on account of the Company This resolution we confirm, meaning to include in it the Indian, as well as European ships, and in order to act upon it, it will be proper to have a quantity of gross articles always in store at the presidencies but we have further to observe here, in relation to this resolution, that if the ships sent from Europe, and to engage in India, cannot both be laden at parallel periods, those from Europe, which cannot be diverted to any employment in India, as the country ships may, must be laden first, and no goods put on board them on the Company's account, as long as any private goods are either

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the Company's ships, and recourse should, in consequence, be again had to private merchants to supply the deficiency, as in the instance mentioned in your dispatch of the 9th April last, to which we shall have occasion to reply particularly hereafter, the Company's Europe ships are to be fully laden before you engage India-built ships for that purpose, beyond the number and tonnage which by a preceding paragraph are to be provided for the accommodation of the private trade goods

43 Fifthly With regard to the dispatch of the ships, care must be taken, according to the second proposition, that the ships, whether engaged by us or our governments to bring home private trade, sail at proper fixed periods, and be not detained or diverted from regularly pursuing their voyages on any account

44 It has been already said in the sixth proposition, that if the ships employed to bring home the private trade should not be fully laden with goods of individuals, the deficiency should be filled up with gross goods on account of the Company This resolution we confirm, meaning to include therein the Indian as well as the European ships, and in order to act upon it, it will be proper to have a quantity of gross articles always in store at the presidencies

45 If the ships sent from Europe, and engaged in India on permanent contracts, cannot, for want of sufficiency of private goods in our warehouse, be loaded at one and the same time, they should be laden alternately, first a British and then an Indian ship, and so in continuation, commercing with that British ship which

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in the warehouses, or rotted for delivery there

With respect to the periods of shipping private goods, we would impose no other restrictions than such as must be indispensable for the currency and advantage of the trade. Applications for tonnage may specify any time of shipping, from the earliest to the latest period at which goods can be laden within the fair season of dispatch, and on the requisition of the owners of the cargo assigned to any ship, the dispatch may be made before or after the limits of the fair season, provided they will come under the usual covenant, of being liable to all consequent damage. It will, however, be necessary, for the due currency of the trade and the regularity of dispatch, that stated periods be assigned for the sailing of the ships, that previous notice be received from the merchants, of the sorts and quantities of goods they wish to load, and of the times at which they will be ready, and that cargoes be arranged and allotted accordingly. Thus both the Company's agents and the merchants will proceed with certainty, and the latter need be at no loss to order insurances, and engage for drawing bills on their consignments.

It will contribute to the currency and regularity of this whole system,
if

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which shall have reached India the earliest, and with that Indian ship which shall have been first engaged by our government abroad or its circumstances, which we are not aware of, shall make any other rule more impartial, we desire you will adopt it, our wish being that no undue preference should be given to either.

46 With respect to the periods of shipping private goods, we would impose no other restrictions than such as must be indispensable for the currency and advantage of the trade. Applications for tonnage may specify any time of shipping, from the earliest to the latest period at which goods can be laden within the fair season of dispatch, and on the requisition of the owners of the cargo assigned to any ship, the dispatch may be made before or after the limits of the fair season, provided they will come under the usual covenant, of being liable to all consequent damage. It will, however, be necessary, for the due currency of the trade and the regularity of dispatch, that stated periods be assigned for the sailing of the ships, which we direct may be, as far as practicable, those most convenient to the merchants, that previous notice be received from the merchants, of the sorts and quantities of goods they wish to load, and of the times at which they will be ready, and that cargoes be arranged and allotted accordingly. Thus both the Company's agents and the merchants will proceed with certainty; and the latter need be at no loss to order insurances, and engage for drawing bills on their consignments.

47 It will contribute to the currency and regularity of this whole

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if we are annually informed of the actual demand of the current year for private tonnage, and of the probable demand of the next year. We desire, therefore, that as soon as returns are made to your advertisements requiring applications to be given in for tonnage, you will forward to us a statement of their nature and amount, accompanied with an estimate of the occasions of the following year.

26 As connected with the present subject, and in itself a point of great importance, we think it necessary to recur here to an idea already mentioned, that we shall be ready to give every facility in our power to the building of ships in India for the service of the royal navy, should such a plan be at any time deemed advisable by his Majesty's ministers, and in case any ships of war are thus built in our ports, it is probable that they will, in the first instance, be laden home with cargoes of merchandize, either from India or China.

27 In the third of the original propositions of the 4th of February, it is stated, "that the rate of freight from India, on ships engaged to bring private goods, shall, during war, be as low as that at which Indian ships, in the *present season*, are chartered to the Company."

Although the war is happily terminated, and this is one of the propositions that has been changed, yet left it should, on any future occasion, instead, you will observe, that the shippers of goods from India, both in peace and war, are to pay three fourths of the freight contracted for by the Company, whether the ships be Indian or British, and that the shippers of goods from Europe are to pay the remainder of the said freight.

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whole system, if we are annually informed of the actual demand of the current year for private tonnage, and of the probable demand of the next year. We desire, therefore, that as soon as returns are made to your advertisements requiring applications to be given in for tonnage, you will forward to us a statement of their nature and amount, accompanied with an estimate of the occasions of the following year.

48 As connected with the present subject, and in itself a point of great importance, we think it necessary to recur here to an idea already mentioned, that we shall be ready to give every facility in our power to the building of ships in India for the service of the royal navy, should such a plan, at any time, be deemed advisable by his Majesty's ministers, and in case any ships of war are thus built in our ports, it is probable that they will, in the first instance, be laden home with cargoes of merchandize, either from India or China.

49 In the third of the original propositions of the 4th of February, it is stated, that the rate of freight from India, on ships engaged to bring private goods, shall, during war, be as low as that at which Indian ships, in the *present season*, are chartered to the Company.

50 As there is every prospect of the war being happily terminated, and this is one of the propositions that has been changed, yet left it should, on any future occasion, instead, you will observe, that the shippers of goods from India, both in peace and war, are to pay three fourths of the freight contracted for per ton by the Company, whether the ships be Indian or British, and that the shippers of goods from

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28 Our governments in India have, upon some occasions, judged it expedient, rather to grant licences of residence to persons who had irregularly entered the country, than to adopt the measures respecting them. It could never be intended, however, that this should become a practice, because such a practice would frustrate all the laws enacted to prevent the illicit ingress of Europeans into our possessions, we think it better, therefore, in the view of the present change, which render precaution more important, to guard against any future resort to such a mode, by directing, as we now do, that no licence of this kind be henceforth granted by any of our governments in India, unless our express permission shall, upon the view of any particular case, be first granted; and we direct, that lists of the licensed persons out of the service, residing at the different presidencies, may be annually sent us.

29 Having thus given our instructions upon the enlargement of the trading privileges of British residents in India, it becomes necessary for us, in the next place, to deliver our sentiments upon the subject of clandestine trade. Whether the materials which have come before us have, or have not, been sufficient to enable us to form an accurate idea of what the extent of that trade has lately been, they seem clearly to import, that it has been carried on with little solicitude about concealment, and that its transactions have been frequently mentioned in official reports, coming under the eye of government, as if they

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Europe are to pay the remainder of the said freight according to the quantity of the goods laden.

31 Our governments in India have, upon some occasions, judged it expedient, rather to grant licences of residence to persons who had irregularly entered the country, than to adopt other measures respecting them. It could never be intended, however, that this should become a practice, because such a practice would frustrate all the laws enacted to prevent the illicit ingress of Europeans into our possessions. We think it necessary, therefore, in the view of the present changes, which render precaution more important, to guard against any future resort to such a mode, by directing, as we now do, that no licences of this kind be henceforth granted by any of our Governments in India, unless our permission shall, upon the view of any particular case, be first granted, and we desire that lists of the licensed persons out of the service, residing at the different presidencies, may be annually sent us.

32 Having thus given our instructions upon the enlargement of the trading privileges of British subjects in India, it becomes necessary for us, in the next place, to deliver our sentiments upon the subject of clandestine trade. Whether the materials which have come before us have, or have not, been sufficient to enable us to form an accurate idea of what the extent of that trade has lately been, they seem clearly to import, that it has been carried on with little solicitude about concealment, and that its transactions have been frequently mentioned in official reports, coming under the eye of government,

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they were matters of no particular attention. The strongest apology lately offered for the clandestine traders, and offered with a forwardness which seems to imply even something more than a palliation of their conduct, is, that "having ships, they must employ them," but surely no one can doubt that this sort of explanation does not convey a just view of the case. At the last renewal of the Charter, some individuals, acting upon unauthorized speculation, may have been induced to build ships in Calcutta, in the hope of being allowed to freight them to England. But ships had been built there previous to the existence of any such hope, and the clandestine trade had been long carried on before ship-building was introduced into that settlement. Were no ships then built for the purpose of clandestine trade? Since the renewal of the charter many ships have been built, which could not depend on being employed in the navigation to England, and it will hardly be asserted, that men, in embarking in such expensive undertakings, would not, in various instances, at least reckon upon a trade then carried on, though clandestinely, as one means, by which the ships to be constructed might find employment. It, therefore, it may be said, that in some instances the trade was resorted to, because ships were in existence, it may, with equal warrant, be believed, that in others ships were built, because the trade existed; and is it now a proper or becoming account of this matter, to insinuate, as seems to be done, that ships have, in effect, been driven into the clandestine trade, because the Company did not think fit to license them to come directly to England? and if the possessing

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as if they were matters of no particular attention.

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possessing of ships will apologize for entering into that trade, what more probable than that the ships will be built to reap the benefit of this apology?

30 The inconveniences and disappointments to which the merchants would have been exposed, in depending for tonnage on the Company's ships, will probably be thought the fairest general excuse that can be made for their resorting to irregular channels; and such is the value attached to any increase of commerce in a country, that possibly this supposed result of their irregularity may cause it to be viewed by some as on the whole a venial fault, but when considered in its just bearings and relations, it must be found to merit very serious disapprobation. In the first place, the complaints of the want of accommodation in the Company's ships, partly arose from the merchants stretching their trade beyond what was in contemplation when the privilege was granted them in 1793, namely, a remittance trade. This kind of trade might, in time of peace especially, have been accommodated, though the other trade mixed with it, founded on foreign capital, might not. In the second place, the complaints of the merchants were urged with the view of obtaining the introduction of their own ships, and consequently an independent trade. In a dominion so circumstanced as that of British India is, we must, for reasons already stated, be of opinion, that the rise of such an independent interest there is not an object to be desired; but what we would more particularly point to here, is the moral and political effects of an habitual, and in fact open violation of the regulations of the governing

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power To correct this evil was one avowed end of the privilege conceded to the private merchants in 1793 but it appears still to continue, and if the extension of trade, or greater convenience of the trader may be admitted as an extenuation of it, a cure can hardly be hoped for In a country distant from the seat of supreme authority, an habitual disregard of the laws enacted by that authority is, in any case, especially to be deprecated, not only because it may pave the way for deviation in other instances, but because the correction of popular abuses must be more difficult under a remote delegated government, liable to frequent changes, and as such abuses get firmer footing, the power of that government may be said to be in effect proportionably impaired

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31 It must be impossible for us, consistently with our duty, to remain passive under the continuance of a trade, which all agree ought to be extinguished About the means of its extinction, a language has sometimes been held, which to us appears unguarded, and more likely to encourage than to discountenance the trade It is said, that restrictive measures will never suppress it, we, on the other hand, see very serious reason to be of opinion, that a system of indulgence and concession would by no means be sure of its end If every facility which private traders might from time to time require were to be granted, in order to induce them to abstain from clandestine pursuits, might not self-interest, the great mover in all this business, induce them to go on asking, as we have already observed, whilst any thing remained to be given, and after all the object of the Company be unattained? It cannot

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cannot be expedient for any government to be on a footing of perpetual compromise and concession with those who derive their protection from it, nor has it ever appeared certain to us, that it could be made *the interests of traders at all times to send their consignments directly to the mother country.* But to make for the suppression of the clandestine trade concessions involving the hazard of objects yet more important, our duty will not permit us. The most mature consideration of a very momentous subject has led us to a fixed determination respecting the limits by which the trade of individuals with the mother country should be bounded, and the Legislature has regulated the intercourse which may subsist between British subjects, resident in India, and Foreigners. When we have done every thing that the safety of the present Indian system will, in our judgment, allow, for the accommodation of those residents, we trust it cannot be unreasonable or absurd to expect, that men who, if they have any right to be in the country at all, are there under particular stipulations, on the observance of which their right also to continue in the country depends, shall not give us a perpetual disobedience to the laws and to our authority, because they have not all the license they would choose for commercial speculations, a license, to their renunciation of which was the very condition under which they were permitted to reside.

52. When this question is soberly considered, we hope no reasonable man can be at a loss to determine which side ought to prevail, *the authority of the laws and government; or the contumacious will*

The Board's Paragraphs

53. We cannot admit the law to be thus openly derided, nor can we submit to see a system of regulations, intimately connected, in our opinion, with the safety of our Indian interest, continually disregarded,

of

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without

The Court's Paragraphs

of certain individuals. We have no desire to restrain their legitimate exertions in a much larger field than private merchants ever before possessed in India, nor can we have pleasure in resorting to any coercive measures, but neither can we sacrifice our conviction to clamour and prejudice which their activity has made popular, nor submit to see a system of regulations, intimately connected, in our opinion, with the safety of our Indian interest, continually disregarded, without any exercise of those powers which are vested in us for the prevention of such abuses: and if any person should determinately persevere in neglecting our regulations and warnings at defiance, they must take those just consequences which we have no doubt may be brought home to them.

33. The foreign trade is an important branch of this general subject, upon which it is our purpose to bestow a more mature consideration, than the pressure of other affairs has yet permitted us to give it. During the continuance of war, we thought that it was not practicable to introduce any material ameliorations, but now that peace is at length restored, we shall wish seriously to deliberate on the measures, which this change of circumstances, and the state of the foreign trade, render proper on our part, and shall be glad to receive your sentiments on the subject by the earliest opportunity.

34. Our resolutions and instructions having thus been explicitly communicated to you, respecting both the privilege and the clandestine trade, it only remains for us to require the cordial co-operation of our governments abroad, and especially of the government-general,

The Board's Paragraphs

without any exercise of those powers which are vested in us for the prevention of such abuses. We therefore most earnestly enjoin you to use the utmost vigilance to prevent all clandestine trade for the future, and to bring to punishment all those whom you shall discover to be concerned in it. We shall be equally vigilant on our part, and if any persons shall determinately persevere in setting our regulations and warnings at defiance, they must take those just consequences which we have no doubt may be brought home to them.

34. The foreign trade is an important branch of this general subject, upon which it is our purpose to bestow a more mature consideration, than the pressure of other affairs has yet permitted us to give it. During the continuance of war, we thought it was not practicable to introduce any material amelioration, but in the hope of the return of peace, we wish most seriously to deliberate on the measures, which this change of circumstances, and the state of the foreign trade, render proper on our part, and shall be glad to receive your sentiments on the subject by the earliest opportunity.

35. Our resolutions and instructions have thus been explicitly communicated to you, respecting both the privilege and the clandestine trade. It only remains for us to require the cordial co-operation of our governments abroad, and especially of the government-general,

The Court's Paragraphs.

for carrying the whole into complete effect

East India House, 11th Feb 1801

The Board's Paragraphs

for carrying the whole into complete effect

Whitehall, 20th March 1802,

Approved by Order of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India

W BRODRICK.

No XLVII.

Whitehall, 25th March 1802

GENTLEMEN,

The board are of opinion, that drafts of the tenor of those herewith enclosed (marked A and B) should be transmitted to India, together with draft No 46, and recommend them to the adoption of the court of directors

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

W BRODRICK.

The Hon. Court of Directors of the East India Company

No XLVIII

(A)

In the letter from the Governor-general in council to the secret committee, of the 9th of April 1801, which has been communicated to us, and to which we shall apply more fully hereafter, we observe, " that in order to guard against the evils which might attend a sudden and considerable reduction of the Indian investment, the advances for which issued throughout the country furnish ultimately a resource for the payment of the land revenues, and by withholding of which difficulties might occur in realizing the revenues, that it had been found necessary to afford the public an assistance, that the arrangement adopted in the first year,

by the order in council of the 19th September, for allowing the export of goods to England on private ships, would be continued in the ensuing season "

We perfectly agree in the sentiments expressed in that letter, in regard to the evil consequences likely to ensue, when the Company's investment is much curtailed, if the public were not allowed to fill the chasm. The class of manufactures, as therein remarked, is entitled to the constant protection and encouragement of the state, otherwise that useful and valuable body of men might experience distress, the fabrics be debased, valuable branches of manufacture, now supported by the Company, who is abandoned or materially injured, and the country suffer from the diminution of that supply of specie, which is now regularly through the channel of the Company's advances.

" We were glad to find, that the Governor-general in council had taken care to prevent the operation of those evils, or to alleviate the effects, and that with this view, it was deemed necessary to afford every possible encouragement to the private merchant, in order that he might be enabled to supply the place of the Company in the market, and to furnish that support to the manufactures which could not proceed from the Company's funds "

Whitehall, March 25th, 1802

J D 3

No.

No XLIX

(B)

We have not, at present, engaged any large ships fit for the conveyance of the cotton in private trade from the western side of India, and what tonnage may be required for it annually, appears to us so uncertain, that we wish for further advice upon the subject, both from your presidency and from the governor in council of Bombay. In the mean time, it is of so much importance to the manufactures of Great Britain, to have as much of this raw material as possible imported from time to time, that we

must rely upon you to make such an arrangement of tonnage for the conveyance of it to the port of London, as shall not only prevent this valuable trade from falling into the hands of foreigners, but shall insure its coming to the river Thames, as often as the state of the markets in India will admit. You are aware how necessary a large share of this trade is to the furnishing of supplies to our *supra* cargoes in China, and that will of course be duly considered by you, in any resolution you may come to on this important subject.

Whitehall, March 25th, 1802.

No L

THIRD REPORT of the SPECIAL COMMITTEE

INTRODUCTION

In the beginning of the month of November, the Special Committee of the Court of Directors had made considerable progress in preparing a Report, under an apprehension that some measure might have been adopted injurious to the Company, but which they kept in suspense until the motion of Sir William Pulteney, in the House of Commons, had been decided. The manner in which that motion terminated induced them to believe that the contest was over, and that the Company's paramount rights would be maintained. The disposition recommended by the Minister to assist the private trade in a reasonable manner, without prejudice to the Company, has been manifested by the Committee and instructions, drawn up on the most conciliatory principles, containing concessions of great importance to the private trade, have long since been transmitted to the Board of Commissioners, from whom, after a long delay, they received an answer, communicated in an official letter which has been laid before the Court.

The annual election for Directors approaches when their members must be changed whilst the activity of private traders, and the exertions of private interest, are ever on the watch to promote their own end. When many publications appear on one side, and no arguments are used on the other, the minds of men must naturally become heated, and when once opinions are formed, even truth finds a difficulty to penetrate. For these reasons, your Committee think it their duty to submit to the Court the Report (with some variations) to which they have alluded, that they may not be accused of having been inattentive to the interest of the Company on this important subject.

March 25th, 1802

After an attentive perusal of the paper submitted by Mr Dundas to the Court of Directors, respecting the trade with India, and his letter to the Ship-builders, which is connected with the same subject, every person who reads them must be sa-

tisfied that his system for the future management of the commercial concerns of that quarter of the globe, amounts merely to this—That a second monopoly in favour of Indian capital and Indian ships shall be ingrafted upon the Company's exclusive

five charter, or, in other words, he proposes, that the trade of the Company with India (with the exception only of piece goods) shall be opened to the capital, and the ships of this description, whilst it shall remain close to those of the mother country

In their former report, your committee endeavoured, but without success, to explain the dangerous consequences that are likely to follow from such a system since which time, Mr Scott, your late Chairman, and the only advocate for this system, has retired from his situation, which induced your committee to fear that their endeavours to avoid the storm by conciliatory means, would not succeed, they therefore concur in opinion with the court, that further attempts should be made, and that not only the truth, but the whole truth, should be submitted to the consideration of his Majesty's ministers, the proprietor, and the public. In performing this arduous, but indispensable task, your committee dare not yield to their own feelings and disposition, either as they may regard men or measures — what would be decorous, prudent, and desirable on almost every other occasion, would be culpable, and even criminal, at present. It is a sacred duty imposed on the court of directors, and by them devolved on your committee, to defend the existence of the Company, and the rights of the Public, against private interest, and it is a duty from which your committee will not shrink.

In the former report your committee entered very fully into the subjects of contest, with a view to meet such arguments as in their opinion could be urged, and for the purpose of introducing resolutions, to be transmitted to India, for the

regulation of the government there, relative to the private trade of individuals, and to Indian built ships

It is not intended to recapitulate what was then advanced, except in a slight degree, and when the cause of the Company, with the facts introduced to support that cause, may render such repetition unavoidable the object of the committee at present will be, to endeavour to give the subject a different form, and to refer to their former report for elucidations which they cannot improve, as the best means to accomplish that comparative conciseness they will endeavour to aim at on the present occasion. One general principle appears to be almost universally admitted, namely—

“The necessity of maintaining *unimpaired* the *exclusive* commerce of India in the hands of the *Company*.”

With such an admission by the late and present ministers, and flowing from almost every pen, (Indian minister hints and agents excepted,) your committee cannot understand why another word becomes necessary, for the object of the Indian agent is avowedly to destroy, and not to maintain, the exclusive commerce of the Company. The truth is, the parties themselves have manifested, in a course of years, ignorance of their own wants, or rather of the means of making their own fortune. They have conceived that restrictions on the Company must prove beneficial to themselves, for this reason they prevailed to have 3000 tons allotted for certain purposes, which are distinctly described by Mr Dundas, in his letter dated the 10th of February 1793, when he mentions “what he calls the *regulated monopoly* to be for the purpose of ensuring to the merchants and manufacturers the certain and

‡ D 4 — ample

ample means of exporting to India, to the full extent of the demand of that country for the *manufactures* of this, and likewise a certainty that, in so far as the produce of India affords *raw materials* for the manufacturers of Great Britain or Ireland, that produce shall be brought home at a rate as reasonable as the circumstances of the two countries will admit of."—Not a syllable appeared on that occasion about the *surplus* produce of India, nor about Indian built *ships*. And in his letter dated the 22d of March 1793, he mentions the opinion of Mr. Pitt as well as himself, "that all persons resident in India shall be allowed to send, *in the Company's ships*, such goods as they please, (limited afterwards to 3000 tons,) paying freight for the same, not exceeding 15*l* per ton, or such further sum as, with the freight paid on the goods exported to India, shall amount in the whole to 20*l* per ton, to and from India, in time of peace."—And in another letter, dated the 23d of March 1793, he says,—"I have uniformly discountenanced every suggestion which tended to set aside the present valuable capital employed in the shipping service of the East India Company."

Mr Dundas was then told that he was mistaken, for his regulations would not answer the purpose represented to him. The parties (some of whom appear at present,) persisted in their demand, and declined the offer of the Company to provide 6400 tons, and which was reduced by Mr Dundas himself to 3000 tons. They are equally in an error at present, for if their request shall be granted, there will still be something remaining, upon which they will want to try an experiment for we are warranted to

call it an experiment, under a clear, unequivocal conviction, that it will be impossible for the Legislature, by any regulation whatever, to bring to the river Thames, in time of peace, the same quantity (in bulk and value) of the produce and manufacture of India, which has been brought here in time of war.

In addition to this circumstance, the objects of pursuit have shifted in such a manner that it is impossible for the committee to understand the whole of the views of the parties, and, however difficult it may prove, they have no better mode to pursue, than to clear away the old ground, which in some degree is distinct, for the purpose of bringing forward, in a general point of view, the proposition which the Company contend against for the present—namely, "to allow the surplus in India to be sent home by British merchants resident there, *in ships built in that country*."

During the negotiation for the renewal of the charter in 1793, and for several years after that event, the Company never heard of any other expectation on the part of government, or of the public, than what may be comprised under four heads:

- 1st To realize the tribute or surplus of the revenue of India in Europe
- 2d To remit the fortunes of individuals acquired in India to Europe
- 3d To enable private individuals to export British manufactures and produce to India
- 4th To furnish the means of remittance in return for British manufactures and produce exported by individuals

Under these heads every expectation was comprised, and it was understood by the Company, as it was admitted

admitted by Mr. Dundas, to leave the rest of the trade to Foreigners, from an opinion that it could only be returns for a very few articles of their manufactures, and of silver sent from Europe and from America.

There is not a syllable to be found in the voluminous papers which appeared on the renewal of the charter, tending to encourage the trade of *British merchants resident in India*, further than as it was connected with the four points before mentioned, nor is there an expression which can apply, in the most circuitous, indirect manner, to *Indian built ships* and particular streets has been laid on every occasion by Mr. Dundas, against permitting *British capital* to be employed, on which subject your committee will have some remarks to make. Under such circumstances, it must astonish every impartial person to hear the Indian agents accuse the court of directors with having wilfully obstructed the operations of the act of 1793, whilst your committee assert, that the present pretensions of the Indian agents were never mentioned at that period in the memorial they presented, nor by Mr. Dundas, nor by any other person, and which is confirmed by the act itself.

If it be intended to deprive the Company of the rights they enjoy, it is necessary to prove that those rights have been mismanaged or abused. It is not sufficient to urge, that persons, however elevated their rank may be, have changed their opinion, or that they have objects in view different from those entertained when the compact was made. The compact was between the Company and the Public, and not with ministers as individuals, whose opinions are always liable to change. The Company have complied, and are in the constant course of com-

plying, with every expectation that existed in the year 1793, in which case, the assumption of any part of the privileges granted to the Company without their consent, would be a violation of the public faith.

The Company are willing to undergo the strictest scrutiny on every point or condition expected from them in the year 1798, for which purpose they will make some short observations on those before mentioned.

1st To realize the tribute of India in Europe.

It is true that, in the year 1793, there was a surplus or tribute in India of 1,159,000*l* per annum, to be brought home through the medium of commerce, but that sum has been exhausted either in establishments under the authority of the board of commissioners, or in political expenses, neither of which were incurred by, or belong to, the commerce of the Company.

2d To remit the fortunes of individuals.

Individuals have not complained of the want of means to remit their fortunes to Europe since the year 1793. It is the Company who complain that *British merchants residing in India* are competitors for those funds, and who intercept a considerable portion, which would otherwise flow into their treasuries, to enable the Company to purchase their own investment.

3d To encourage the export of British manufactures and produce.

The readiness which the Company have manifested, and the facilities they have offered, on every occasion, for so desirable a purpose, have never been denied. If any doubts shall arise on the subject, the Company are, and always will be, anxious to remove them.

4th To furnish the means of returns for manufactures, &c

This article is completely answered in reply to the second. The Company do not wish to annex any limit as to the extent, whatever may be the amount, they are ready to receive it at their treasury in India, and to pay for it in Europe, at a rate of exchange very beneficial to the parties, who may be in want of such a remittance.

The objects of the private traders in the year 1792-3 were, in reality—

1st To obtain an act of obligation in regard to the illicit trade in which they had been concerned prior to that period, and to which no objection was made.

2dly To participate in the trade to and from India, under the pretence of encouraging the export of *British manufactures*.

A very long memorial was produced by the private traders, in which they introduced calculations of a very flattering description. To these suggestions Mr Dundas acceded, as the Company yielded, by appropriating 3000 tons annually for the service, and the following is the result of a plan, which has shared the fate of many other projects of a similar description, and justified the opposition made to it by the court of directors at the time.

In 1793 4, 919 tons were occupied, of which 822 tons were shipped by one house (Messrs David Scott and Co.)

	Tons
1794-5	- - 40
1795-6	- - 81
1796-7	- - 102
1797-8	- - none
1798-9	- - 374
1799-1800	- 195
1800-1	- - 150
1801-2	- - 230 1 and 1/2 bu

The greater part of what was occupied in the first year, was by the same house, who may have discovered soon after what was no secret before—namely, that the privilege granted by the Company to their captains and officers, was amply sufficient to enable individuals to export British manufactures to India and very probably even at a lower rate of freight than 5^l per ton.

It thus appears that the Company are obliged, by the act of 1793, to provide annually 3000 tons for the exportation of British manufactures, and which for nine years amount to - tons 27,000

There have been paid - }
 paid for only } - 1,958

Remain - tons 25,012

The Company have therefore been exposed to unnecessary inconvenience, by providing 27,000 tons for the accommodation of the shippers of 2,000, and which is a complete retort of the projects formed by the private traders in 1792-3. But, in order to shew that the clamour in favour of *British manufactures* at that time was a cover to other views, the following particulars of the goods shipped by one of the most considerable houses of agency, (Mr David Scott and Co.) in 1793-4, may be useful—

	Tons
Beer	- - 110
Cochineal	- - 10
Carrages	- - 60
Cordage	- - 24
Cabinet Ware	- - 16
Canvas	- - 20
Floor Cloths	- - ~
Glass Ware	- - 89

Carry forward - 307

Hardware

Brought forward	-	307
Hardware	-	10
Horse Hair	-	1
Ironmongery	-	16
Lamps	-	4
Iron	-	0
Lead	-	174
Lines and Twines	-	2
Mahogany	-	23
Marble	-	14
Oil and Paint	-	0
Plated Ware	-	1
Pictures	-	1
Saffron	-	3
Tin	-	1
Woollens	-	1
Total		822

We thus perceive 424 tons of metals, but of the great staple article of *British manufactures*, *woollens*, one ton, and no more,—the remaining articles formed, more or less, the private investment of the captain, and which they have always exported. That the public may understand more distinctly the comparative exertions of the Company, the following estimate of the export of *British woollens* for 1801-2, may be useful —

	Tons	Value
Bombay	- 335	£94,100
Madras	- 250	120,100
Calcutta	- 312	94,100
China	- 2750	1,101,070

Total 3,527 £1,410,500

In addition to which, it must be observed, that the Company never expect to derive a profit on the export of woollens, they are well satisfied if they can be consumed with a small loss for this reason, if the Company's rights and privileges shall be disturbed, private traders will never follow this branch, and distress as well as disappointment, must fall on the most valuable branch of British manufacture

These were the prominent features of the negotiation for the renewal of the charter in 1793, and which concluded by granting the 1000 tons of shipping for the use of individuals, notwithstanding the representations made to Mr Dundas, by the directors, that he was mistaken. He now acknowledges that the measure has proved nugatory, which is the only consolation the Company can expect to receive for the sacrifices they have made, and the expense they have been at.

Having thus cleared away (as we presume) the old ground, by which we mean to have proved that the Company have fulfilled every expectation that was raised, as well as every condition which was stipulated, previous to the renewal of the charter, we shall next proceed to consider the new pretension, or project, which is brought forward, namely, "to allow the surplus produce of India to be brought home by *British merchant ships*, *in ships built in that country*."

Whatever opinions may be entertained on this subject, or whatever regulations may be made, they cannot in justice affect the existing charter of the Company. In the year 1793 they were not heard of, but may have formed parts of the numerous, various, and even discordant interests which were melted into one mass, for the purpose of giving greater power, energy, and effect to the administration of the political and commercial affairs of the Company, and of the British empire in India. Those merchants remained quiet, and their ships were unnoticed for some time after the renewal of the charter, and it would be unjust in the extreme to disturb the Company's rights upon such pretences; nay, what is, if possible, worse, it would establish a precedent

in favour of a set of men who are certainly entitled to no such preference.

Before your committee proceed with the further details which attach to the subject, they must recollect to the recollection of the court, the manner in which a plan has been pursued that develops itself by degrees.

Until Mr Scott appeared as a candidate for the direction in 1788, the public were satisfied with the state of the trade between India and Europe, and the manner in which it was carried on gradual, but regular improvements were made, and making, that whilst every endeavour was used for the benefit of the commerce of Britain and India, chimerical attempts were avoided, and the growing prosperity of both rest

ed on the most solid basis, by which means the commercial arrangements and advantages were subservient, and highly useful to the preservation and security of the British empire in India. The first alarm commenced in the year 1787, in a letter from David Scott, esq. to the court of directors, and which was mentioned by Mr Dundas, in the house of commons, in terms of the highest encomiums and applause. This letter contained a proposal from Mr Scott, in which he says, "For many years they have not sent out above one quarter of their tonnage in goods, so that, in place of their ships loading with British manufactures, they have gone chiefly *ballast*." To occupy this tonnage, (confined to India,) he offers to engage as follows:—

	<i>Tons</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>£</i>
1st year to occupy	600	500,000	value in goods, and to pay freight
2d - ditto -	700	500,000	- ditto - - -
3d - ditto -	800	600,000	- ditto - - -
4th ditto -	900	650,000	- ditto - - -
5th - ditto -	1000	700,000	- ditto - - -
			30,000
			31,000
			40,000
			45,000
			50,000

He agrees, at the same time, that the privilege granted to the captain and officers of the Company's ships should remain without alteration.

To such a proposal, one single fact was opposed by the court of directors—namely, that at the time Mr Scott made the proposal, returns were received of the draft of water of each ship, as the only means to enable the court to ascertain whether the ships were not too full to perform the voyage from Europe to many part of India with security, and on several occasions ships were not suffered to proceed until some part of the cargo was taken out, in consequence of the ships being overloaded. Such a decisive proof of the want of any basis on which a project of so much importance could

rest, gave the Company a short respite until the years 1792-93, when it appeared in another form, and to which, in consequence of the decided support of Mr Dundas at the time, the Company were compelled to submit—namely, "to increase the exports of British manufactures and produce, and to bring home the fortunes of individuals." Some years after that, we heard of bringing to Europe "the surplus produce of India." Still, however, the public remained under a delusion: they had heard so much about *British manufactures and surplus produce*, that they never perceived, nor ever could believe that other objects were in view, at last, however, the mask fell off, and the truth appeared to be a trade in "Indian-bunt ships." But although the parties

parties have acknowledged this to be their primary object, yet their friends in this country are aware that British ships cannot be sacrificed for so flimsy a pretence. They have therefore persisted in their clamour about "the surplus produce of India," and attempt to prove that "Indian-built ships" are the necessary and *only* means of bringing that surplus produce to Europe. For these reasons, although it becomes indisprovable to enter fully into the question about surplus produce and private trade, yet your committee are able to prove that the ships are the real object, by the admission of one of the first British merchants in Calcutta, (Mr Fairlie) and amongst the owners of those ships will be found the name of a British merchant resident in London whose house (Messrs David Scott jun and Co) has taken a very active part on the present occasion. In which case it will diffinitely appear, that the plan is contended for here not only cannot be confined to British merchants residing in India, but that some British merchants, aided by *British capitals*, and residing in London, have, and will participate. Under such circumstances, the court feel themselves compelled to become the advocates for the Public, as well as for the Company, and if they cannot succeed to preserve their own rights, it is their duty to endeavour to introduce British and Irish subjects, ships, and seamen, to an equal chance of sharing with the Indian agents in the temporary spoil which will result from the destruction of the Company's exclusive trade.

In their last report, the committee have analyzed the nature and extent of the private trade, and,

in a great degree, the foundation upon which it rests. They have also discussed, at some length, the nature and extent of the trade between India and Foreign Europe and America, the result of which proves, that the principles upon which the Indian agents raise their arguments, are without foundation. They are compelled to assert that the *trads* with which they trade are *Indian*, in order to avoid the obstacle which their too zealous friends have created on a former occasion by their decided unequivocal objections against *British capitals* being employed, whilst our committee trust they shall prove to it the larger part of the capital employed in this trade is *British* and not *Indian*.

One great and irresistible advantage to arise from the government of the empire in India being administered through the medium of an exclusive company under the control of a superior board, is, the means which are thereby created, united, for one common end, and for the benefit of the whole, every power and every resource commercial as well as political. During the administration of Mr Hastings, the combination of those power, and the beneficial consequences which resulted to the empire at home and abroad, were boundless, but the name of an Indian agent at that time was scarcely known. Under marquis Cornwallis their number and influence had increased the commercial fund, as a resource to government, were proportionably diminished, and the Company was obliged to send silver to India. At this moment there are far more numerous — the distress of the Company abroad is great, and increases in proportion as they are deprived of those resources, which proper-

of such infinite use to our governments in India on former occasions, which are now absorbed by individuals, and applied to the purposes of their private trade. Still, however, they are not content, they strive to become paramount, to render the East India Company subservient to their private interest, and at the same time to exclude every other British subject. At this period of a long and expensive war, when the current resources of the Company are exhausted, they are naturally disposed to look to every aid for the purpose of assisting the political operations of government with vigour and effect: they are particularly anxious to look to those means which have proved so useful on former occasions, and have therefore opened their treasures to receive every rapine that can be remitted from India to Europe, in order to assist the public service. In this arduous situation, and for purposes so laudable, and even indispensable for the safety of the empire in India, and for the existence of the Company at home, they are stopped short by a new description of men, who intercept these funds in their way from individuals to the public treasury, in order to employ the same for the purposes of their *private trade*. Your committee must confess that it is beyond the reach of their understanding to comprehend how a few persons (for the number is very few,) can possess the influence or the means to obtain such sacrifices. The usual and current resources of the Company are absorbed by the war, but instead of receiving assistance to enable them to bring every commercial aid, and the fortunes of individuals, into the treasury, for political purposes, they are called on

to yield, and to sanction to private traders, the benefit of those resources in India for the use of their private commerce, and to call upon their constituents in Europe for the enormous additional sum of 4,000,000/ sterling¹

The Indian agents, in every representation, have been disposed to exaggerate very much the amount of remittances to Europe for the fortunes of individuals. They advert to what was the real state of the case soon after the acquisition of the Dewannee; and combining the large sums which were brought home annually through the medium of clandestine trade about that period, they found their arguments upon facts that do not exist at present. Whatever may be the amount of Indian or British capitals employed in the trade between India and Foreign Europe and America, it must be very trifling, from the nature of the case, and from the usual course of commerce—there is no occasion at present to conceal fortunes, and to convey them to Europe in a clandestine manner, more particularly when the rate or price of exchange on London is so very high. And we are persuaded that, when we discuss the foreign trade, we shall make it appear that the foreign means or capitals are nearly sufficient for the purposes of their own trade, consequently the fortunes of individuals, (whatever may be their amount,) which do not come home through the medium of the Company, are remitted through the private trade of British merchants residing in India, who thereby absorb a resource which would be of great utility to the Company, and is very much wanted for the political interests of the empire. On a question which,

in its progress, produces such very important and serious consequences, mere opinions, drawn from inferences and speculative calculations, ought not to be admitted. We think the rights of the Company ought not to be infringed, without correct distinct proofs shall appear to support the whole of the unfounded allegations of the Indian agents, and we assest, without the fear of contradiction by proof, that the British capitals employed at present in the trade between India and Foreign Europe and America, are very trifling indeed.

From material which are unquestionable, your committee have been able to ascertain that the whole of the trade carried on from the river Hooghly to Foreign Europe, America, and the Thames, is nearly as follows

The Company's investment	£ 1,131,000
The private trade to London	780,000
To Foreign Europe and America, only	760,000

On an average of five years, and valuing the sicca rupee as usual, (2s 6d.)

2,674,000

These facts are extracted from official documents they were not compiled with a view to the present question, and the author has intimated, on some occasions, opinions which, if viewed abstractedly, may be considered as favourable to the side of the Indian agents. Whatever inference, therefore, can be distinctly and correctly drawn from those documents, must be allowed by the opponents of the Company to be fair and impartial. It was for this purpose that your

committee proceeded to the further investigation of the exports by Foreigners, and which amounted to

They find, by the same documents, that Foreigners imported, on an average of five years

£ 705,000

642,000

Remains to be accounted for

123,000

The Committee having thus accounted for 2,406,000 out of 2,674,000 being the whole of the exports, they considered the remaining sum of 268,000 as too trifling to merit further explanation or attention, it being impossible for British Indian capitals to be embarked in the trade between India and Foreign Europe and America to a larger amount.

They find, however, that advantage has been taken of this concession, which renders it necessary for your committee to explain themselves. However trifling the sum may be, it was never meant to intimated that British Indian capitals were employed at all, only that a sum remained, for which they could not account. It does not appear, however, in *profs*, that any part of this sum has been furnished by British subjects to Foreigners, to enable them to carry on their trade; and since their last report, your committee have discovered some information on the records of the governments of Bombay and Madras, which tends very much to explain this part of the subject.

The number of ships from Foreign Europe and America, which arrived at Bombay and Madras in a period of four years, was as follows

1795-6

	Ships
1793-4 arrived	20
1796-7	18
1797-8	10
1798-9	11
The total departures to Foreign Europe and America in the above period were	16

Remain, and supposed to have failed coastward . 40

The American ships are usually (but not always) very small in point of size—the following are mentioned in the last reports

The <i>Recovery</i>	230	Total
The <i>Winthrop</i>	107	
The <i>Washington</i>	165	
The <i>Hannub</i>	140	

And although there are no documents to ascertain the future destination, nor the value of their cargoes, yet those forty ships must have brought funds of some description from Europe or America, other wise they would not have gone to Bombay or Madras previous to their ultimate destination, and which must have been in a great measure to dispose of the investments imported by them from Europe and America

We have, therefore, part of the cargoes of ten ships arriving annually from Europe and America, which must be placed in reduction of the sum unaccounted for, and when it is considered that foreign ships possess much greater means to carry on a clandestine trade, it is possible that the whole of the sum of 223,000*l.*, is *bona fide* foreign capital, at least it ought to be considered as such, until the Indian agents shall prove the contrary

Your committee are inclined to entertain this opinion still more, in consequence of the facilities granted

the Act of 1793, as it does not occur to them what advantage residents in London can derive from the trade between India and Foreign Europe and America, which they cannot equally obtain by a direct trade to and from India to the river Thames. The clandestine traders, who existed before the Act of 1793, were either residents in India, or persons who had acquired fortunes there, and were bringing home those fortunes in a secret manner through the medium of foreign commerce

Although more powerful or conclusive arguments relative to the private trade of individuals, cannot be urged than what will appear in the first report, yet this part of the subject is of so much importance, and of course necessary to be understood, in consequence of misrepresentations, that some further observations become necessary

To bring the whole of the trade of India to the river Thames, are captivating words, but which will require more commercial skill and capital than the Indian agents possess to accomplish, as well as the exercise of a degree of political power which Mr Dundas has not claimed. In short, it is in direct opposition to the wiser and avowed plan of encouraging Foreigners to trade to the river Hooghly. Both, however, cannot subsist together, for they are diametrically opposite. We must, therefore, take for granted, (in consequence of the uniform system which the Company have pursued hitherto,) that the first is a plan of mere words, but that the last, on a scale of moderation and reasonable restrictions, is the real plan, or system, by which the court of directors ought to shape their conduct.

and consider in what manner the whole of the export trade from Bengal is divided the present contest surprises us still more

The Company	£ 131,000	to the Thames	} 1,014,000
British Traders	783,000		
The whole of Foreign Europe and America	965,000		

If Foreigners are admitted at all, they cannot receive a *litis proportion*, it is unwise to attempt to reduce it. And in contemplating such an immense fund of wealth and resource for the mother country, as well as for India, strong apprehensions naturally arise about the dangerous consequences which must follow the fruitless efforts and pursuits of private avarice. It cannot be repeated too often, that it is impossible for the Indian agents to bring the foreign trade to the river Thames and no man has been bold enough hitherto (although your committee fully expect to hear such language hereafter) as to assert that the whole of the trade between India and the rest of the world ought to be carried on by private traders.

It is, moreover, proper to ask whether India can forego those wants which are supplied by Foreigners?—Again—Can Indian agents, or even the Company, supply those wants without the aid of Foreigners, which are almost indispensable for the empire in India? Then, why are these men encouraged to make attempts which are impracticable, or, if they were practicable, would produce such destructive consequences?

The pretence on which their pleas rest, is, the supposition that British capitals are employed, and which, if they are to be credited, will be brought to the river Thames. This point has been explained in such a manner as to satisfy the agent that they are incorrect in point

of fact—that they cannot affect the foreign trade if they would—and that it would be highly injurious to India, the Company, and to the British empire if they could. But it may be necessary to draw the attention of the court to the state of the trade which is now in the possession of the Indian traders, as it can be proved that it already exceeds the extent of Indian capital—that it interferes with the Company, and intercepts, in a distinct manner, those funds which the Company want for their own investment, and for the political service of the empire abroad.

Whatever is truly Indian capital, must return to India, the remainder cannot be Indian, and must be either British capital, or the fortunes of individuals remitted, thro the medium of private trade, to Europe.

The total amount exported from Bengal to London, by private traders,	£
was - - -	783,000
The total amount imported by them into Bengal only - -	305,000

Remains on an average of five years - -	483,000
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A British merchant resident in India will never suffer his capital to remain dormant in Europe, the quickest possible return being the soul of trade. His capital therefore cannot exceed 305,000, the remainder belongs to others and of course the residents in India carry on already a trade above twice the amount of their own *bona fide* Indian capital. The remaining 483,000 consists either of British capitals, or the fortunes of individuals remitted to Europe. Mr Dundas may therefore discontinue

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his search after British capital in the hands of Foreigners, and if he be serious in his objection to their being employed, and in which no doubt he is well founded, the remedy is very easy, by checking the trade of Indian merchants. Such a check will not operate to the prejudice either of India, the Company, or the Public, because such part of the 483,000*l* which is not British capital, would be paid into the Company's treasury in India, and invested in produce and manufactures, to be exported to the river Thames. At the same time, the money, when it enters into the Company's treasury, forms a part of the general circulation of the empire, and thus contributes to the political as well as the commercial operations of the supreme government, which have been considerably embarrassed by withdrawing annually so large a sum as 483,000*l* from the mass of political circulation.—The more this subject is considered and investigated, the more it will appear that the charges and suspicion thrown out by Indian agents against Foreigners, recoil distinctly on themselves. If any doubt shall arise in consequence of the smallness of the sum which remains for Indian capital, it must be remembered that very large advances are made in India to manufacturers, planters, &c. also for the cost of their ships, amounting in the aggregate, perhaps, to more than the capitals of British merchants residing in India, the whole of their trade with Europe, or at least what may exceed 330,000*l* being carried on with borrowed money, which Mr Dundas reproaches on every occasion for the merchant in India draws on the agent in London for the amount or value of the goods which he sends to Europe, in which case he trades

with a *British capital*, which is advanced for the purpose by Indian agents resident in London. But the Indian agents and their friends, aware of the inferences which must be drawn from facts of so conclusive a nature, dispute the accuracy of the accounts, offering their own unauthenticated papers in their room, and complain that the trade from Bombay and Madras is not noticed at all.

The trade to these places is comparatively small, and the Company have no regular return. The fact is, that the committee were desirous, when it could be done, not to hazard conjecture, but to confine themselves to regular official returns. What they contend for is, that these accounts should stand till their insufficiency be shewn, and that, in the mean time, the unauthenticated representations of the persons who are interested in depriving the Company of their trade, be not taken as a basis upon which any argument whatever can be built.

These facts are additional proofs of what was asserted in the first report—namely, that the trade is the means, and the ships are the true end, which will be further confirmed hereafter.

If those merchants were only traders, the part of a ship would suit their purposes as well or better than the whole. For instance, if the goods in which one description of persons trade, are light or roomy, the owners of ships will find others who want to send to Europe heavy goods, for the purpose of making an assorted cargo; all parties are accommodated in this manner, and each pursues the line which belongs to him. In London, Amsterdam, or the great commercial places in Europe, the instances are very rare of the ship and cargo belonging to the

the same person, or of the owner purchasing a large part of the cargo, to be sold *fiat* *ware* at a loss, for the purpose of employing the ship, and yet this appears to be at present the practice of the merchants in India. Such a trade cannot last—it is defective, and rotten in its principle; there can be no apprehension, therefore, to consider this point with the Indian agents, and the Company trust that their advisers shall be compelled to prove that the trade they propose to carry on is in its nature likely to be permanent.

This, however, is impossible, for, in a very short time, the natural progress of trade will produce its own level, and revert back to an almost general principle—namely, that the traders in goods, and the owners of ships, will converge in India, as they are in other parts of the world, different persons. In the interval, however, the parties concerned in the exclusion of every other British subject, and British ships, may require some caution, whilst the Company's charter for the exclusive trade will be destroyed.

It is found by experience, that private traders cannot fill their ships without a large quantity of sugar for dead weight, which it is also ascertained, from experience, that, if sugar is charged with the whole of the freight for the voyage, it frequently loses a lot, which loss will probably be increased when the rate of freight and charges from the West Indies are reduced to their former level in consequence of peace. It may therefore become a question for consideration hereafter, how far the importation of sugar from the East, which leaves a loss to the importer, and the first cost of which is paid for by the

public in silver from hence, shall be encouraged, to the prejudice of the West India sugar, the cost of which is either spent by the proprietor in the mother country, or paid for by the manufacturer as a loss exported from home, for silver is often received from the islands, but seldom sent thither.

The balance of trade is, as it always must be in future, in favour of India: it is therefore highly important to probe the question which relates to the cultivation and importation of such an article is sent from the East to the bottom—the value of every rapé imported in sugar, and imported from the East, is an additional stroke to the balance of trade against the mother country. Some able and well-intentioned persons have made a question, whether sugar may not be supplied from India to an almost indefinite amount, but they are not aware that the success, or, no other words, the success of India's sugar trade, would produce the destruction of the mother country, which cannot exist under the immense demand of sugar that must be lost. In the East was in the same predicament with the West Indies, when the cost of the sugar was either spent in Great Britain and Ireland, or paid for in manufactures and for it would be consistent with the four best principles of political economy to encourage the importation by every possible means. These observations are offered, because private traders can load so very few ships, without sugar, that any material increase of the importation of the produce of India by them must be in sugar. It is, therefore, necessary to ascertain whether the general interests of the Imperial empire, and the interests of a very numerous description of persons,

West India planters and merchants, ship-owners, British manufacturers, &c &c &c will not suffer to a greater degree than the East India Company, without producing any additional benefit commensurate to the evil either to the empire of India, or to the mother country, if the refusal of the Indian agents shall be compelled with.

The article of cotton also requires some observation, as much stress is laid on it, in consequence of its being a raw material. The last advices from India mention, that there was not sufficient to supply the demand for the manufactures of the country. The Company, however, have abandoned the importation, in consequence of the loss which has been sustained, but they are ready to grant free permission to the manufacturers in Lancashire and elsewhere, to send out ships, and to import for their own account, on the usual regulations for private trade, provided the ships to be employed are British or Irish built.

In concluding their observations upon the private trade of India pre-

vious to the last returns from thence, your committee are desirous to exculpate themselves from a suggestion which has been industriously circulated by their opponents—namely, that they had refused to avail themselves of the opinion of those respectable persons who had filled the high station of Governor general in India. That they refused to refer a question, whether the exclusive trade shall remain in the hands of the Company, or be transferred to a few Indian trader, is true, but it would have been negligent in the extreme, indeed highly culpable, if the directors had not perused with attention what has appeared from such high authority on their records.

As the name of Sir John Macpherson had been frequently mentioned, more than usual attention was given to what he has recorded in his letters of the 9th of April 1785 and 10th of January 1786. His object (no doubt highly laudable) was to transfer the foreign trade to the river Thames, which he states to have been—

Eighteen ship from Bengal,	
Ten ships from the Coast,	
With cargoes of about eight lacs each, or	£2,240,000
He makes the imports in bullion	£240,000
In goods - - - - -	200,000
	<hr/>
	500,000
Remains - - - - -	<hr/>
	£1,740,000

As there are no documents to which reference can be had to ascertain this fact, it is presumed that Sir John must have relied on the information of others. But as this sum very far exceeds the amount of the whole of what is exported by Foreigners and British private traders at present to Foreign Europe and America, as well as the river Thames, and as the exports from

India are considerably increased and not diminished, it will follow that the information which Sir John Macpherson received was erroneous.

Marquis Cornwallis has never discussed this question with the same objects in view, but in his lordship's letter of the 1st of November 1788, many observations appear which apply generally to the sub-

ject, and corroborate the sentiments entertained by the court, of the danger which will result from too much encouragement being given to private traders. His lordship observes on the occasion — “The merchants would combine to keep up the price the more wealthy would overbid and beat out the inferior dealers, and the Company would be always more in their power, than they would be in the Company’s. On another occasion, — “The absence of every degree of influence and restraint must in themselves be detrimental but it is not likely to be produced by this project to give which a probability of success, a different state of society, more virtuous in the nation, a more enlarged and efficacious system of law must be supplied, and it seems in itself to provide for little more than *this: the Company should transfer a certain number of individuals here, be vast machine of their commerce here, and be come dependent on them*.”

When the private traders made a most scandalous attack on the character and conduct of Mr. Bebb in 1788-9, his lordship, after a complete vindication of Mr. Bebb, adds, — “He cannot conclude without remarking the indecorum with which the regulations of government have been arraigned by the free merchants, as well as the principle of regulating commercial matters at all, as if the free merchants considered themselves authorized to carry on their commercial concern without rule or regulation, and agreeable to their own conceptions of a free trade.”

A short extract from the proceedings of government, and the board of trade, on the 14th of January 1780, may be further useful on the present occasion. Mr. Bebb

writes, — “Illegal imprisonments, exactions, and coercions, of which I have lately had proofs, and been able to lay before you, have been ever used by *private European traders*. Corruption has, I have little doubt had considerable influence, at least among the inferior servants of the Surgeons &c.”

In a letter of Lord Cornwallis, dated the 11th of November 1794, his lordship says — “I am terribly impressed with a conviction that it will be of essential importance to the interests of Britain that European should be discouraged and prevented as much as possible from colonizing and settling in our possessions in India.”

If the Company cannot quote an opinion precisely in point, from a character who every true friend of his country looks up to with respect and emulation, he can at least produce his lordship’s sentiments on the conduct of those who have been uniform and incessant in their endeavours to wrest from the Company the vast machine of her commerce, and to render the Company dependent on themselves.

The determination of Marquis Cornwallis at that period, and the negotiation for the renewal of the charter in 1793, prevented (as it is presumed) much further discussion of the subject under Lord Teignmouth. This is to be regretted the more, from the experience the Company have had of his lordship’s profound knowledge and zeal for the interests of the Empire abroad, and those of the Company at home. On one occasion he observes, that the subject embraced many *extensive* considerations, which would be *better discussed in Europe*, but concludes, that he gave his countenance to the plan, “to far as to declare his

opinion that it was practicable. On another, however, speaking of ships, his lordship remarks, that "it ships can be furnished at the rates proposed by the merchants, they can be furnished at the same prices from the foreign settlements on this river of which notice will be taken hereafter.

After this the Company heard for several years about the necessity of bringing the surplus produce of India to the river *Tamir*—a proposition they never understood, as they had constantly and uniformly ordered to furnish the men themself with fuel, at last, and the administration of *Marquis Wellesley*, the truth appeared, and the object has been distinctly avowed to be no other than to introduce ships built in India, and to give them a preference over ships built in Great Britain or Ireland.

Whatever the Indian agent may insinuate to the contrary, it is absurd to suppose that the directors have not read, with extreme attention, whatever has been produced by the noble marquis, relative to a measure which threatens the existence of the empire abroad, and of the Company at home. But having read, not only the opinions entertained by his lordship, but also the documents on which those opinions are founded, the directors do not hesitate a moment to protest most solemnly against any such authority or decision. What would be thought of a judge, who pronounced judgment against a corporate body, after hearing evidence on the side of the plaintiff only? and yet it is precisely the case with regard to *Marquis Wellesley* with numerous documents, and persons who appear on the records, on the present occasion, there is no trace of a single paper or person on behalf of the Company.

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The observation of an anonymous writer appears but too true—"From small beginnings, when capital and enterprise exist, the greatest consequences flow." The Company, have now a rivalry to contend against, formed of their own servants, or their proteges.

Various questions as to his merits and pregnant with his defects, and important questions, it would be essential to bear in mind or risk, however elevated, without further consideration and a thorough conviction. The committee, therefore, feel themselves compelled to examine how far that principle, which appears to have governed the conduct of *Marquis Wellesley*, are well founded for the authority of his lordship has produced the death to all the misrepresentations of the agents. In order, however, to avoid too wide and long a discussion, your committee will confine themselves as much as possible, and beg to win objection which arise in consequence of a letter written by his lordship, and dated the 4th of November 1799, of which the following is an extract—

"In addition to the duties exported by the court of directors to India, large quantities have been imported by individuals, and the Portuguese have brought to Calcutta, within a short period of time, a very considerable amount of silver. It is an important fact, that the exports of Portugal from Bengal, in the present year, will be nearly equal to that of the Company. You will draw the natural conclusion from this fact, and I leave it to your judgment without comment.

Let us first examine the fact, and which is easily ascertained.

The export from Bengal of the Portuguese, in the season 1799, 1800, was no more than £ 418,000

The

The export from Bengal to London &c, by private trade, the same season, - £ 847,000
By the Company - 934,733

These *£ 847,000* require no comment.

The other parts of Marquis Wellesley's letter call for more explanation and detail.

It is admitted that the *free trade* of Foreign manufactures is encouraged, in which case, that branch of the foreign trade which is most beneficial for India, and the least injurious to the British manufactures, merits a preference. The noble marquis, however, not only proscribes the aid of Foreign manufactures generally, but the Portuguese are brought forward in a prominent manner.

What is the *fact* on this occasion?

The season 1790, 1800,
the Portuguese imported
bullion - £ 574,000
They exported, the same
season, goods - 418,000

The reason why the exports fall short of the imports is mentioned by Mr. Brown to arise from one thing being left behind for want of goods. It is at the same time remarkable, that Marquis Wellesley should have objected pointedly to that part of the foreign trade most beneficial to India, and which never can interfere with the export of the British manufactures from hence.

To render a comparison more intelligible, it may be necessary to state the amount of silver imported, and of goods exported from Calcutta in 1790, 1800, as follows.

	Silver imported.	Goods exported.
Portuguese	574,000	418,000
Americans	337,000	472,000
British private trade - -	204,000	845,000

It thus appears that the private traders, who, in their own opinion, are capable of increasing the commerce of the East to an indefinite extent, after drawing from thence 845,000*l* for their private advantage, could make no greater exertions towards relieving the distresses of India, than by sending thither 204,000*l* in silver, leaving a large sum to be drawn from means which interfere in the most pointed manner with the resources of the Company, both political and commercial. On the other hand, we find Marquis Wellesley labouring under the greatest difficulty for want of money, and looking to every part of the Company's extensive territory and connexion from the Cape of Good Hope to China, without success, calling on the court of directors to take effectual measures to guard against the Portuguese and which follows so close upon his plan to promote private trade, that his lordship could not be aware that silver in return for produce, and not visionary plans was the only real relief for the distress which his lordship's government laboured under.

A few words more may be necessary about the Portuguese trade, as a proprietor who has taken an active part about the affairs of the Company, intimated, in a general court, that the silver imported by the Portuguese was *probably* British capital. In consequence of the immense increase of cotton imported from the Brazils of late years, the balance of trade is much against (Portugal) the mother country, which possesses no direct means to pay for the same, it is very natural that, in a warm climate like Brazil, with inhabitants that are rich and luxurious, they should be disposed to receive the manufactures of India in return for their own products.

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This is the true cause of the increased trade of the Portuguese in India, and if Marquis Wellesley shall be inclined to shut the port of Calcutta against the importation of Portuguese silver, under such circumstances, it will be a phenomenon in the commercial and political world.

When the exports from India exceed the amount imported from Europe, it furnishes room for speculation and conjecture, but when a foreign nation shall import more than the value of their exports, it is impossible that British capital should be employed. At all events, the court of directors rely more confidently on the silver imported by the Portuguese, Americans, &c. to increase the trade, and promote the prosperity of India, than upon the visionary projects of the private traders and their friends. It is further remarkable, that Lord Wellesley appears to be ignorant of the general principle admitted by Mr Dundas, in the encouragement to be given to the foreign trade, where he is aware that *some* Foreign European manufacture may be introduced, but the noble marquis professes a trade where the exports are almost wholly paid for in silver.

The returns, which are in possession of the court, since the last report from your committee, prove distinctly, that, whilst the export of private traders in *Ben* Bengal is increased, it has not contributed to lessen the exports to Foreign Europe and America.

Reported by private traders.	To the river Thames.	To Foreign Europe & America.
1797-8	£ 870,000	£ 4,000,000
1798-9	525,000	28,000,000
1799, 1800 -	845,000	1,017,500*

The argument, therefore, of the Indian agents, or their friends, that, in proportion as their own exports to the river Thames increase, the exports to Foreign Europe and America must diminish, has been proved by the returns of 1799, 1800, to be wholly without foundation. It is further proved, that the increase of private export bears no proportion to the increase of foreign export, but it cannot be denied that they rise on the decline of the trade of the Company, which proves beyond a doubt that the real rivalry is between the Private Trader and the East India Company. How far their exports will increase, if those to Foreign Europe and America diminish, or shall be annihilated, is a question of a very different description and at all events cannot be decided in their favour, until they send out more silver, and employ more British capital than they have been able to do hitherto.

HAVING thus ascertained, as your committee humbly presume, by *facts*, that the arguments of Marquis Wellesley, those of the Honourable Proprietor alluded to, and of the Indian agents, so far as they relate to the employ of British capitals in the foreign trade, and the probability of bringing the foreign trade to the river Thames, are without foundation, they will next proceed to the consideration of the question about "Indian-built ships."

After it had been fairly avowed, that the real object of contest was for "the Indian-built ships," care was taken to keep the commercial part of the question out of sight, and in consequence of a temporary scarcity

* The advice received by the Government, that the investment from Bengal for the Company will be reduced to 294,000l. the funds usually applied for that purpose must therefore have been absorbed by political expenses, and to private traders for rice and indigo, whilst the fortunes of individuals are intercepted by the same persons, instead of aiding the Company's investment.

scarcity of timber for the construction of large ships, the agents contrived to raise a clamour about the resource which the forests of India could afford to the maritime strength of Great Britain. The directors had not entered into a serious consideration of this point abstractedly; they had viewed the question of Indian ships generally, and entertaining a decided opinion that it was sound policy to look with a jealous eye on any other description of naval or military strength, or the seeds of any naval or military strength to arise in India that was not British, they were not prepared to meet this part of the subject at an early period. A very little reflection, however, was necessary to satisfy the directors that his Majesty's ministers ought to decide, and if they are disposed to adopt the policy of placing any part of the naval resources of this country beyond their reach, and at so great a distance from home, the court of directors are read, not only to sacrifice their own judgment, but to use their best endeavours to carry into effect any plans which may be adopted by his Majesty's ministers for the public service. The court, in doing this, are fully aware that in the present state of Europe we ought to be on our guard to speculate upon events, and to look for combinations far different from those which have formerly occurred — France has long considered India as one of the chief sources of the national prosperity of Great Britain, and therefore her exertions will be unabated to injure us in that quarter. Under such circumstances, the directors cannot appreciate the wisdom of establishing marine arsenals, collecting stores, &c. &c. which, in consequence of a *coup de main*, may be turned against ourselves, al-

though they repeat, that they are ready to sacrifice their own judgment, and to exert every endeavour to carry such plans as may be recommended by his Majesty's ministers for the public service into effect.

If the Company consent to build, or to the building of large ships for the public service, every complaint about the want of large timber must fall to the ground. Your committee must observe, however, that the opinions which the Indian agents entertain on this subject, do not agree with those which have been delivered by the commissioners on the subject of ship timber, in their able and voluminous reports, which have been so long before the public.

In the eleventh report, after observing upon the consequences which follow from the seller being wholly at the mercy of the buyer, for want of competition, they say —

“But though these measures have, during the last thirty four years, occasioned a considerable saving to the public, it may be doubted whether they have a tendency to provide a permanent supply for the navy; or, though well contrived for obtaining great timber at a reasonable price, as long as the present stock shall last, it is in part owing to them (the measures adopted by the commissioners of the navy) that the price of oak is not as high, when compared with the price of corn, as it naturally should be, in consequence of the lateness of the return. It is, in part, owing to them, therefore, that woodlands are diminished, and tillage extended, they must, in some degree, prove a discouragement to the planting of oak, and they have an obvious tendency to prevent more from being allowed to reach the large size required for the navy.”

navy, by making it the interest of every person who has any timber, to cut it while it is of a size for which there is a competition."

There is here much matter in a very short compass but instead of listening to the wise suggestions of the commissioners, by encouraging the growth and preservation of large timber, it is proposed to adopt means for lessening the demand hereafter, and thereby placing the land owner still more in the power of the commissioners of the navy, who made no addition to their price from 1756 to 1792. It is thus that the question becomes extensive, and embraces the most important interests of the country. The landowner, merchant, manufacturer, the British and Irish ships and seamen, &c &c—all must be sacrificed at the shrine of about fifty or a hundred Indian merchants and agents.

Having disposed of that part of the question which relates to large ships, by referring the decision altogether to his Majesty's ministers, your committee will next proceed to the part which relates to commercial shipping.

Indian ships will have two competitions to encounter, the first, which they do not so readily acknowledge, which is their real object, "*the ships of the Company*," built and equipped in the best manner the other, "*foreign ships*, for unless they can sail at a cheaper rate of freight than foreign ships, indeed so much cheaper as to compensate for all the delay and expences of a circuitous voyage, they

can never pretend to bring the foreign trade of India to the river Thames.

As the ships in the employ of the Company are built for their service, it follows, that the test of the comparison depends on the building and outfit. The following were the rates of building in the river Thames, for a ship of eight hundred tons burthen

\$ a/ton	£	s	d	
1781	14	14	0	} War
1782	14	0	0	
1783	13	0	0	
1784	12	12	0	
1785	11	17	6	} Peace
1786	12	10	0	
1787	12	10	0	
1788	12	16	0	
1789	12	10	0	
1790	12	10	0	
1791	12	10	0	
1792	12	10	0	
1793	14	0	0	} War
1794	15	0	0	
1795	16	15	0	
1796	17	6	0	
1797	16	16	0	
1798	17	10	0	
1799	15	15	0	
1800	19	10	0	
1801	21	15	6	

Your committee have no means to enable them to furnish so correct a list of the rates of building in India, they will state, however, what the Company's ships, the *Britannia*, and *Sir Edward Hughes*, cost, with two accounts produced by a director, for the information of the court, which are to be found in Nos 1 and 2 of the Appendix

River Thames.

<i>Britannia</i>	-	-	1778	£ 18	0	0	
<i>Sir Edward Hughes</i>			1785	21	14	0	as above 1785 £ 11 17 6
An estimate	-	-	1798	16	7	0	1793 14 0 0
Ditto	-	-	1797	16	10	0	1797 16 16 0

Although the committee have not sufficient evidence to enable

them to judge correctly, they are persuaded that building has been, and

and must be, on the whole cheaper in the river Tham than in India, for ships of the best description, and as the materials for fitting those ships out in India must in a great measure be sent from Europe, there will be a much greater disproportion in the cost of the outfit than the rate of building, probably a difference of 40 or 50 per cent. in favour of Europe ships. But a much greater difference would arise, if those Europe ships were built and equipped by private merchants, free from the rigour of the Company's inspection and survey, and which rigour has been found, by long experience, to be indispensable for Indian voyages. There is also another heavy burthen which attaches to ships built in India, and which is sufficient in itself to compensate for the difference in duration between those ships and ships built in Europe—we mean the Indian rate of interest for money, which is more than double the interest of money in Europe.

These circumstances, added to the low rate of freight at which the court have lately hired ships for the Company's service, induce your committee to entertain a decided opinion, that Indian ships cannot be negotiated at so cheap a rate of freight as those of Great Britain.

If this comparison between Indian and British ships is so much to the disadvantage of the former, what will be their situation when compared with those of Sweden, Denmark, America, &c. &c. ? Timber, iron, hemp, and other materials, are liable to heavy duties in Great Britain, whilst they are free from duties abroad, and exempted from the freight and charges of transporting most of the raw materials, at least, as is the case with all the materials for ship-building in Europe. Labour is also cheaper on the continent, whilst the rate of interest for money

is rather lower than in England. Those ships must fail, therefore, at a rate of freight from 30 to 50 per cent. cheaper than the cheapest of the best ships. But if the *pretence* of a cheap rate of freight is applied for the purpose of destroying ancient systems, and the Company's rights, why not extend the principle generally?—There can be no doubt but that the Company can obtain Swedish, Danish, American, &c. &c. ships at a much lower rate of freight than those of Great Britain or India. The navigation act can have no stronger claim on the public than the Company's charter and of British ships and ship-building are to be abandoned, and the Company's charter is to be infringed for the benefit of a few, there is less reason to hesitate about the navigation act, as the consequence would be infinitely more extensive.

When the teak ships are represented a good and durable, the language is intelligible, and acknowledged by your committee, but when it is attempted to compare them for "cheapness," with those of Great Britain, and still more with foreign ships, the committee are astonished. They cannot avoid reflecting the strong solicitations which were made to the court of directors, when British ships were taken up during the American war, to carry out naval and military stores, to suffer those ships to be *sold* in India. Under such permission the freight was very low, as the owners considered the *sale* of the ship in India, as the certain means of realising a little fortune, and these applications have been repeated, from time to time, to the present day. Such a sale, however, would have been impossible, if teak ships could have sailed at as cheap a rate as the British. If these facts
required

requested further proof, it will be found in the proceedings of the marine committee at Bengal, in 1799. They say, "The Americans actually build ships with a view to dispose of them here, and *get a large profit*, because they can afford to sell cheaper than we can build. And they say,— 'Ship building can never flourish, except by prohibiting the sale of foreign bottoms

It therefore appears,

That building is cheaper in Europe

That the outfit is also very much cheaper

That the interest of money, which is five per cent at home, is twelve per cent at present in India, on government security

The only remaining article of importance is wages, and which brings this part of the question to the preference due to British seamen or lascars

As British merchants and ship-owners do not even expect to large a profit as seven per cent which is the difference between the rate of interest in the two countries, it is ridiculous to assert that residents in India can carry on a competition under such obvious disadvantage

Your committee trust that they have done more than enough to reply to the assertion about the *cheapness* of teak ships, otherwise they have ample materials to extend their observations much further, but from what has been said, it must appear evident to the court, that if the intention is serious, to attempt to bring the foreign trade to the river Thames, such an attempt would become impracticable, if teak ships are employed as the *means*. The best and *only means* consistent with the combined and *exclusive* interests of land commerce, manufacture, and navigation,

at the same time that the public faith will thereby be preserved inviolate, will be to employ *British* ships.

After drawing this conclusion, your committee are aware that first, the explanation becomes necessary, in consequence of some advantage which the teak ships have enjoyed during the war. That advantage does not arise from cheapness, but being the property of private persons, they are free from those restraints which naturally attach to the ships of the ~~Company~~, who, from precaution, do not choose to suffer their ships to sail without company and convoy. Whilst the Company are preparing a fleet, it is for the interest of a teak ship to sail before, and being single, the voyage is performed in a much shorter time, and by arriving so much earlier at her port of destination, the cargo is sold to great advantage, whilst the market is forestalled before the Company's fleet can arrive. Great numbers suffer from this circumstance, which is conceived to be an undue advantage: but if the interests of the Company, and of those who trade in the regular ships, are not thought of equal importance with those of the private traders, at least no superior powers can be attributed to the ships, for the same service may be performed, and the same advantages obtained, whether the ships are built with teak or with oak.

This undue advantage is the more distressing, as the late advices from India state, that the Company's exports cannot be sold, because the private traders have forestalled and destroyed the market by their previous importations from Europe.

The Company's investment has been usually provided from three sources.

Surplus revenue, which is now absorbed by the State.

The fortunes of individuals to be remitted home

The sale of the Europe exports in India

As the private traders have inter-
cepted the second, and forestalled the
third, it is but just, on behalf of the
Company, to call on ~~them~~ to point
out what still remains

There can be no doubt that, be-
fore any decisive measure shall be
taken, hostile to the interest of the
Company, his Majesty's ministers,
in whose moderation and justice
your committee have every reason
to repose their confidence, will be
thoroughly satisfied that the em-
ploy of the teak ships, if once ad-
mitted, will become permanent.
It has already been proved, that
they cannot fail so *cheap* as those of
Britain, and, now that we are re-
stored to the blessings of peace,
there can be no fear of their for-
stalling markets, in competition
with the Company's ships, when
sailing singly. The foreign ships
only remain, therefore, for con-
sideration.

If, to a low rate of freight, are
farther added the charges of the
river Thames, the duties paid to
government, and a second freight
insurance and charges to the ulti-
mate place of destination, it is im-
possible to conceive in what manner
a considerable part of the trade from
India to foreign Europe and Ame-
rica, can be brought to the river
Thames in time of peace, either in
Indian or British ships. The spe-
culative plans of projectors never
reach the counting house of the
practical merchant, who attaches
far more importance to the addi-
tional charge of a few shillings,
which he must pay for the hire of a
boat on the river Thames. It,
however, is admitted, for the
sake of argument, that the teak

ships can perform the wonders at-
tributed to them, it is impossible to
make London the general *dépôt*, so
long as the present or any duties
are levied. The Company must
import, and must sell, even if a loss
shall ensue, but when a loss arises
to the private trader, if he is pro-
dent, he will disappear.

At the same time, your commit-
tee must concur in the observation
already quoted from to respectable
an authority as Lord Teignmouth,
that if teak ships are cheaper, or
possess any superior advantages,
Foreigners will build them as well
as ourselves. They have had the
option either to build, to purchase,
or to hire, and yet teak ships have
very rarely been employed by For-
eigners. And we may further
add, that if permission shall once be
granted to Indian ships and their
owners, what security can the Pu-
blic have, that these ships will be
sent to the port of London, and not
employed by their owners in the
trade they now reprobate? One
of the reasons for the concessions
made in the year 1700, was the
clandestine and illegal trade prior
to that period. If superior advan-
tage can be obtained from the for-
eign trade, is there any reason to
expect those whom acts of parlia-
ment could not then bind, to be
governed by any other principle
than that of their own interest?
Such was the case when ships were
engaged in Bengal, by persons,
whose names appear on the present
occasion, to go to Batavia, to carry
the property of the enemy to Eu-
rope. But in order to illustrate
this point more clearly, we shall
soon have an opportunity to distin-
guish between the zeal and patriot-
ism of British and Indian ship-own-
ers, when it will appear that the
latter have availed themselves, in a
very

very extraordinary degree, of the necessities of the Public, whilst the British ship owners have always manifested, on similar occasions, a moderation which entitles them to a better fate. The Indian agents, whose plans are directed to their own aggrandizement, are well aware that a competition with British industry and British ships must soon end to the disadvantage of Indian bottoms, and drive them out of the trade. This apprehension, and not favour to the East India Company, makes them contend that the indulgence shall be confined to Indian ships.

In addition to numerous facts and circumstances which serve to develop the views and plans of the parties, there are others of collateral description, which are not only deep and extensive, but in some respects unfathomable. When the contest in India was about the means to convey to Europe the surplus produce, Mr William Fairlie, one of the first merchants in Calcutta, in a letter to the board of trade, dated the 26th day of December 1797, writes as follows — "*It is true that the Company offer us tonnage for our goods at this time, but the great object is, being permitted to send them in our own ships, by which means we obtain the profit of freight, and have an opportunity of being otherwise serviceable to our friends* — After this distinct avowal on the part of Mr Fairlie, that British ships should return empty to Europe, in order that he might employ his own, we trust that it will be no longer contended that the ships are the means and not the end. We have further to observe, that Mr Fairlie was a partner in the house established under the firm of David Scott and Co, and it is probable, is, or

was, a partner in the house of Messrs David Scott jun and Co of which Mr Lennox was the avowed manager and a partner. This circumstance naturally calls for another observation on the following list. The 1st of March 1800, Messrs Fairlie, Gilmore and Co offer to the board of trade in Bengal, four ships, and according to the regulations of that board, they mention the names of the owners of those four ships

ships	Tons.	Owners	
Mornington	442	Fairlie	} Calcutta
Fliza Ann	440	Gilmore	
Aurora	555	Fairlie	
Exeter	500	Lennox,	
			London

2 80

We have thus two facts distinctly proved, which apply to almost every part of the question, and destroy, in every instance, the speculative reasoning and visionary projects of the Indian agents. We see distinctly British capital employed in India and, what is more important, who are the parties prepared to rite up and enjoy the exclusive trade to India on the ruins of the Company. We wish that we could, at the same time, penetrate the whole of the plans, and foresee the extent of the mischief, but that is impossible.

Having thus ascertained that the ships are the end, and not the means, it may be necessary to shew the extent and importance of those Indian-built ships, which dwindle into insignificance, when compared with any mass or description of British ships they are attempting to rival or displace.

By a return from Calcutta, dated the 26th of December 1799, it appears that the ships built and building, fit for the English trade, and sailing from that port, were no more than 20 ships, bearing 19,895 tons.

There

There is no occasion to mark the insignificance of these ships, by a comparison with the total mass of British shipping; it will be sufficient to state, that the number employed by the Company consists of 122 ships, burthen 106,048

The Company advertised for offers from builders and owners, for a few ships they wanted in the month of July last, when no less than 110 ships, burthen 69,250 tons, were offered, of which the Company could employ at that time no more than 14 ships, burthen 8,700 tons. This exhibits a proof, that neither timber, capital, enterprise, nor artificers, are so much wanted as to render it necessary to look to India for teak ships, to supply the wants of the Company or of the Public.

If there is any well founded claim of government at this time, it is the fair and just claim of British ships and seamen, to provide (and not to deprive them of) the means of employment, in return for the great and meritorious services rendered during the war. British ships of four or five hundred tons and upwards, are fallen above thirty per cent in value, in consequence of peace. There are few services, except that of the East India Company, in which they can be employed, nor is there a chance for their being sold, unless there shall be a demand for the commerce of France and Holland, and they are precisely the description of ships with which those built in India will interfere. The number which are now unemployed must be increased very considerably, when the transports, and other private ships in the navy, are discharged, and yet these must give place to Indian built ships. The views of the Indian agents are still more conspicuous, in that part of their plan wherein they propose

to confine the trade of their own ships, that is, after having robbed the British ships and seamen of their birthright, they desire to have those British ships excluded, for the benefit and advantage of the Company's exclusive trade.

It enough has not been said to refute the private traders, your committee will beg leave to state a short comparison between the general conduct of the owners of British and Indian ships. When the exigencies of Government, in 1793, required the large ships of the Company for the public service, the owners surrendered them with cheerfulness, at the request of the court, on the most moderate terms, and thus at a moment when the directors, in concert with the board of commissioners, were taking the most active measures to reduce their advantages. The same readiness and liberal conduct were manifested when ships were wanted as transports to carry troops to the West Indies. When the late expedition to Egypt was fitting out, Marquis Wellesley

took up ships of the Company, as well as those of the Company. His lordship had not communicated the slightest information to the court of directors in the month of November, but there are ample advices on the subject, and particularly to the Indian agents. Under these circumstances, your committee are obliged to have recourse to private information, from the want of official documents. We are informed,

The *Gabriel*, of 815 tons, manned with lascars, was engaged at 12,000 sicca rupees per month.

The *Cuvera*, of 952 tons, manned with lascars, was engaged at 14,000 sicca rupees per month. And ships that carried no more than 150 military, have been engaged for 6000 to 7000 rupees per month.

1,500l per month, for nine months	£ 13,500
The <i>Rockingham</i> , 630l per month, for nine months	5,450
Difference and loss for nine months	8,050

If this fact is well founded, (and your committee have no reason to doubt it, nor have they made any selection, as there may be other cases still stronger,) it is the duty of the court to exert every nerve to rescue the Company and the Public from the avarice and extortion of the owners of Indian built ships.

Every impartial person would imagine that the Indian ship-owners would be content with this enormous profit unfortunately for the Company, this is not the whole. Whilst Lord Wellesley acknowledges that he cannot find cargoes for the ships sent from Europe, and that three or four must be sent to China, (where they are not wanted,) his lordship has engaged that those Indian ships shall be suffered to load with cargoes for Europe.

So many facts and arguments arise out of this important question, that your committee are compelled to trespass on the patience of the

factures	£ 5
The import of Indian manu- factures and produce	15

At this moment the private traders contend, that the imports from India are entitled to every degree of encouragement and protection; and therefore it is proper to examine in what manner their pretensions will bear on the question about the ships, and for this purpose, we will suppose, for the sake of argument, that an Indian and British ship of 800 tons will cost 25,000l and sail at a freight of 20l out and home, divided as before-mentioned.

The costs of the British ship	£ 25,000
Her freight at 3l per ton	4,000

Will cost in India.	29,000
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The Indian ship, first cost	£ 25,000
Her freight at 15l per ton	12,000
Her cost in Europe	13,000

This circumstance merits particular attention, for, in one point of view, it may be considered as a decisive proof in favour of Indian-built ships; but it rests almost precisely on the same basis with the private trade that is, if they enjoy a preference in the first instance,

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in that case the *Company* trade, &c. no greater advantage. If the *Company* are at the expence of the *Company* blishments which are enormous, and will raise millions, as a commercial capital, to pay political debts on the one hand, whilst every other description of British subjects are excluded, on the other, from participating with the Indian agents in their trade, there is no doubt but that those agents will possess the *Company* monopoly and benefit. So likewise with regard to Indian ships, if they can earn three-quarters of the whole freight, after performing only half the voyage, they enjoy a decided preference over British ships, and which may operate to the exclusion of the latter. But will such a system be endured? And if it shall be proposed to equalize the freight, it is fair to ask, what is to become of the encouragement held out to *British manufactures*, by the act of 1792-3? Must we impose an additional freight of 51 per ton on *all our exports*, in order to meet these Indian ships and traders on equal grounds? Are the public prepared to pay the same additional freight for their troops and stores, (which will amount to an immense sum,) as in time of war? In short, the public interest, British manufactures, and British ships, must all yield to the interest of these individuals. With such extensive consequences in view, your committee can never persuade themselves that the chartered rights of the *Company* will be violated.

In this part of the subject, your committee must again notice what relates to British seamen and Indian lascars; and still more, when they view it as contributing to the introduction of the colonial system in India. Every new light which can be thrown on those truly important questions, induce your commit-

tee to believe, that the *Company* consequences which they contemplated in the former report, are but too just and too well founded—they will not repeat what they have before urged, *Company* defer the court to their former report on those subjects. The cause of humanity, however, requires that some addition should be made, in consequence of an attempt to prove that lascars are dearer than British seamen. The attempt is curious, but although the fact is denied by your committee, they will not waste the time of the court by much discussion on that point, they will only observe, that if it were true, it would be for the interest of the owners of Indian ships to discharge the lascars at the first European port at which they arrive, and where they must inevitably perish. The country where the ship is built, where the owner resides, and where the voyage originates, must furnish sailors who are natives of that country in the first instance. When the ship returns to India, after having performed her voyage with European sailors on board, is it likely that the owners will keep those sailors on wages, while the ship earns nothing? It is for the interest of the owner that the sailors should desert, which they will do, and, by rambling over the country, disgrace the British name, and weaken the hands of government. But when the ship is again fitted out, they must again employ lascars, and the manner in which these poor wretches are treated cannot be explained more feelingly than by the declaration of the Governor of Bombay, "that the mortality had been so great on board the country ships, that no more should sail without European surgeons on board;" and the *Company*, upon this occasion, were obli-

ged, as probably will be the case in future, to furnish surgeons at much inconvenience from their regular establishment.

These are striking reflections, but the following statement of the mortality on board two ships lately arrived, may place this part of the question in a more correct point of view.

	Left on embarked in India.	Died on their passage.	Sick on their arrival in England.
Lucy Maria	86	22	20
Surat Castle	123	36	45
	209	58	65

In consequence of the inclemency of this climate, the diseases they are exposed to, and the voyage back to India, the mortality will be greatly increased, whilst the few who revisit their native shore may become cripples for life. These ships are selected from a list of six, as having the greater number of men on board, and much the larger proportion of mortality, they are, however, by no means unusual cases.

The almost innumerable channels through which these fatal pretensions of the Indian agents flow, render it impossible to embrace them within the compass of a report or a volume, but if your committee decline, for the sake of brevity, to record their observations and arguments on many parts of this subject, they feel themselves compelled to take notice of a letter from Mr. Dundas, which he has printed, under date the 26th June 1801. The right hon. gentleman, on retiring from office, has represented India, and the affairs of the Company, in the most prosperous situation, and,

in the event of peace, capable of reducing the debt in India within reasonable and proper bounds, many years before the expiration of the Company's charter.

The letter above referred to, being in the nature of an appeal to public opinion, unwillingly forces itself upon your committee's notice. That Mr Dundas has not properly appreciated the importance and extent of the claims of the Indian agents, your committee trust they have distinctly proved in this and their former reports, and they have too much reason to fear that the exclusive trade, as regulated by the act of 1793, is not only necessary, but indispensable, as a resource to save the Company from destruction. It must always be remembered, that every part of Mr Dundas's plan, whether it relates to the flattering prospects held out to the Company, at home, or to the relief and prosperity of the empire in India, depend wholly and solely upon the Company's commerce, but whilst the means of applying every commercial aid with speed and effect are far beyond what we could have expected on the 30th of June last, in consequence of the peace, yet the few months which have intervened have been more than sufficient to convince the court, that Mr Dundas was mistaken as to the real situation of the Company's affairs in India, for the whole of his estimates are completely destroyed, in consequence of the advices since received from thence.

Mr Dundas (we quote his own words) says—"When I saw the amount of the debt rise to above

* This statement, however, is beyond the reach of the court and of the committee, to whom the Company have no return nor control over the letters; the statement is not only imperfect, but is considered as imperfect, and short of the truth. The committee, therefore, however, to avoid communications which have been laid before them, they sign this report.—See also Appendix, Letter A.

ten millions bearing interest, and still likely to increase, I thought it my duty to state to you the propriety of restoring to India, from your treasury at home, a part of that balance," &c. Again,—"And this led me to state, that I was ready to meet the Indian debt, even at the large amount of fourteen millions."

Every person conversant with the affairs of India, will concur with Mr Dundas, that the safety of the empire depends (amongst other things) upon the comparative magnitude of the debt. He was alarmed,

and with reason, when the amount was ten millions, but as an exertion, and with a responsibility of which he appears to have felt the weight, he was ready to meet it, on the 30th of June 1801, at the large amount of fourteen millions! and although peace was not then made, he calculated upon peace, and upon the debt not exceeding fourteen millions. In the first point he has been fortunate—with regard to the last, we shall now proceed to examine

The Indian debt, on the 30th of April 1800, was as follows

	At Interest.	Interest due.	Arrears & other Debts
Bengal *	£8,512,298	£419,701	£1,342,014
Madras †	2,325,173	80,000	108,332
Bombay ‡	1,203,263	54,731	179,198
Bencoolen	16,075		41,294
	£12,117,409	554,433	1,760,878
		Total	£14,432,717

From a cursory view of the accounts and estimates received within a few days from India by the *Georgina* packet, it appears that the increase of debts at Bengal and Bombay for twelve months, and Madras for six months, amounted to

2,100,000

That Bengal proposes to borrow more than will be paid off in the ensuing year

600,000

That Bombay proposes to do the same for

400,000

And that the letter from Madras, dated the 2d September 1801, states that they had borrowed 80 lacks of pagodas, or

1,200,000

After an addition of this magnitude to the estimate made by Mr Dundas, it is unnecessary for your committee to pursue their inquiries further on this subject at the moment, but they trust that they have demonstrated the opinion they entertain of the sanguine estimate formed by Mr. Dundas; and still more, that the difficulties which the Company have to encounter,

will require the aid of every resource to enable them to surmount. However discouraging this prospect may be, it is aggravated by circumstances which never existed before. The establishments are increased, the political resources are absorbed, and it is further intended to deprive the Company of a material part of the resources they actually possess, under the pretence of con-

tributing towards the prosperity of the Indian empire. The last time that the Company appeared before parliament, *in forma pauperis*, was in the year 1788. In consequence of the war, debts had been incurred, and the resources of the Company had been exhausted in such a manner as to require parliamentary relief. The relief they solicited on that account, was to suspend the payment of 924,862l due to the public for duties on the Company's goods, for a further time, and to prolong the payment of bills drawn from India, until the goods, for which those bills were drawn, could be sold, but no new money was raised, either by the Public or the Company, on the occasion and trifling as that relief may appear when compared with the wants of the present day, it was sufficient to extricate the Company from every difficulty at home and abroad.

It cannot, however, be denied, that the distress of the Company, in the year 1783, was great. At that time Mr Dundas took upon himself the administration of Indian affairs, and therefore we will venture to make a comparison between the period of distress in which he began his administration, and the state in which he has left the Company's affairs on retiring from office.

The report of the court of directors, dated the 23d January 1784, and laid before the house of commons, (which was approved and defended by Mr Dundas,) states distinctly the revenues and debts of India, according to the last accounts which could be obtained at that period.

The net revenue of India, exclusive of the profits on salt and opium was - - - £1,094,546
If the salt and opium, although they have produced much

there, was at that time estimated at only - - - £400,000

Net surplus at that time - - £1,494,546

This surplus was subject to charges, and particularly to the interest of the debts in India. The salt and opium are estimated at no more than 400,000l but produced, for an average of above twenty years, 800,000l per ann.

By the accounts laid before the house of commons the 5th of May 1801, the surplus net revenue was - - £864,397
It appeared, at the same time, that the interest upon debts bearing interest, was - - - 1,082,204

Leaving a deficiency of £417,806

Your committee are aware that the deficiency is much larger, not only from additional interest on debts, but for expenses which are not included, but the difference against the annual political income of the Company, between the periods of 1783-4 and of 1801-2, is very considerable.

If objections are made against this comparison, there can be none when a comparison is made between different periods of Mr. Dundas's own administration. In 1798, on the renewal of the charter, the directors estimated the final surplus in India, as applicable to investment, to be - £1,409,127
Deduct the proceeds of the Europe exports 350,000

Remains a political surplus of £1,159,127

It is true that Mr. Dundas objected to this estimate, which in his opinion was much too low; but if to that sum shall be added the present deficiency of £417,807 these will appear against the Company,

any, in their annual political income, a difference of a million and a half, which may easily be swelled to two millions sterling annually, when the arrears of debt are funded, and bear an interest.

The differences of opinion which may arise on the question of income, in consequence of the numberless details necessary for the purpose of forming an estimate, cannot exist on the subject of debts, which are comprised within a few lines. By the returns alluded to before, the debts at the three presidencies were stated, the 23^d January 1784, £4,521,625.

At that time there was a large arrear not known in Europe, the exact amount of which it is difficult to ascertain, but suppose that it swelled the debt to £10,000,000.

In the letter from Mr Dundas, and in the budget which he delivered in the house, the debt in India is admitted to be £14,432,717.

A very considerable augmentation has been ascertained by the advices received by the *Georgina* packet, and if there was an arrear of five millions and a half upon a debt of four millions and a half, in 1783-4, the apprehensions of your committee cannot be considered as overstrained. The more so, as we find that the treasury, for want of money, has been obliged to issue notes, payable nine months after date, with an interest of 12 per cent. In such a predicament, the aid of the fortunes of individuals to be remitted to Europe, and which are intercepted by the private traders, would have been of great public utility.

In contemplating the real situation of the Company in the year 1783-4, we find one source of revenue created, and another improved by the superior talents and profound local knowledge of Mr.

Hastings, which have more than compensated for the whole of the expense of the war under his administration. In twenty years (including the estimate for 1800-1,) the duty on salt has produced,
 net £14,143,400
 The profit on opium 2,577,000

Total £16,721,200

We have, unfortunately, no sources of this description to look to at present. The subsidies and general improvements have been absorbed in extensive additional establishments.

When Marquis Cornwallis, with that wisdom and magnanimity which have distinguished his conduct through life, stopped short under the walls of Seringapatam, the consequences were comparative ease, security, and prosperity to the affairs of the Company and to the empire in India, whilst the brilliant destruction of a formidable rival, under the administration of Marquis Wellesley, has been followed by circumstances of difficulty and distress.

These discussions and comparisons are painful in the extreme, but when the Company find that attempts are made, and supported by such powerful interest, to deprive them of the only means to restore their affairs, under unfounded pretences, it is indispensable for your committee and for the court to divest themselves of their private feelings, in order to do justice to the Company and to the Public. Every person must, however, admit the extreme patience and forbearance of the court of directors, who have used every endeavour to obtain time for the sole purpose of conciliation. They cannot yet persuade themselves that their rights will be destroyed, as every assurance, and

every disposition which your committee can reasonably expect, they have experienced from his majesty's present ministers.

In this situation, which Mr Dundas represents as precarious, he thinks that, with the assistance, and through the medium of the commerce, the Company will surmount every difficulty in the course of a few years, but instead of being relieved by delaying the payment of about a million sterling due to government for duties, as was done in 1783-4, he is aware that much more substantial means are necessary. With out the benefit of the growing produce of the revenue from salt and opium, or any thing similar thereto, with more than double the amount of political debts to dis-

charge, and growing under the enormous increase of military expence and establishments, he proposes to call on the proprietors of East India stock, to raise no less than four millions sterling, for what he calls commercial purposes, but which, in truth, is to discharge political debts. Your committee humbly conceive that, before the court of directors can consent to recommend such a measure to their constituents, they will satisfy themselves, not only about the propriety and correctness of the proposition, but that it will produce the effect intended, and that the subject may appear more distinctly before the court, your committee submit the following state of the present capital of the Company

		Per Cent	
Original capital	£ 3,200,000	87½	£ 2,800,000
Additional 1786	800,000	155	1,240,000
Ditto 1789	1,000,000	174	1,740,000
Ditto 1793	1,000,000	200	2,000,000

The first, or original capital, was sufficient to enable the Company to carry on their trade, when it was truly exclusive, for near a century; the three last sums have been added during the administration of Mr Dundas, for commercial purposes.

The proposition will appear still more extraordinary, when it is considered that the Company are called on to raise four millions, and at the same time to admit the Indian agents to a participation, indeed to the essence of their exclusive trade, for it never can be denied that the four millions are to be raised for the express purpose of discharging political debts. It would, therefore, have been more equitable and just to have called on the second Company, the Indian agents and traders, to have raised the four millions in question. If, hitherto the commercial profits of the Company

have been more than sufficient to pay the dividends to the proprietors, a considerable surplus has arisen from the commerce, although that surplus has not appeared so large as it ought to have been, from the Company's adherence to the old forms of making up their accounts, and every rupee which has been received from that source, as well as from the revenue, has been applied towards the expence of the war in India. Will the Indian agents and traders submit to a limitation of their profit in the same manner as the Company? Will they pay what they get over and above 5 per cent. (for the proprietors, upon the price they have paid for their stock, divide little more,) into the public treasury, for the benefit of the state? And what is more extraordinary, whilst every subject of his majesty may participate in the commercial

commercial stock of the Company, if he has the means, the object of the private traders is to preserve the privilege and preference which they solicit, entirely to themselves. If, however, the state participates in the profit, a trade so carried on is more truly beneficial to the public in their collective capacity, than if it were abandoned to individuals, even in the event of their success, for though individuals might be enriched, government would suffer.

These advantages, and many others which the public enjoy at present, will vanish when private traders are admitted to exclusive privileges. Much may be done, and the Company are ready to exert every endeavour, and to employ every means for the purpose, but if success is expected from them, they may desire, in return, that such resources and powers as they now possess, shall remain unimpaired—that the exclusive trade to India, under the regulations of the act of 1793, shall be maintained—and that the conduct and management of their commercial concerns shall rest with the executive body of the East India Company.

The prospect of peace gives a new turn, and a much greater degree of importance, to the whole of this question, whilst the enemies of the Company will press with more than usual earnestness, and exert every nerve for a speedy decision, under a pretence that delay is dangerous.

There can be no difficulty to assert, that delay will be dangerous, nay, fatal to their cause, for the experience of one, or at most two seasons, will refute every argument they have used, and destroy those fallacious, chimerical plans and expedients, by means of which they have obtained so much credit.

The foreign trade must revive, and there are good reasons to think will increase, which is much to be desired, so long as foreigners pay for the manufactures and produce of India, in silver, or in such a manner as shall not interfere materially with the avowed policy of this country. And your committee have no doubt, that if the private traders were compelled to export British manufactures, and restrained in their exportation of silver, that their imports in India will be greatly reduced.

Every nation will endeavour to employ their own ships, in addition to which, foreign ships can be navigated cheaper than those built either in India or Great Britain.

These two points are decisive against the Indian agents. It is impossible to bring the whole of the foreign trade to the river Thames under such circumstances, or to prevent a considerable diminution of the foreign trade which has been brought to the river Thames during the war, in which case, the Indian agents cannot increase their own trade, but at the expence of the Company. And as the Indian trade to the river Thames must be considerably diminished in the event of peace, whether that reduction falls on the Company or on private individuals, it must operate to lessen the means of employing those British ships which are already in the service.

On many occasions the Indian agents appear to over-rate their knowledge of foreigners and foreign trade; their principles and arguments are often purely theoretical, contradicted by facts and the experience of practical merchants. They cannot abandon the idea, that, if they can deprive the Company of any part of their rights, the whole of

what is taken most ~~exclusively~~ to themselves. It is for this reason that, whilst they are struggling to wrest the whole monopoly from the Company, they are equally anxious and clamorous to preserve inviolate what they call the name, and consequently the ~~whole~~ *monopoly*, to the Company, whilst themselves, their Indian ships, and factors, must (as they pretend) enjoy every advantage, they are strong advocates for every other description of exclusion, that they will not suffer any other British merchant, British ship, or British seamen to interfere with what they are pleased to call the *exclusive* trade of the Company. They contend, that the commerce of India cannot be carried on under the restrictions imposed by the Company; they propose, therefore, to free themselves from those restrictions, whilst they would leave them imposed on those who, they think, might be their competitors in turn. But they are not aware, that, whilst they contend to destroy the part of an ancient, firm, extensive fabric, over which they have no legal right or claim whatever, the ancient, real proprietors, finding themselves deprived of that broad shield, which has hitherto protected and preserved inviolate, under the British constitution, all corporate bodies, may spurn at the ruin which will remain.

During a war of about nine years, the commerce of the world has flowed into the lap of Great Britain, in consequence of the seas having been covered with her fleets. The Indian agents have blinded the eyes of superficial observers, by proposing to substitute their *enterprise* after the peace, in order to produce the same effect which the British gunpowder has done during the war. If it shall be thought right to de-

stroy a corporate body, and a system held sacred above two centuries, it surely merits due consideration, and ought not to be the work of a moment of delirium, for the Company will venture to assert, that the increased trade has not been in consequence of the enterprise of individuals alone, but may be attributed distinctly to British valour and unprecedented naval success.

Two years (a very short period indeed, when compared with the importance of the subject,) is fully sufficient to convict the Indian agents of error and fallacy in every point which they have advanced on their side of the question, for it is supposed that foreigners cannot immediately take advantage of the peace, and therefore it may require that time to judge of the effect which will be produced by their appearing once more as free traders and navigators in the Indian seas. But every motive and every reason calls on his majesty's ministers to pause before they destroy the chartered rights and ancient system of the East India Company. When it was proposed in the general court to refer this question to opinions of high authority, it was declined in the then state of the question, as not consistent with the dignity of the Company, at the same time that it would have proved extremely un-
 various to the great and respectable characters whose names were mentioned on the occasion. If the business shall again be brought into parliament, this circumstance will give it a complexion totally different, and your committee hope, therefore, that before any decisive measure shall be adopted, his majesty's ministers and the public may be aided by the opinions of Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Teignmouth, and Mr. Hastings, relative to the views

and conduct of private traders, as their profound knowledge and extensive experience of the past, will enable them to form a more competent judgment how far the pretensions of those traders are consistent with the rights of the Company, and more particularly with the safety of the British empire in India.

The concessions made in the year 1793, are the source from whence the present claims spring. If those claims are granted, they will serve as the means to introduce others hereafter—if they do not, at an early period, substitute a few favoured individuals on the ruin of the Company—it is therefore incumbent on the court of directors, when they find the danger inevitable, to declare to their constituents and to the public, that it is preferable to open the trade with India to every British ship, and every British subject, rather than suffer the Company to remain as a flimsy veil, to reward the intrigues, and to gratify the avarice of a few Indian agents and traders. Your committee must insist, that the *real* enemy of the Company is the private trader, when he steps beyond the bound prescribed by law. Foreigners have a *bonâ fide* trade—almost the whole of their exports are paid for in silver, which contributes to the prosperity of the empire in India, without prejudice to the mother country. On the other hand, private traders encroach every where on the Company—they absorb those funds, which are wanted for political as well as commercial purposes—their intercourse and connections with the interior of India tend to shake, and must ultimately destroy, the authority of the British government; whilst their attempt to introduce the ships of India, to the exclusion of the ships of Great

Britain and Ireland, crowns the whole.

There appears to be an apprehension about the foreign trade, which no practical foreign merchant can understand. It is but fair to ask for a single instance wherein it has succeeded. With regard to foreign companies, they stood before the war in the following situation:—

That of Sweden traded to China only, and was almost annihilated by the Commutation Act.

The Danish China Company nearly in the same predicament.

The Danish India Company ruined.

The Embden India Company was trifling but ruined.

The Dutch Company was in great distress, since ruined.

The Trieste Company ruined, with the loss of almost the whole of her capital.

Those of France have been numerous, but unfortunate.

Portugal never had a regular company, and those of Spain are not worth notice, except that no instance appears of success.

All the maritime states of Europe have at times looked to India as a source of strength and riches. Only two nations, however, have been able for any long period to make their intercourse with India productive of great national benefit. Great Britain and the late United Provinces both have combined considerable territorial acquisitions, with exclusive commerce, and thro' the medium of an exclusive company.

Private merchants on the continent were successful until the deficiencies in India were permitted to draw on the Company at home for the liquidation of debts in India. Since that period, numerous failures have happened abroad, and those
merchants

merchants who carried on the trade formerly, are at this time comparatively insignificant. These observations apply much more pointedly, when it is considered that the private traders build the whole of their speculation on a *cheap rate of freight*, that the *Company's* rate of peace-freight, (which was high before the war,) has been considerably reduced, and that the rate of freight for Indian ships has been, on some occasions, very much increased.

It is further remarkable, that in France, where the company was abolished, in consequence of the clamour of individuals, the government there, after having been witness to the ruin which followed, and after the most mature deliberation, determined to re-establish the Company. Amidst this wreck of general and individual enterprise, the English East India Company alone was able to rear its broad front with a proud and envied pre-eminence, and although year after year she was threatened with incumbent ruin, yet every year seemed to add something to her strength and her power.

Some time since an attempt was made to establish a rival bank, under the specious pretence of the advantage which would result from competition. There could be no doubt about the additional facility which a few enterprising men would derive for a short time, to assist their wild extensive projects—the public immediately saw through the delusion, and the first attempt to bring the measure forward in the house of commons was instantly crushed. It is remarkable, however, that the attempt at that time to invade the charter of the bank of England, and that which is now

making to destroy the East India Company, spring from the same source.

The monopoly of the exclusive trade has continued, since the year 1600, with slight variations. The exigencies of government, and that prudence, which sometimes prescribes a temporary sacrifice to popular prejudices, have at some periods seemed to favor the views of individual adventurers; but those appearances lasted no longer than the necessity which extorted them. It was rather a connivance than a licence, nor does it appear that those individuals succeeded in their speculations. They bought, at a high price, from the poverty of the state, or the venality of its members, a permission to ruin themselves.

There occurs only one instance that forms an exception to the uniform opinion of government on this great and important commercial point, it is the attempt of Oliver Cromwell, about the year 1655, to lay the trade open. This bold experiment terminated as might have been expected; it confirmed the protector in the wisdom of that policy which he doubted. The monopoly was re-established, and the Company's temporary abolition became, in its consequences, their triumph.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, two rival companies existed, (the object contended for at present by the private traders, who would enjoy every advantage, free from the restraints and the expence of a corporate body.) ~~when it was~~ found that the success of either was impossible, and the ruin of both was probable;—an union was therefore loudly called for, and accomplished, under the arbitration and award of

Lord Godolphin The charter, which was passed on the 12th of April 1686, conclude with energetic words on the subject of the Company's exclusive trade, and with which your committee will beg leave to terminate their labours, &c. "Being fully satisfied that the trade cannot be maintained and carried on to national advantage, but by one general joint stock, and hat a loose and general trade will be the ruin of the whole."

Having thus brought to a conclusion the observations which your committee have to offer to the court, on the abstract questions of trade and ships, they beg leave to observe, that they have not discussed the fatal consequences which must arise from establishing the first and most dangerous principle of colonization, as they have demonstrated in their former reports, that the plans of the private traders (if admitted) must terminate in the destruction of the British empire in India

Nor have they touched on the commercial rights of the Company to regulate and to transmit dispatches to India on this subject; for although the Commissioners have expressed their doubts, yet they do not deny the rights of the Company. But as proprietor in the general court has manifested a disposition to agitate this question, your committee have annexed extracts from two letters, (*vide Appendix, B.*) the one dated in 1787, not long after the establishment of the board of Commissioners, the other dated so late as the 21st of March 1801, in both which the rights of the Company are expressly acknowledged.

CHARLES MILLS,
J ROBERTS,
F BARING,
JACOB BOSANQUET,
HUGH INGLIS,
JOSEPH COTTON,
ABRAHAM ROBERTS,
EDW PAPRY

East India House, 25th March 1802.

No. 1 — BOMBAY, 1799

Abstract of Statement of the Hull of a Ship of 630 Tons, built at Bombay

Materials for the hull	-	64,385
With the 20 per cent interest as there appears no charge of the kind		
Men's wages	-	18 8.4
Lead	-	4.0
Mud dock	-	1,193
Dock bill	-	1,083
		85,895
Deduct circulating stores	-	3,405
		82,490
		£ 10,311

Or 16l. 7s. per ton.

No. 2 — BOMBAY, 1797

Abstract of Statement of the Hull of a Ship built at Bombay of 740 Tons

Materials for the hull	64 939
20 per cent charge	- 12 987
on country stores	
Pay of artificers	- 19 360
Builder's attendance	- 2,640
Lead	- 770
Parrish oil	- 1,781
Oakum and junk to make ditto	1,231
Sheds for artificers	- 800
Iron work for captain	250
Interest of money	- 559
	105,407
Ded Europe stores	3,954.8.50
Add surplus stores	1 8s. 1.98
	5,817
	99,590
	£ 12,418 18

Or 16l 10s. per ton.

A—No. 1

East India House, 24th March 1802.

SIR,

I having been intimated to the committee of shipping, that several of the lascars belonging to some of the rice and India built ships lately arrived, are extremely ill, that many of them have died, that proper care and provisions are not afforded those now on board, and the committee, understanding that the lascars belonging to several of the above ships have been attended by you, the committee direct me to desire that you will please to state to me, for the committee's information, such particulars as may have come under your own observation, or may appear to you to be founded in fact, respecting the state of those lascars, and their treatment since their arrival in this country.

The committee further direct me to desire that you will transmit me an account of the number of lascars who have been attended by you on the Company's account during the last twelve months, describing therein the number who have died.

I am, Sir, &c.

J. COGGER

Mr. Wm. Docker

A—No. 2.

St. Mary Axe, 24th March 1802.

SIR,

In reply to your letter, dated East India House, this morning, requesting me to state to you, for the information of the committee of shipping, such particulars as may have come under my own observation respecting the health, care, and treatment of lascars on board rice and country-built ships lately arrived from India, and also those of the Company for the last twelve months.

Within this fortnight, nine sick lascars were ordered from on board the *Swiss*, Captain Luce. As they

were removing them from on board, one died—the rest appeared to me exceeding ill—three of those are dead. I waited on the Captain to inform him in what manner the East India Company's men were attended, and offered my service to those on board. His answer was, they were all well, and when any were taken very ill, they should be sent on shore. I understand most of them were ill when those left the ship I have under my care.

I have also received nine from the *Ganges*, Captain Brown, two of those are dead. The day before those lascars were sent on shore, I waited on the owners, and was informed the men were all in good health. From the state they appeared to me, that could not be the case.

By particular request of my brother, who has attended the *Persévérance*, Captain Dowdick, I visited that ship on Friday last, and found four or five lascars dying for want of proper food, and the rest looked exceeding ill. I mentioned the reason of my paying that visit to the then commanding officer. On Saturday morning the sick were removed on shore, one has died since. My brother lost two, three or four days before I went on board. Within these ten days I know of fifteen lascars that have died, belonging to country and rice ships.

I understand some of the ships have surgeons, others none. However, I cannot help remarking very great neglect and inattention reft with either owners, captains, or surgeons, or the men would not be in the state they are, if properly treated.

I do not wish any man's feelings to be hurt by seeing such deplorable objects; yet at the same time I lament there is not some person regularly appointed to see justice done them. No man of the least feeling

or humanity can witness such treatment as I have related without being shocked

If it is in your power, I trust and hope you will render your assistance in adopting some regulation, otherwise many in a short time will fall victims

As to the Company, within these last twelve months I have had under my care from 350 to 400 Chinese and lascars. Seven have died

I am, Sir, &c.

W. DOCKRIS.

J. Coggan, clk.

A—No 3

St Mary Axe, March 24th, 1801.

SIR,
Since I wrote you this morning, I have recollected, I forgot to mention twenty lascars had been sent on shore from the *Lucy Maria*, on Sunday last, most of them very ill.

This evening I have examined ten sent from the *Countess of Sutherland* most of them are in a *blooming state to behold*. I should wish some person from the House to go with me to see them, if you should think proper

I am, Sir, &c.

(Signed) W. DOCKRIS

J. Coggan, clk.

(B)

The Court of Directors having expressed themselves too strongly in a dispatch to Bengal, in consequence of the privilege goods by the *Westons*, in the year 1785, received the following just observations from the Commissioners for the affairs of India

Extract of a Letter from the Commissioners of the Affairs of India to the Court of Directors, dated Whitehall, 27th January 1787

"In the tenth paragraph of your commercial draft, No. 272, we have observed one word, by substituting *unwarrantable* in place of *baneful*. The sense is equally preserved, notwithstanding the alteration, and we are sure it must be your disposition, as much as ours, to treat the members of your supreme government in India with every possible respect, for, in preserving their dignity, you in truth are preserving your own. Where disapprobation of a measure is necessary, it must be conveyed to them pointedly and intelligibly; but unless you mean to recall them from your service, it will certainly be your disposition to apply no mode of expression to them, which almost renders it incompatible with their feelings as gentlemen to remain in their situations. We are the more anxious that this dispatch should not contain one exceptionable word; because, having perused it with great attention, it is impossible for us not to feel the highest satisfaction from the attention and ability with which you have treated the subject, and we are persuaded that a continuance of the same attention to your commercial administration will redound greatly to your own honour, and the benefit of your constituents. We feel ourselves at liberty to say this with the more freedom, as we are speaking of a department of your business where the administration, and of course the credit resulting from it, is exclusively your own.

W. PITT,
HENRY DUNDAS,
MULGRAVE'

Extract of a Letter from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, to the Chairman, relative to the present Question about Private Trade;—dated Wimbledon, 21st March 1801

"It is scarcely necessary for me to observe, that in all the discussions

sions I have had on this subject with the court of directors I have not been entitled to exercise any authority in the determination of the subject. *It is a subject over which the commissioners for the affairs of India have no control*, and whatever I have stated, or now state, or may hereafter state, must be received from me in my individual capacity, and therefore, if either my reason

ing and judgment, or the reasoning of your government abroad, has not the effect of varying the opinion of the court of directors, I trust you will not delay acting upon the principles detailed in the resolutions you have done me the honour to communicate to me; for the worst result that can arise from the discussion, is any further delay in coming to a decision upon it."

PAPERS

Presented to the HOUSE of COMMONS from the EAST INDIA COMPANY concerning the late NABOB of the CARNATIC

(Ordered to be printed 21st and 23d of June 1802.)

No 1.

INSTRUCTIONS to Lieut Colonel MACNEIL, dated 5th and 6th of July 1801

To Lieutenant Colonel MACNEIL

SIR,

1 The precarious state of his highness the nabob's health being such as to indicate the probability of his highness's early dissolution, the right honourable the governor in council has judged it expedient, for the preservation of order, to station a party of troops at the palace of Chepauk, and his lordship, relying on your prudence and discretion, has deemed it proper to appoint you to the command of the troops.

2 The detail will consist of three companies of his majesty's Scotch brigade, five companies of the 1st battalion 4th regiment of native infantry, a subaltern, and thirty Europeans, and one company of native artillery with four six pounders, and thirty dragoons from the governor's body guard. A farther portion of the garrison of Fort St George will be held in readiness to join you, if occasion should render that measure necessary.

3 The principal object of your care being the preservation of order within the palace of Chepauk, at the period of the nabob's dissolution, the governor in council directs you, after securing the first gate of the garden, to march the detachment to the principal gateway of the palace, and take possession of it.

4 A communication of this intended measure will be made to the nabob sufficiently early, it is hoped, to prevent any alarm in his highness's mind, and the expedition and secrecy with which it will be executed, will probably prevent any appearance of commotion.

5 Having taken possession of the principal gateway, it will be necessary to make a disposition of your force for maintaining that position.

6 In carrying this part of your orders into effect, the governor in council desires you to use every degree of conciliation and respect towards the immediate family of the nabob, and towards the confidential officers of his highness's government. By an adherence to this mode of conduct, the governor in council expects that no difficulty will

STATE PAPERS.

will occur, but if, notwithstanding this moderation, you should be opposed to the execution of these orders with respect to possessing the gateway, you will, after making the best explanation of your orders, which circumstances will admit, to the nabob's officers within the gateway, remain thirty minutes, and if, after the expiration of that time, you shall have received no communication from Major Grant, the military secretary of the governor, you will obtain possession of the gateway by force.

7 After having established yourself at the gateway of the palace, you will consider the best means of restraining the intercourse of persons with the interior of the palace, but as it is impossible to describe, with sufficient accuracy, the different passages through the external wall of the palace, I am directed to inform you, that when the event of the nabob's death shall occur, it will be your duty, to the extent of your power, to prevent the introduction of any partizans into the palace, to restrain any apparent commotion, to protect from violence the persons of the nabob's immediate family, and to provide the best practicable means for preventing his highness's property and treasure from being removed from the palace. In executing this part of the order, you will observe that the governor in council does not consider the brotiness of his highness to constitute any part of his immediate family, and you will endeavour to restrain those, by force if necessary and practicable, from entering the palace until some arrangement of affairs shall be made.

As soon as may be practicable, and taking possession of the gateway, you will endeavour to ascertain what number of armed or un-

armed men may be within the walls of the palace, and you will cause that number to be so far diminished as you shall judge necessary to the tranquil execution of these orders, you will particularly endeavour to expel, from within the walls of the palace, all such armed men as may not be in the immediate service of his highness the nabob, upon this point you will make an early report, and it is the intention of the governor in council to furnish you, at the earliest possible period of time after the death of the nabob, with more detailed instructions for the guidance of your conduct.

9 It will be obvious to you that the governor in council considers the trust now reposed in you, to involve considerations of the greatest delicacy and importance, and his lordship directs me to express his confident expectation, that your conduct in the discharge of it will be such as the nature of the conjuncture, and the situation of his highness's family, demand from the liberality and dignity of the British government.

10 During this service, you will address immediately to the governor such communications as may become necessary, and obey such orders as you may receive directly from his lordship.

I am, Sir, &c

(Signed) J WARR,
Chief Sec. to Govt
Fort St. George 5th July 1801

To J WARR, Esq. Chief Secretary
to Government

SIR,

I request you will be pleased to inform the right hon. governor, that, agreeably to his lordship's instructions, I marched the troops placed under my command for the preservation of order at Chempak, through

through both the gateways leading to the palace, of these gates I took possession, and I have placed guards at three other gates leading through the exterior wall.

The communication which the right hon. governor was pleased to make of his lordship's intentions, seemed to have considerably reconciled the nabob to the measure itself, but he was very much averse to guards being placed within the interior gate. The space there in front of the palace is very small, and the immediate entrance to the palace is quite close to the gate.

As there seemed to be no immediate necessity for stationing guards within, and as the nabob was so much averse to any being placed there, I judged it fit to accommodate his highness's inclinations as far as possible. I have, therefore, placed sentries only at the gate, and the body of the troops close to it on the outside.

There is no kind of commotion whatever within the palace walls, and there is every appearance of tranquillity being preserved.

I have the honour to be, &c
(Signed) D MACNEIL, *Lieut. Col.*
Chepauk, 5th July 1801

To Lieut. Colonel MACNEIL, commanding a Detachment at Chepauk

212,

I have received your letter of this date, and am directed by the right hon. the governor in council, to express his lordship's entire approbation of your consenting, under the circumstances you have stated, to withdraw the guards from the interior part of the gateway of his highness the nabob's palace. It being the opinion of the right hon. the governor in council, that every degree of attention and con-

sultation should be shown to the personal wishes of the nabob, his lordship is desirous that you should be studious to meet his highness's wishes in every point not involving the security of the great object entrusted to your care.

In addition to the general instructions contained in my letter of yesterday, I am directed to desire that the greatest degree of caution may be used in your communication with the nabob, or with his highness's family and ministers, to avoid the appearance of any concurrence on the part of the British government in the arrangements which his highness may be desirous of making with respect either to his immediate property, or to the general affairs of the Carnatic, for the same reason you will abstain from giving countenance to any party which may be formed in the palace in favour of any part of the nabob's family, or of his highness's ministers.

It is understood that the principal part of the nabob's treasure is deposited in the apartments of his highness's sister, the Boody Begum, and I am directed to communicate this intelligence to you, in order that your attention may be particularly directed to those apartments, in carrying into execution his lordship's orders for preventing the removal of the treasure from Chepauk.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

J. WILKES,
Chief Secy. to Gov.

Fort St. George, 5th July 1801

To J. WILKES, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government

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His orders shall be duly observed and executed

I have taken such precautions as I think will render it altogether impossible for treasure (unless in very small sums, or in covered howlies) to be carried out of any part of the palace. May I request the honour of his lordship's permission to apprise the nabob, that conveyances of that description are not expected to be sent from the palace?

I have the honour to be, &c
(Signed) D MACNEIL, *Lieut Col Chepauk*, 6th July 1801

To *Lieut Col. MACNEIL, commanding a Detachment at Chepauk*

SIR,
In reply to your letter of last night, I am directed to acquaint you, that until his highness the nabob shall expire, the right honourable the governor in council does not consider it expedient to impose any restraint on the egress of covered palankeens from the palace of Chepauk, but after that event shall have happened, you will prevent the issue of covered palankeens from the palace, until you shall have received farther orders from the governor in council.

In issuing these instructions, the governor in council confines the operation of them to the period of time during which order shall prevail in the interior of the palace, but if any commotion should arise previously to the death of the nabob, you will take effectual measures for restraining the issue of treasure, by any mode of conveyance whatever, until you shall receive the farther directions of the governor in council. If, previously to the death of the nabob, you shall have reason to suspect an attempt to carry treasure from the palace, without his highness's consent, you will also in that

event restrain the issue of it, until the nabob's consent shall be obtained for the passage from the palace.

I am, Sir, &c.
(Signed) J WEBBER,
Chief Sec. to Govt
Fort St George, 6th July 1801

No 2
INSTRUCTIONS to *Lieut. Colonel BOWSER*
To *Lieut Col BOWSER*

SIR,
The right hon. the governor in council having judged it expedient to assemble a small force, consisting of 3 companies of the 2d battalion 17th regiment of native infantry, five troops of the 2d regiment of native cavalry, and two six-pounders, with a proportion of artillery, I am directed to inform you, that the right hon. the governor in council has selected you to command it, you will accordingly proceed to join the detachment, which is now encamped in the bed of the Long Tank, and take whatever measures may be necessary for keeping it ready to move at a short notice.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J WEBBER,
Chief Sec. to Govt.
Fort St. George, 11th July 1801

No 3
INSTRUCTIONS to *Messrs WEBBER and CLOSE, when they proceed to the Palace of the late Nabob, OMUDUT UL OMRAH*
To *J WEBBER, Esq and Lieut Col CLOSE*

GENTLEMEN,
In consequence of the death of his highness the nabob Omudut ul Omrah, it is my earnest desire, founded on the instructions of his excellency the governor general, that a complete adjustment of the affairs of the Carnatic should be made with the least practicable delay.

The nature of the evidence which has been obtained of the violation of the alliance by the nabob Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, and the course of reasoning upon the condition in which the family of their highnesses has, by that discovery been placed in relation to the British government, are subjects so familiar to you, that any particular instructions from me with regard to the principles, or to the detailed considerations of the question, appear to be superfluous. It will be sufficient for me therefore to state, that the death of the nabob has produced no change in the principles by which it will be proper to regulate the conduct of the British government towards the family of his highness, but in the application of those principles to the actual state of affairs, I judge it to be of the greatest importance to the national character, as well as to the critical state of our affairs, that the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic should be adjusted by an amicable negotiation.

I accordingly depute you to conduct this negotiation, and hereby authorise and empower you to exercise your own discretion for the purpose of carrying into effect my intentions, and the instructions of his excellency the governor-general.

The officer commanding the forces at Chepauk will obey such orders as he may receive from you.

I am, &c

(Signed) CLIVE

Fort St George, 15th July 1801

- No. 4.

Report of Messrs Warren and Close, explanatory of their Proceedings at the Palace of his late Highness the Nabob, in their Interviews or Negotiations with

the Regents and TAJE UL OMRAH

[IN B. in this document are contained the propositions from Taje ul Omrah, and from Najeeb Khan and Juke Ally Khan, required by the 4th and 5th orders of the honourable house. Vide pages 15 and 17.]

July 15th, 1801

In conformity to your lordship's instructions, we proceeded to the palace of Chepauk, having previously caused a message intimating our approach to be communicated, through the channel of Lieut. Col. MacNeil, to the principal officers of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah.

On our arrival at Chepauk, we were received by Najeeb Khan, Tukhia Ally Khan, Kadir Nawas Khan, and Mr Thomas Barrett, who introduced themselves as the principal officers of the government of his highness Omdut ul Omrah. Najeeb Khan appeared to hold no distinct office, but to have been a companion of the family since the time of Anwar ud Deen Khan, and to have been consulted generally on all occasions of interest to the nabob of the Carnatic. Tukhia Ally Khan was entrusted with the military affairs of the late nabob. Kadir Nawas Khan superintended the general and internal departments of his highness's government. But the most important department of his highness's government, the administration of the revenues of the Carnatic, had been entrusted to the charge of Mr. Barrett. As that branch of the nabob's government affected more particularly than any other the rights and interests of the Company, we judge it to be proper to explain to your lordship, that Mr. Barrett is of the lowest order of native Europeans, equally destitute of education, manners, and knowledge.

We enquired whether any particular

tular arrangement had been made by the nabob for the administration of the affairs of his government, in the event which had recently occurred; and having been informed that an authentic will, under his seal and signature, had been left by Omdut ul Omrah, we desired that it might be produced. Najeeb Khan, who directed the conversation, made the usual objections, founded on the recency of the nabob's death, on the necessity of allowing a sufficient interval of time for the ceremonies of the occasion, and on the decorum of postponing to open the will until the heir appointed should be at liberty, in conformity to the usual practice, to attend to the transaction of public business. We replied, that the British government was aware of the prevailing usages observed by the professors of the Mahomedan religion on all ordinary occasions of this nature; that your lordship could have no wish that those usages should be unnecessarily transgressed, but that the affairs of a great government, on which our request was founded, could not be regulated by the ordinary practice of individual families. Having in consequence been informed that the nabob had appointed his reputed son (Taje ul Omrah, commonly called Ally Hussain) to be his sole heir, we again urged the necessity of producing the will, and requested that the young man should be introduced to us. The khans having retired to consider this demand, we learnt, during a desultory conversation with Mr. Barrett, that the nabob Omdut ul Omrah had become acquainted with the intention of Hussain ul Mulk to employ an armed force at the palace of Cheppak for the accomplishment of his

views, at the expected termination of his highness's life, that the measure of stationing a body of the Company's troops for the protection of the family, had in consequence been entirely acceptable to his highness, and (to use his own figurative expression) that the security derived from that arrangement, had been the means of prolonging his highness's life.

The khans having been joined by Mr. Barrett, returned, assenting to our request; and, after a short delay, the young man was introduced with the will in his hand. The will having been opened and read by Kadir Nawas Khan, was found to be an authentic instrument, expressing, in clear, distinct, and explicit terms, the will of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, that his reputed son (Ally Hussain) should succeed him in the possession of all his rights, possessions, property, and in the sovereignty* of the Carnatic. The will also appointed Mahomed Najeeb Khan, Salar Jung, and Tukhis Ally Khan, to assist the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah in the administration of his affairs.

The will having been read, we excused ourselves to Ally Hussain for an intrusion, which, although unreasonable, was indispensably necessary; and he immediately retired, returning expressions of civility.

On the departure of Ally Hussain, we requested a private conference with the two khans only, who had been appointed by the will of Omdut ul Omrah to assist the counsels of his son. After some preparatory observations on the importance of the subject which we were desirous of discussing, and on the consequent necessity of superseding the ordinary forms observed in private families

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* The English word *sovereignty* is in the will.

on similar occasions of misfortune, we proceeded, with the concurrence of the khans, to state the nature of the written documents discovered at Seringapatam. Najeeb Khan expressed the greatest degree of surprise at this communication, professed his entire ignorance of the subject, and protested that it was impossible for the nabob Omdut ul Omrah to cherish the intentions imputed to his highness. Some of the principal documents having been produced, Najeeb Khan asserted, that they contained none but expressions of civility and compliment, that the Marquis Cornwallis had repeatedly enjoined the nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, to cultivate a friendly intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun, that the whole tendency of the correspondence produced was directed to that object, in conformity to the injunctions of Lord Cornwallis, and that the nabob Omdut ul Omrah had recently addressed himself to Lord Cornwallis on the subject of these communications. The particular warmth of the expressions used by Omdut ul Omrah, in his letter addressed to Gholaum Ally Khan on the 14th Mohurruan 1209, having been pointed out to Najeeb Khan, he observed that it was nothing more than an expression of civility which might have been used on any ordinary occasion. The copy of the cypher having been produced, Najeeb Khan took the opportunity of saying, that the moonshy of the nabob was present, and could be examined with respect to the authenticity of the hand-writing, that although the cypher appeared, as was stated by us, to be a paper of a very secret nature, calculated to provide for the transaction of affairs of great importance, it might have been conveyed into the archives of Tip-

poo Sultaun by the enemies of Omdut ul Omrah; that, upon being furnished with the proofs of the supposed treacherous intercourse between Tippoo Sultaun and the family of the nabob Mahomed Ally, such explanations should be afforded, and such answers given, as the different cases might require, and that, the proofs being compared, the Company might form a complete judgment.

This discourse being apparently intended to confound the object of our deputation, we stated to the two khans, that in cases of disputed points between independent powers, neither party could erect itself into a judge of the conduct of the other party, that on those questions an appeal could be made only to the general practice of the nations of the world, and that such differences could only be decided by the means possessed by each party respectively to provide for its own security, that with respect to the present case, the most abundant proofs were in the possession of the British government, of the violation of the alliance between the Company and the late Nabob, and particularly of the express stipulations of the treaty of 1799, that the British government, being satisfied of the sufficiency of those proofs, had no intention of constituting itself a judge of the conduct of its ally: but that being prepared to appeal, if necessary, to the established maxims of the public law of nations, it had resolved to demand from the late nabob, Omdut ul Omrah, satisfaction for his violation of the alliance, and security for its rights and interests against the future opposition of his highness's hostile councils, that the indisposition, which had terminated in the death, of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, had prevented

wanted the execution of the governor-general's orders for this purpose; that although his highness's right to the support and friendship of the Company had been entirely cut off by his violation of the alliance, the British government being still desirous of preserving the connexion so long subsisting, would be disposed to extend those sentiments to the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, if an adequate security could be established for the rights of the Company in the Carnatic, through the channel of an amicable adjustment. The two khans repeated, that they were ignorant of the existence of the supposed secret intercourse between the nabobs Walajah, and Omdut ul Omrah, and Tippoo Sultan, and Najeeb Khan in particular stated, that from the tenor of his intercourse with the family of the nabob, as well as from the expressions of the will, he did not consider himself at liberty, or in any way authorized to give answer upon so momentous a question, without consulting and obtaining the consent of the family and ministers of the late nabob.—We proceeded to explain slowly and distinctly to the two khans the course of reasoning and the propositions contained in the declaration transmitted from Bengal, which the khans having heard with great attention, they stated that they distinctly comprehended the object of the declaration and the force of the reasoning; they admitted the conclusions drawn from the facts, provided the facts should be true, but at the same time strenuously asserted their disbelief of the hostile intercourse with Tippoo Sultan, imputed to the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah. After a desultory conversation on this subject, in which the two khans insisted on the

reasonableness of their entering into the defence of Omdut ul Omrah's conduct in regard to the several points stated in the declaration, and in which we repeated the arguments founded on the practice of nations, and on the right of the British government to provide for the safety of its interests, we endeavoured to reduce this very long conference into the result of a single proposition, by demanding to know whether the khans, on the part of Ally Hussian, were disposed to an adjustment of the claims of the British government through the channel of an amicable negotiation? They professed the greatest degree of respect and attachment to the British government, stated that they considered themselves and the whole family to be under its immediate protection, dwelt on the general impossibility of their proceeding by any other than amicable means in the settlement of the affairs of the Carnatic, or of the existing differences with the British government, but carefully avoided a direct answer to the proposition we had stated on that subject. The day being far advanced, the khans took an opportunity of urging the necessity of their attention to the funeral of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and to the preparations of removing the corpse to Trichinopoly. This plea was urged in so forcible a manner, upon the grounds of public decorum, and of consideration for the feelings of the family, that we yielded without further discussion to the evident desire of the khans to conclude the conference, without giving a positive answer to our proposition. It was agreed, however, that an interview should take place on the evening of the next day, at which the khans assured us that they would be prepared to give a specific answer to

our propositions, after consulting the family and ministers of the late nabob upon the subject of this conference.

In proceeding to take leave of the khans, we assured them in the most unequivocal terms, that on the answer which they intended to give to our proposition would depend, whether the British government would acknowledge the claims of the reputed son of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the support of the Company, or whether the British government should proceed to take such measures as it might deem to be expedient for the security of its rights and interests in the Carnatic.

July 16 — At seven o'clock this evening we proceeded, according to appointment, to meet the two khans at the palace of Chepauk. Before we proceeded to the direct object of the conference, we communicated to Najeeb Khan and Tukhsa Ally Khan, a Persian translation of the declaration. After perusing a considerable part of the paper, Najeeb Khan observed, that it contained the same matter as was explained to him on the preceding day; that he entirely comprehended the course of the reasoning, and that he did not require any farther explanation on the subject. He repeated his conviction, that it was impossible for Omdut ul Omrah to engage in a correspondence injurious to the British interests; and stated, as a confirmation of his belief, the adherence of the nabob to the necessary stipulations of his engagements, and the probability that these means had been adopted by his highness's enemies to injure his reputation.

In order, however, that the conclusion drawn from the propositions stated in the declaration, and the

consequent determination of the British government, might be fully understood, that passage of the paper was read, and distinctly explained by us to the two khans.

We proceeded to inquire whether the khans were prepared (according to the result of the conference of yesterday) to enter into a friendly negotiation, for the establishment of an adequate security for the right and interest of the British government? The khans replied, that the whole family of Omdut ul Omrah was under the protection of the British government, and that it could feel none but friendly dispositions towards the Company, at the same time, however, they persisted in denying the proofs of the violation of the alliance by Omdut ul Omrah, on the foundation of which the demand of the British government rested, and, by a strange inconsistency, proceeded to inquire the conditions on which we proposed to establish an amicable adjustment of our claims on the family of the late nabob.

We proceeded accordingly to state to the khans the inconveniences which had been experienced from the effects of a divided government, the difficulty of applying, under such a system, the resources of the Carnatic to the exigencies of the public service, and the impossibility of introducing a regular form of internal government, until the defects of the existing system should be corrected. We then informed the khans, that the only remedy applicable to the errors of the present government of the Carnatic, was the substitution of one permanent authority, in lieu of the fluctuating authority which had hitherto subsisted, that the appropriation of the resources of the Carnatic, during the government of the nabob, and under the pressure

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of actual war, had been found from experience to be incompatible with the objects of the alliance, and therefore the only adequate security for the rights and interest of the British government in the Carnatic, against the dangers with which they had been menaced, was the entire and exclusive administration of the civil and military government of the Carnatic. We accordingly informed the khans, that this condition would form the basis of the arrangement which it was our intention to propose to them. Najeib Khan observed, that such a proposition was calculated to frustrate the professed object of the arrangement, for if the entire government of the Carnatic should be transferred to the hands of the Company, the station of nabob of the Carnatic would be annihilated. — We replied to the khans, that the condition now proposed actually existed in the treaties of 1787 and 1792, and that although the entire civil and military government of the Carnatic had been transferred, under the operation of that condition, to the exclusive administration of the Company, no doubt was entertained that the rank and dignity of Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, as the nabobs of the Carnatic, had been preserved: we therefore drew this conclusion, that the rank and dignity of the nabob of the Carnatic could not be injured by extending the operation of that condition; and that the object of proposing an amicable adjustment, instead of proceeding to exercise the rights acquired by the British government, was manifestly founded in the desire of preserving to the family the rank, dignities, and splendor of the nabobs of the Carnatic. The khans admitted this argument to be conclusive, but

without coming to any determination on the fundamental proposition stated by us, appeared to be desirous of knowing the general outline of the arrangement which it was in the contemplation of the British government to establish. — We thought it expedient to satisfy, by describing the principal parts of the plan intended by your lordship and by the governor general, in the event of an amicable adjustment of affairs, but we apprised the khans at the same time, that the intended arrangements, with respect to the family affairs and dependants of Omdut ul Omrah, would be regulated by the acceptance or rejection of the fundamental proposition, for in the one case the British government would be at liberty to consult the dictates of moderation, liberality and friendship, but in the other case it would be compelled to adopt such measures of precaution, for the security of its rights and interests, as the hostile conduct of Omdut ul Omrah had justified, and as would be rendered necessary by the perseverance of his reputed son in the spirit of those councils.

The khans entered into a desultory conversation on the long subsisting connection between the Company and the family of the late nabob, in which they were more desirous of reterring the pretensions of Ally Hussian to the stipulations of the treaty of 1792, than to the actual circumstances which had occurred. We thought it therefore not unnecessary to state again, that the right of Omdut ul Omrah to the support of the Company was founded on the express letter of the treaty of 1792, that the whole spirit of the alliance having been vitiated previously to the offensive conclusion of the treaty of 1792, the nabob Omdut ul Omrah had,

by his own conduct, annihilated the rights intended to be conveyed to him by that instrument; that consequently he left his reputed son in his own condition; that having placed himself in the relation of a public enemy, his reputed son had succeeded to that condition, that although the British government had suspended the exercise of its rights, it acknowledged no other claim on the part of Hissam; and that therefore in admitting him to negotiate upon any terms, it was actuated by motives of generosity, unconnected with any right in the family of Mohammed Ally to resist its demand for security. The khans made a civil answer to the substance of this communication, but at the same time indicated, in the strongest manner, that they were by no means disposed to accede to the fundamental proposition of the intended arrangement, they stated that it was a subject of so much importance, as to preclude them from giving an answer without a full consultation with all the branches of the family, they therefore requested that they might be permitted to postpone until the next day their final answer upon the subject of the two conferences.

In the actual situation of the family of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, we considered ourselves at liberty to accede to the request, under a formal intimation to the khans, that as the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic could not be prosecuted without material injury to the internal tranquillity of the country, we should expect to receive an answer so determinate as to enable the British government to proceed to adopt the measures suspended by the present negotiation. We accordingly took leave of the khans, with an assurance that

they would be prepared to deliver a final answer the next day.

July 17.—We proceeded to the palace of Chopsak at three o'clock in the afternoon, according to the appointment of the preceding day.

Najeb Khan and Tukhta Ally Khan proceeded to inform us that the whole family, and the ministers of the late nabob, had been assembled for the purpose of deliberating on the proposition stated by us on the preceding day, and that the result of their deliberation was a conviction in their own minds, that notwithstanding the decided terms in which our proposition was communicated to them, the British government would still be disposed to accept a modification of the terms required for its security in the Carnatic. They accordingly produced a contra projet, which they desired might be submitted to your lordship's consideration. A translation of that paper is annexed to the report of this day's conference.

We informed the khans that we possessed full authority from your lordship and from the governor-general, for rejecting, on the part of the British government, any proposal inconsistent with the extent of the security already required, and that our proposition for vesting exclusively in the hands of the Company the entire administration of the civil and military government of the Carnatic, contained the basis on which alone the proposed arrangement could be founded. We reminded the khans of the importance which they had, at an earlier stage of the conference, attached to the extent of this proposition, and of their considering their authority insufficient to decide so momentous a question. We warned them that the interpretation they were about to give to the will of Omdut ul

Omrah.

Omdrah, involved them in a heavy responsibility to his reputed son, which the terms of the will itself did not justify*, and we stated for their consideration, that whatever might be the result of these conferences, the effect to be produced on their own interests could bear no comparison to the effect to be produced on those of Ally Hussian.

The khans replied, that the subject of the evidence discovered at Seringapatam, had been agitated in the durbar for more than twelve months†, that measures had been taken for justifying the conduct of Omdut ul Omdrah, which they asserted to be innocent of any treacherous intention towards the British government, that our propositions, containing the fundamental basis of an amicable arrangement, had been fully discussed and debated, that they (the khans) had fully considered the nature of the authority and of the responsibility which the will of Omdut ul Omdrah devolved on them; that they were prepared to give a decided answer on the proposition, and that the paper delivered to us contained, finally and unequivocally, the only terms on which they could accede to our arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic by negotiation.

Our endeavours to accomplish an amicable adjustment being thus defeated *in time*, by the formal rejection of your lordship's fundamental propositions, we should have felt ourselves justified in bringing the negotiation to an immediate conclusion, but knowing the earnest desire of your lordship and of the governor-general, to obtain the security required for the rights and interests of the British government

in the Carnatic by an amicable negotiation, and considering the proposal of the khans to be so extravagant as to be undeserving of serious attention, we judged it to be our duty not to exclude the reputed son of Omdut ul Omdrah from an opportunity of declaring his genuine sentiments upon a point of so much interest to himself, and of relieving himself from the effects of the insinuated or treacherous counsels of his appointed advisers. We therefore informed the khans, that in a question which appeared to relate exclusively to the interests of the nabob Omdut ul Omdrah's reputed son, we were desirous of receiving from himself a declaration, which would determine his future situation, either as the acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic, or as a mere dependant on the bounty of the Company. The extreme anxiety which the khans discovered in attempting to evade this demand, confirmed in our judgment the expediency and necessity of persisting in it.

It would be tedious to detain your lordship with a repetition of the various subterfuges urged by the khans to avoid a compliance with this request, all founded on his youth‡, his insufficiency to conduct a conference, the fears of his mother, and the recency of his father's death. It was not without a very long and tedious conversation, that we obtained from the khans the appointment of a time for our receiving, from the reputed son of Omdut ul Omdrah, his own determination on the proposition communicated to the two khans. The interview was at length fixed for the next day.

APPEN-

* All the authority conveyed by the will to these khans, is contained in the Persian word *Imdad*, which literally signifies 'assistance'.

† This circumstance, in the most direct terms, Najeef Khan's expressions of surprise on this subject, in the first conference.

‡ He is nearly eighteen years old.

APPENDIX to the Third Day : Conference.

Translation of a Paper delivered by NAJIB KHA Behander SAHAR JUNG, and MADAMMED TUKHIA ALLY KHAN Behander, to Mr WEBBER, and Lieut. COL. CLOSE on the 16th of July 1801

In as much as we are jointly employed in a business of trust, and are desirous of adhering to the will of our late lord and master, we have accordingly considered, with great attention, the matters which have been stated on each side during our conversations, and although we do not remember, word by word, what has been urged by each party, we yet recollect the substance of what passed. You explained to us that Marguis Wellesley Behander had shown himself displeased with the situation of the conduct of the late nabob, in maintaining a correspondence with Tippoo Sultan, the late ruler of Mysore, and that in consequence the son of the late nabob (we mean our present benevolent and gracious master,) had forfeited his right to the protection of the Company. We cannot, gentlemen, speak positively as to the wrongs alluded to, but from our knowledge of the temper, disposition, and sentiments of the late nabob, we are impressed with a full assurance, that he was incapable of acting contrary to his own dignity, and the engagements of his alliance, which he ever respected, and indeed we ourselves know, that he never corresponded with any power at Hindustan, unless by means of the Company; and the Company were well acquainted with the correspondence which did take place, and which consisted only of letters couched in warm expressions of congratulation or condolence. If, besides the correspondence of this description, any writings have come to light, containing the matters of which you have read to us a short abstract, we apprehend that they have originated with evil persons, for the purpose of shaking the friendship and union so long established between the late nabob and the company. Nor do we believe that the company, on mature consideration, can hold it to be true, that the late nabob engaged in a correspondence contrary to their interests; and, advertising to the amicable and friendly behaviour observed by the company till the last moments of the nabob, the whole world will be surprised that they entertained no such suspicions, and with us it is matter of regret, that at a juncture when the

nabob is deprived of the means of justification his reputation should be publicly injured. But gentlemen, without dwelling on these matters, we consider ourselves as being honoured with the office of agent on the part of the present heir according to the will of his illustrious father, and we have to observe, that you, gentlemen, have seen that will, and been made acquainted with the power which it has vested in Sahib Zahir, the present heir. The said heir, according to the law and rules which hold among us regarding succession, is found to inherit the whole of the rights and state of his father, and it is every respect the true hereditary successor of his father. In this case he has ipso facto derived protection from the treaty of 1792 A.D. and we have held ourselves bound on his part by the said treaty from the moment we entered on the great charge, namely, the care of the person and government of the said heir. Gentlemen, without adverting to any of the contents of the above treaty, you have, on the part of the governor-general Behander, demanded of us, who are the agents of the said heir, either to deliver the heir aforesaid and his kingdom, entirely into the hands of the governor-general, or to communicate our instructions respecting such an arrangement as would be assented to by the governor-general. We were happy, gentlemen, that you did not insist on an immediate answer to your demands; and the interval that has taken place, we have minutely considered your demands, as well as the trust that has been confided in us, and we apprehend, that when you made the said demand, the treaty of 1792 A.D. was not in your contemplation, for the said heir, successor of the late nabob, is clearly included in the treaty aforesaid. In this case the said heir has become the protector of the agreements and stipulations of his illustrious father, and has succeeded to the right, to benefit by the stipulations of the company contained in the said treaty; and we are ready to abide in the fullest manner to every point that he has agreed to therein. We have not said that we were unwilling to agree to any treaty *besides that above-mentioned*, on the contrary, we are prepared to hear any demands that may be proposed, and to exert ourselves to the extent of our ability for the purpose of adjusting them. We do not perceive much defect in the means long established by the treaty, for promoting the security and union of both sides. In every event, if it can be modified for the interest of the company, the

aforesaid

aforded her will be happy at all times to attend to any wish that you may communicate, nor would we say that we should consider ourselves fortunate in being the means of adjusting to desirable an arrangement. We must infer, that you could scarcely hope that the demand, at which you hinted at the first meeting, and so clearly explained at the second that it could not be misunderstood would be accepted, as, gentlemen, you well know that we who are charged with the care of the country and the affairs of the heir, have no authority to engage in such dissension and faithfulness, as to deliver up, unconditionally the whole rights and property of our master and commit him and his family, in a state of want and subjection, to the company. We cannot therefore comprehend the substance and meaning of your demand, more than that it occurs to us that you have proposed a heavy demand to us, in the first instance, under the idea, that it might be diminished at future conferences and that you might ascertain our sentiments, touching a fresh agreement for renewing the friendship and union that has so long subsisted between the company and the nabob of the Carnatic.

Gentlemen, with the view to meet the just wishes of the company, we have considered the objects and advantages which were often mentioned to the late nabob, and we have resolved to act in conformity to them to the extent of our ability; and regarding them as the best foundations for an arrangement, we now present a separate paper, containing a few correspondent propositions, and in the event of their being approved, they may be easily inserted in the treaty of 1792 A.D. the happy effects of which have been witnessed by the company and by us. We hope that in these propositions we have strongly demonstrated the will of the heir, as well as ours, to promote the true interest of the company, without entirely sacrificing the rights of the heir, which are committed to our care and we trust that, considering what we have stated above, our motive for bringing forward the propositions alluded to must be clear beyond the possibility of doubt. Adverting to the responsibility we sustain, from the great affairs and interests in which we are engaged, we have to request that you will deliver to us in writing, any demands you may wish to state in reply, in order that we may be free from any imputations hereafter. We are confident that you will consider the deli-

cate circumstances which have led us to this request, and allow them to plead our excuse.

(Signed) { MAHOMMED NAJIB KHAN,
SALAR JUNG.
MAHOMMED TUKHIA ALI
KHAN, Behauder.

Translation of Propositions from the Heir

ARTICLE I.—He cedes to the Company sovereign authority over the Poligars, but the Company shall give credit for two lacks sixty thousand seven hundred and four star pagodas, on account of the Poligar pension, in the kists of the nine lacks payable each year.

ART. II.—The heir grants full authority to the Company to collect the revenues, &c. of the following districts.—The revenues of these districts are detailed below but they amount to more, viz.

<i>Star Pagodas</i>	
Tinnevely	406,508
Madura	64,945
Ongole	13,534
Palnad	24,657

The amount of these two articles, including the Poligar pension is 854,848 star pagodas, and this sum being deducted from the nine lacks payable each year, leaves a balance of 43,152 star pagodas.

ART. III.—The sum of 45,152 star pagodas, which is the balance of the nine lacks allotted to defray the expense for the defence of the Carnatic, and the sum of 621,105 star pagodas, which is allotted to discharge the debts of the nabob Wadajah according to the treaty, will be paid to the Company yearly by the heir; and shall be discharged in ten equal parts, from the 1st to the 15th of each month, from the beginning of September to the month of June, and on the debts of the nabob Wadajah being discharged, the payment of the sum of 621,105 star pagodas shall cease, and the sum 40,550 star pagodas only shall continue to be paid yearly, agreeably to the stipulations of 1793 and the whole of the contents of this paper shall be considered as referring to the said treaty.

ART. IV.—After the discharge of the above debts, the heir shall liquidate the new cavalry loan, and he will not only acknowledge that debt, but also the interest due on it.

ART. V.—In the event of failure in the payment of the kists stipulated in the third article, then those parts of the treaty of 1792 shall be carried into effect, which stipulates

where to the districts detailed in the schedule, No. 2, of the said treaty, and which according to the 2d article of this paper, have not been transferred; and with the exception of the matters modified as above, the whole of the articles of the treaty of 1792 shall continue in full force.

The heir, out of his regard and friendship for the Company, will make over to the Company, as an act of favour, the whole of his rights touching the pearl fishery.

July 18.—Having personally communicated to your lordship our suspicions, founded on the anxiety of the two khans to prevent our interview with the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, that their conduct might not be conformable to the wishes and intentions of that person, your lordship authorized and instructed us to communicate to Mr. Fitzgerald (the confidential physician of the late nabob), who had personal access to his highness's reputed son, the actual existence of the governor-general's orders, and your lordship's positive determination to execute those orders, for the purpose of obtaining an adequate security for the rights and interests of the British government in the Carnatic. Such parts of the governor-general's orders as were sufficient to remove all doubt on this subject, were accordingly communicated to Mr. Fitzgerald, from his excellency's original dispatches. It being necessary, in conformity to this instruction, that farther time should be allowed for the operation of this indirect communication, the interview appointed for to-day was postponed, and we soon excused for believing that as far as the opinion of Mr. Fitzgerald was allowed to have effect, the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, as well as his two advisers, Najeeb Khan and Tukhia Ally Khan, were, in the course of this day, apprized of the actual circumstances in which they stood, through the channel of

a confidential person, who could have no interest in augmenting the appearance of the danger which actually menaced the immediate interests of Ally Hussain.

Although this transaction forms no part of our public negotiation, we have judged it to be proper to include it in the official report of this day. It will demonstrate that no care was omitted, which could conciliate the mind of Ally Hussain, and of his appointed advisers.

July 19.—We proceeded about noon to the palace. We inquired whether a further consideration of the subject of our conferences had created in the minds of the two khans any alteration of their sentiments delivered at the last interview? They replied, without hesitation, that it was not the intention of Ally Hussain to recede from the terms communicated to us in a written paper at the last interview; we then stated our belief, that under that declaration they were prepared for the serious consequences of the alternative frequently described to them. The khans replied, with much apparent composure and resolution, that they were prepared to meet those consequences, on their responsibility, under a perfect reliance on the protection of the Company, and on its adherence to the existing engagements. We reminded the khans that it was useless to recur to the stipulations of the treaty of 1792, the vital spirit of which had been annihilated, and that the violation of Omdut ul Omrah's engagement had contradicted the right of the Company to demand the security now required.

The reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah being, at our desire, introduced according to the former stipulations, we extended our intrusion on his grief, by explaining our unwillingness

willingness to receive from any person but himself the final rejection of a proposition, made with great indulgence to him, on the part of the British government, and involving consequences of the greatest importance to his immediate interests. We then stated, in a succinct manner, the nature of that proposition, with the conclusive rejection of it by his appointed advisers, and expressed our desire of knowing whether the motives of the khans for thus rejecting, at such apparent hazard to his welfare, the friendship of the Company, were conformable to his own sentiments and resolution. He replied (the khans being present) that he considered them to have been appointed by his father for the purpose of assisting him; and that the object of his own councils was not to separate from that of the khans.

According to the plan previously arranged by your lordship for this probable event, we made known, without farther delay, your lordship's intention of holding a personal conference with Ally Hussian (previously to the final adoption of the measures then in your lordship's contemplation).—This communication was unexpected, and the khans endeavoured to evade it by repeating the excuses they had used at the former interview, but, being assured that your lordship's orders in this respect admitted of no excuse, the khans retired at the same time for the purpose of preparing the equipage of Ally Hussian. During this short interval, the young man, with much apparent anxiety in his manner, whispered in a low tone of voice, that he had been deceived by the two khans. Ally Hussian accordingly proceeded, without farther communication with the two khans, to the tent of the officer command-

ing the troops at Cheshank, at which place we had the honour of a personal interview with your lordship.

After the first ceremonies of the meeting had subsided, the attendants of Ally Hussian, including Najeeb Khan, and Tukhis Ally Khan, were directed to withdraw, and the tent was rendered entirely private. Before your lordship's intention in this interview could be entirely explained, Ally Hussian interrupted the conversation by expressing his sense of your lordship's consideration. He then proceeded to state, of his own accord, that the conferences had been conducted by the two khans without his participation in their councils, and that he disapproved the termination which had in consequence been given to the negotiation.

In consequence of this avowal, the entire substance of the conferences was recapitulated to Ally Hussian, the nature of the proofs of the violation of the alliance was distinctly described, and the extent of the security required by the British government concisely explained. Ally Hussian, after stating that he comprehended the whole of this important question, declared himself ready to conclude an arrangement with the British government on the basis of the proposition communicated by us to the two khans. He then proceeded to make inquiries into the secondary branches of the arrangement in your lordship's contemplation, particularly with respect to the provision for his personal expences, and to the extent of his power over the public treasure of his father, which he considered to be large. After a desultory conversation of some length, interrupted by the importunity of Najeeb Khan, Ally Hussian proposed that a treaty should be prepared by

on, upon the basis of vesting the entire civil and military government of the Carnatic in the hands of the Company; and stated, that he would be ready to execute the instrument, with or without the consent of the khans, at another separate conference, which was appointed for the next day, within the lines of the British troops.

July 20.—According to the appointment of yesterday, we proceeded to the palace of Chepauk; and Ally Hussain having been introduced to us, said, in a resolute tone of voice, and with more apparent firmness in his manner than we had before observed, that the two khans had been appointed by his father's will to assist his councils, that he could not adopt a line of conduct inconsistent with their advice, and that therefore any farther interview with your lordship was unnecessary.

These expressions we attributed to Ally Hussain's desire of concealing his real sentiments in the presence of the khans, and proceeded to state, that the conference of yesterday having been interrupted by the importunity of Najeeb Khan, your lordship was resolved to bring it to a termination at the interview appointed for this day. We accordingly attended Ally Hussain to the tent, which having been again rendered entirely private, the young man stated, in the same tone of confidence, that this interview was unnecessary, as it was impossible for him to deviate from the sentiments already expressed by the two khans. This unexpected change of sentiments in the mind of Ally Hussain having excited some surprise, your lordship desired that he should explain himself more distinctly.—In reply he stated, that he was aware the sentiments now expressed by him differed entirely from those

expressed on the preceding day; that the truth was, he had seriously reflected on the subject of yesterday's conference, that the whole family had been assembled to deliberate on the state of his affairs, that he had in consequence given a better consideration to the actual circumstances in which he was placed, that he retracted the opinion communicated to your lordship yesterday, and that he considered it to be totally incompatible with his interests and honour to accede to the proposition, on the basis of which he had agreed to conclude the treaty.

We reminded him, by your lordship's direction, of the deception stated by himself to have been used by the khans, and expressed our confidence that notwithstanding this unaccountable change of his ostensible manner, the genuine sentiments of his mind were expressed at the conference of yesterday. He said, that this was not the case; that he had spoken at that time from an hasty impression, but that the sentiments which he now declared, were the result of serious reflection, and of a conviction on his mind, that by pursuing this line of conduct, he should adhere to the intention of his father and to the real interests of his family. We stated in reply, that he deceived himself, if he encouraged any expectation of securing the interests of his family on any other basis than that of an amicable adjustment, for the alternative choice was either to become the acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic, or one of many pensioners dependent on the bounty of the Company, that the choice, which he now appeared to have made, was so inconsistent with prudence, as to justify our considering him to act under some improper restraint.—We proceeded therefore to explain, that

that he was now actually within the British encampment, and that if he apprehended any consequences of personal danger or inconvenience from the pursuit of the genuine wishes of his heart, your lordship would immediately secure him against any insults he might apprehend, by keeping him under the protection of the Company's forces. He replied, that he acted from no impression of that description, but that the sentiments which he now expressed contained the genuine feelings of his heart.

We expressed your lordship's and our own suspicion, that he had been encouraged by interested persons to disbelieve the existence of the orders from the governor-general, under the authority of which the fundamental proposition of the negotiations had been stated to him, and we inquired whether he had received, from Mr Fitzgerald, any communication on that subject.—Ally Haffan answered, that Mr Fitzgerald had spoken to him on the subject, and that his determination was not governed by any distrust of our communications relative to the orders of the governor-general. We explained our allusion to the advice of interested persons, by stating, that those who held runkaws or other claims on the Carnatic, were deeply interested in persuading him to resist an amicable negotiation, because in the event of an amicable adjustment for vesting the civil government in the hands of the Company, they could have no hope of recovering those claims, whereas those hopes would still be cherished as long as he should be persuaded to keep the affairs of the Carnatic in an unsettled state. We further stated, that the principles of persons of that description encouraged every expectation that

they would be desirous of sacrificing the permanent interests and honour of his family to the attainment of their immediate advantage. We added, that such persons, as well as the general body of his father's creditors, would feel an interest in persuading him to reject the proposition now offered to him, and so cherish a belief that the measures of this government would be disapproved by the court of directors, and that the arrangement, which he might compel your lordship to adopt, would be reversed. We warned Ally Haffan of the effects of such a fallacy, by assuring him that the orders of the governor-general were founded on a previous communication with the court of directors, and with his majesty's ministers, and on a knowledge that the sentiments of the government at home concurred entirely with those entertained by his excellency and by your lordship, relative to the violation of the alliance.

We were the more earnest in urging this point, with your lordship's permission, on the attention of Ally Haffan, because the project, delivered to us at the third conference by the two khans, contains manifest proof of having been translated from an European language, and because it is equally manifest, from the tenor of that paper, that the author of it was interested in excluding the executive government in India from participating in the administration of the funds, now allotted by treaty to the liquidation of the consolidated debts of the nabob Mahomed Ally.

Ally Haffan denied that he acted from any motives derived from the persuasion of others, and repeated that his choice was now founded on his determination to adhere to the councils of the khans, appointed by his

his

his father's will to assist him, and finally to reject the arrangement which had been proposed to him. We enquired whether he clearly understood the consequences of that determination with respect to himself, he said, that it had been clearly explained to him, but that, notwithstanding the explanation, he assured himself of the favour and protection of the company, as well as of your lordship's paternal care. In proceeding to conclude the conference, your lordship desired Ally Hussain to prepare himself to receive your lordship's final and most serious resolution. It was then explained to him, that no pains had been omitted, which could warn him of the consequences he was about to incur; that the duties of humanity towards him, and the duties of attention to the national character of the British government had been satisfied, that he had himself determined the situation in which he would hereafter be placed, and that your lordship, with concern for himself individually, now apprized him, that his future situation would be that of a private person, hostile to the British interests, and dependent on the bounty of the Company.

This declaration Ally Hussain received with a degree of composure and confidence, which denoted that he acted from no impression of fear, and a smile of complacency, which appeared on his countenance throughout this discussion, denoted an internal satisfaction as the line of conduct he was pursuing. Being asked if he wished to make any further observation, he said that he did not, and being also asked whether he had any objection to the introduction of the khans into the tent, he said that he had none, which being accordingly done, he

was directed by your lordship to leave the tent.

July 21st.—Your lordship having committed to us your intention to open, if possible, a negotiation with the Prince Azem ul Dowlah, endeavours were accordingly used to establish a communication with him, but it was found that so a strict watch had been established over him by the adherents of Omdut ul Omrah, that no means appeared to be practicable for opening a private communication with him, while any attempt to effect it by open means appeared liable to the serious objection of precipitating the fate of the young prince.

July 22d.—In this situation of things it was reported to your lordship, by the officer commanding the troops at Chepauk, that Najeeb Khan and Tukhia Ally Khan had already performed the ceremony of installing Ally Hussain in a private manner on the Masnad of Arnot, and that they had resolved to install him in a public manner the following day.

Your lordship resolved to prevent a measure calculated to produce immediate commotion in the provinces of the Carnatic, for that purpose Lieutenant colonel MacNeil was directed to take possession of the palace of Chepauk with the British troops, and to remove entirely all the guards of the late Omdut ul Omrah, who had been permitted to remain at their posts during the late negotiations. This measure established the immediate means of relieving Azem ul Dowlah, and a party of the company's troops was substituted at the haven in which that prince was confined, in lieu of the guards stationed over it by the adherents of Omdut ul Omrah.

As soon as the first surmise of the prince Azeem ul Dowlah permitted him to receive an explanation, that the guard was intended for his greater security and protection, he expressed his satisfaction at the change, together with the desire of being permitted to explain his situation.

July 23d—On the morning of this day Lieutenant Colonel MacNeil waited upon the prince Azeem ul Dowlah, for the ostensible purpose of excusing and explaining to him the cause of stationing a party of the Company's troops over the place in which he resided. Lieutenant Colonel MacNeil took this opportunity of informing the prince, that if he should have any desire of representing the state of his affairs to the British government, the means of doing so without danger had now been opened to him.

In consequence of this communication, a time was appointed by your lordship's directions for our meeting the prince Azeem ul Dowlah. At the interview which ensued, the conversation on the part of the prince was confined to a statement of the injuries which he had sustained, and of the hardships he continued to sustain, from the depression of his fortune, and from the poverty of his circumstances. He requested, with much earnestness, that his case might be considered in the general arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, and appeared to limit his expectation to a more comfortable domestic arrangement for his family. Sufficient grounds however appeared in the course of the conversation, to satisfy our judgment that the prince was capable of sustaining a more important character, and that his sense of his own immediate interests would dispose him to meet, with cordiality,

any overture on the part of the British government, for reviving, in his person, the alliance so long subsisting between the Company and his family.

The conversation ended with an assurance, on our part, of your lordship's immediate attention to Azeem ul Dowlah's difficulties, and to the provision of a more suitable accommodation for his family.

July 24th—An interview having been appointed for communicating to the prince this day the result of your lordship's consideration of his case, we met him at an early hour in the tent of Lieutenant Colonel MacNeil. The conversation was opened by some distant observations on the state in which the affairs of the Carnatic had been placed by the death of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah; and the remarks of the prince continuing, in our judgment, to be favourable to the impression we had received of his understanding and disposition, we proceeded to explain to him the actual situation in which the whole house of Mahommed Ally had been placed, in consequence of the violation of the alliance by that prince, and by his successor Omdut ul Omrah. The curiosity of the prince being naturally excited by this conversation, connected with his previous knowledge of the manner in which the conferences with Ally Husein had terminated, we proceeded to disclose to the prince the nature of the rights acquired by the Company, the indispensable necessity of exercising those rights for the establishment of an adequate security for our interests in the Carnatic; and the great reluctance with which the British government would feel itself compelled to use its power for the attainment of that object, which could not fail of producing the same hostile

tion of the house of Mahommed Ally

A long desultory conversation ensued on the different points of this question, the substance of which has been stated in an earlier passage of this report, and it ended in a declaration of the prince Azeem ul Dowlah, of his acknowledgment of the right acquired by the Company under the discovery made at Seringapatam, and of his readiness to afford, in the event of his elevation to the mafnud, that satisfaction and security which your lordship and the governor general had deemed to be necessary to the preservation of our interests in the Carnatic.

Having accordingly described to the prince the entire outline of the arrangement proposed for the settlement of the affairs of the Carnatic, on the basis of this proposition, it was agreed that the arrangement should be prepared in the form of a treaty, to be discussed at an interview appointed for the next day.

July 25th—Having accordingly prepared the draft of the treaty, we proceeded to the tent for the purpose of discussing with the prince Azeem ul Dowlah the general principles, and the particular articles of the agreement proposed by your lordship.

The prince having acceded to the fundamental articles, in conformity to his acknowledgment of the preceding day, directed his attention to that article which stipulates, that a fund shall be appropriated for the expence of maintaining the family of the nabobs Wajah and Ghudat ul Omrah: he stated, that although it could not be incumbent on him to interrupt on this account an arrangement so beneficial to the different branches of the family, and so himself in particular; he yet felt it to be inti-

mately connected with his reputation and honour to urge their situation upon your lordship's most indulgent consideration. We explained, in consequence, to Azeem ul Dowlah, that the motives of the British government for entering into any discussion for the purpose of establishing an amicable adjustment, could be founded on no other wish than that of preserving the family from that state of degradation, into which it was about to have been precipitated, by the faithless conduct and by the perverse spirit of the counsils of its principal members; and we reminded the prince, that in making him the instrument of re-establishing the alliance, it was necessary to furnish him with the most powerful means of securing the attachment of the family, by rendering the amount of the stipends or jaghires to be allotted for its support dependant on the pleasure of the British government, which communication with his highness would proceed to apportion the amount to be appropriated for this purpose, according to the merits of the individuals concerned.

In discussing that part of the treaty which stipulates the acknowledgment of the debts due by his ancestors to the Company, the prince expressed his sense of the reasonableness of that stipulation, but stated distinctly and repeatedly, that he did not consider himself involved by that article in any personal responsibility for the amount of these or of any other debts. We expressed our entire concurrence in his highness's interpretation of the article, and a clause was added to the article, for the express purpose of obviating any doubt on this point.

The remaining clauses of the proposed treaty having been discussed and assented to, the prince signed his

his signature to a Persian draft of the proposed treaty, binding himself to execute a more formal instrument at the period of his intended installation

In concluding our report of this conference, we cannot omit to state to your lordship, the impression made on our minds by the decorous deportment, moderation, and good sense, by which Azem ul Dowlah distinguished himself upon this sudden elevation from a state of penury and wretchedness to the possession of princely magnificence, honours, and rank

July 26th.—This morning we had the satisfaction of presenting his highness the prince Azem ul Dowlah in a formal manner to your lordship, and of subsequently conducting him, as the ostensible future nabob of the Carnatic, to the Ameer Baugh, the residence of his highness's father the late Ameer ul Omrah

(Signed) J WEBBE,
B. CLOSE

No 5

TREATY between the COMPANY and his Highness the Nabob MAHOMMED ALLY, dated in 1792, commonly called "Lord Cornwallis's Treaty,"

TREATY between the Honourable EAST INDIA COMPANY and the NABOB of ARCOAT.

WHEREAS a certain engagement was entered into between the honourable English East India Company, and his highness the nabob of the Carnatic, bearing date the 24th February 1787, for the purpose of cementing an everlasting friendship with each other, and of contributing mutually towards the defence of the Carnatic, and countries dependent thereon; whereby it was sti-

pulated, that the said Company should maintain a military force, and that the said nabob should pay annually a certain sum of money arising from the revenues of the Carnatic, and should furnish sufficient and satisfactory security, under certain conditions expressed in the said engagement, for the regular payment of the sum stipulated to the said Company: and whereas it appears, by the representation of the said nabob, contained in a certain letter addressed by him to the governor general, &c &c dated the 9th of June 1792, that the resources of the Carnatic are not competent to enable him to perform the stipulations in the said engagement: and whereas it further appears, that the security which the said nabob agreed in the above mentioned engagement to furnish for the due payment of the stipulated sum to the said Company, is in its nature inadequate to the end intended: and whereas certain agreements have also been entered into between the said Company and the said nabob, for the discharge of certain debts due by the said nabob to private persons, it has been mutually agreed, in consequence of the above written circumstances, that the engagement aforesaid shall henceforth be considered by the contracting parties as annulled, and no longer of effect or in force, and, in lieu thereof, the right honourable Charles Earl Cornwallis, knight of the most noble order of the garter, governor-general, &c &c invested with full powers on the part of the said honourable English East India Company to direct and control the affairs of the said Company in the East Indies, in the name of and for the said Company, the heirs and successors, on one part, and the nabob Wahab, Ameer ul Khod, Omdar

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Omdut ul Mulk, Asoph ul Dowlah, Uuevar ul Deen Khan Behauder, Zuffer Jung, Sepah Salar, nabob of the Carnatic, in his own name, and for himself and his successor, his eldest son nabob Omdut ul Omarah, Moveen ul Mulk, Assud ul Dowlah Hussein, Ally Khan Behauder, Zulficar Jung, and his heirs and successors, on the other part, agree to the following articles, which shall be binding on the respective contracting parties for the purposes contained therein, notwithstanding all or any of the conditions stipulated in the engagement dated the 24th February 1787, to the contrary.

Article 1st—The friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties shall be considered the friends and enemies of both.

Art 2^d—In order to execute the foregoing article in its full extent, the honourable English East India Company agree to maintain a military force, and the nabob Walajah Behauder agrees to contribute annually a certain sum of money hereinafter mentioned, as his share of the expence of the said military force, the said nabob further agreeing that the disposal of the said sum, together with the arrangement and employment of the troops supported by it, shall be left entirely to the said Company.

Art. 3^d—It is hereby also agreed, that for the further security and defence of the countries belonging and subject to the contracting parties in the Carnatic, &c. that all forts shall be garrisoned by the troops of the said Company, and in the event of war breaking out in the Carnatic and countries appertaining to either party, and dependent on the Carnatic, or contiguous thereto, it is agreed, for the better protection of it, that as long

as it shall last, the said Company shall possess full authority over the Carnatic, except the jaghires belonging to the family of the said nabob, amounting to star pagodas 2,18,911, which, on condition of the good behaviour of the jaghire-dars of the said jaghires, and of their fidelity to the said nabob and to the said Company, shall be continued to them, subject to the pleasure of the said nabob only, and except also certain charities amounting to star pagodas 21,166, subject to the same conditions as are mentioned with respect to the jaghires, and shall collect the revenues thereof, the said Company hereby engaging that, during such war, they will pay to the said nabob one-fifth share of the net revenue arising therefrom, and that at the conclusion of the war, the Carnatic shall be restored to the said nabob, except in certain cases, which are hereinafter mentioned.

Art 4th—The nabob Walajah agrees to pay to the said Company, for the purpose of mutual defence, the sum of nine lacks of star pagodas annually, as his share of the expence for the military force, and also in consequence of certain agreements entered into by him with the said Company, and guaranteed by the parliament of Great Britain, for the purpose of liquidating certain debts due by the said nabob, a further sum of 621,105 star pagodas annually, which further sum of 621,105 star pagodas shall cease on the full liquidation of the debts above mentioned, and the sum of 900,000 of star pagodas only shall continue to be paid by the said nabob to the said Company.

Art 5th—The said nabob having agreed to pay the aggregate sum of 1,521,105 star pagodas, as mentioned in the 4th article, de-

termines

termines that the tributes or peshcush, payable by the poligars, as more particularly mentioned in the schedule No 1, hereunto annexed, shall be collected by the said Company, who agree to make the collection thereof, at their own expence and risk and that they will not increase the demand on the said poligars beyond the sum mentioned in the said schedule, except in the case hereinafter mentioned, nor charge to the said nabob, either the expence attending the collection, or any deficiencies that may arise thereon, but will give credit to the said nabob annually for the aforesaid tributes or peshcush, in part payment of the sum of nine lacks of star pagodas above mentioned, without any deduction whatever, although the contracting parties have, in the present instrument, agreed that the sum of 264,704 pagodas 20s 26c be deducted from the sum of nine lacks of pagodas, as the amount of the tributes or peshcush from the poligars, yet, should it on future inquiry appear that the said poligars ought, by virtue of any existing and lawful engagements, to pay a larger sum, it shall be demanded of them, and any addition that shall thus be made to the sums mentioned in the said schedule, shall be deducted from the sum of nine lacks, in like manner with the sum of 264,704 20 26, and a similar deduction shall in consequence be made in the kistbundy hereinafter mentioned. It is however mutually agreed, that the diminution of this aggregate sum, which shall take place on the full liquidation of the debts as specified in the 4th article, shall make no change in this article, which shall, notwithstanding such diminution, remain in full force.

Art. 6th.—The said Company,

desirous of preserving the rights of sovereignty over the said poligars to the said nabob, engage, to the utmost of their power, and consistent with the realization of the tributes or peshcush from them, to enforce the allegiance and submission of the said poligars to the said nabob in all customary ceremonies, and in furnishing the poligar peons according to the established custom for the collection of the revenues, the support of the government, and for the protection of the property of the inhabitants of the said nabob's country, promising that all acts of authority shall be exercised in, and all accounts of revenue (of which accounts the said nabob, if he so wishes, shall be annually furnished with copies) shall bear his the said nabob's name. For the better execution of this and the 5th article, the said nabob promises to furnish to the said Company, that is to say, to their representatives the president and council of Fort St George, the necessary orders, under his seal and signature, addressed to each poligar, and to the purport hereof, without delay.

Art. 7th.—After deducting from the above mentioned sum of nine lacks of star pagodas, which forms a part of the aggregate sum of 1,521,105 star pagodas, mentioned in the 5th article, the amount of the tributes or peshcush from the poligars, as specified in the schedule No 1, the said nabob agrees to pay annually the remaining sum, being 685,295 . 15 54, together with the further sum of 221,105 for the purpose mentioned in the 4th article, making the sum of star pagodas 1,236,400 15 54 —at the following periods—

On the 1st September	100,000
1st October	100,000
	<hr/> Carry over 100,000

Brought over	200,000	
On the 1st November	100,000	
1st December	100,000	
1st January	100,000	
1st February	100,000	
1st March	150,000	
1st April	150,000	
1st May	200,000	
1st June	156,400	15 54

Star Pagodas, 12,56,400 15 54

And it is mutually agreed, that on the full liquidation of the debts before mentioned, when the payment of the sum of star pagodas-621,105, shall cease by virtue of the 4th article, a reduction in equal proportion shall take place in the above instalments.

Art 8th—The said nabob engages to make good to the said Company the payments of the sums, according to the instalments or halfbandy contained in the 7th article, and if, contrary to his sincere intentions and exertions, any of the said sums shall not be fully paid at the expiration of fifteen days from the time limited, in that case the said nabob agrees, that the said Company shall assume the management of and make the collection of the revenues from the districts mentioned in the schedule No. 2, hereunto annexed, according to the following conditions, and for this the present engagement shall be considered sufficient authority, the said Company, through their president and council at Fort St. George, giving immediate and explicit information, according to the tenor thereof, to the said nabob, who shall, on the arrival of the Company's officers in the said district, recall all his officers, except one in each district, which officer shall remain at the Sudder Cutcherry, and shall be furnished annually, by the officer of the said Company, with copies of the Sud-

der Cutcherry accounts, of the gross collections, and of the net receipts, under the attestation of the officer of the said Company, and of the Sudder Omlah of the district.

First—The said Company shall assume the management of such district or districts, the revenue of which, after deducting the charges of collections, shall equal the amount of the kist which shall have fallen in arrear.

Second—The said Company agree, that a deduction shall take place proportionably from the amount of each of the ten kists above mentioned, equal to the amount of the net revenue of the district or districts which shall have been assumed as above, such deduction commencing from the day that the assumption shall take place. It is also mutually agreed, that an account, called balance account, shall be immediately opened for this and other purposes hereinafter mentioned, bearing an interest of 8 per cent per annum, between the said nabob and the said Company, in which the said nabob shall be debited for the balance accrued in his above stipulated payments, and also for the amount deducted as above from the ten kists, and shall be credited for the net revenue collected from the said district or districts, the said Company continuing to exercise authority in, and to make the collections from the same, until, in consequence of the full liquidation of the debts and diminution of the annual sum, to be for that purpose paid by the nabob to the said Company, according to the 4th article, the said balance account shall be equal on the debit and credit side, and nothing shall remain due to the said Company,—then the said district or districts shall revert to the management of the said nabob.

Third—Whenever the said district or districts thus assumed shall be restored, according to the above condition, it is agreed, that in case of any of the kists for the sum remaining (after the deduction of the sum of 621,105 star pagodas, that is to say, for the sum of pagodas 635,295 15f 54c) be not paid fifteen days after the expiration of the time limited, the said Company shall possess equal power to assume the districts mentioned in the said schedule, No 2, as in the first instance, and shall accordingly assume such district or districts, the revenue of which, after deducting the charges of collection, shall equal the amount of the kist which shall have fallen in arrear, from which they shall realize the balance that shall have arisen in the payment of the kists, and shall give credit to the said nabob for the surplus and subsequent net revenues, in part payment of the sum of star pagodas, 635,295, a f 54c. And in this case the management of the district or districts thus assumed shall for ever continue in the possession of the said Company, any thing contained in the 3d article of the present engagement to the contrary notwithstanding and the said Company agree to give the nabob credit for the revenue arising therefrom.

Fourth—In order to prevent any loss arising to either party from this measure, it is mutually agreed, that the district or districts which shall thus be assumed by the said Company, shall be entire, as mentioned in the said schedule, and not parts of districts.

Fifth—In consequence of this measure, whereby the districts mentioned in the schedule No 2, become responsible for any arrears that may accrue in the payment of the above stipulated kists, the said na-

bob agrees that he will not grant tunkaws or assignments on any account on the revenues thereof, and if, contrary to this condition, any tunkaws or assignments should exist, where the said districts or any of them shall be assumed by the said Company, such tunkaws or assignments shall be declared by the said Company and the said nabob to be of no value, nor shall they remain in effect.

Sixth—It is agreed between the contracting parties, that the above described balance account shall be annually adjusted, and a committee, consisting of four respectable and capable persons, of which two shall be nominated by the said Company, and two by the said nabob, shall assemble on the 1st day of August of every year, commencing with 1793, for the purpose of adjusting and drawing out a fair and equitable statement thereof.

Art 9th—In case the said nabob shall, at any time, have occasion for any number of troops for the collection of his revenues, the support of his authority, or the good order and government of his country, the said Company agree to furnish a sufficient number of troops for that purpose, on public representation being made by the said nabob to the president and council of Fort St George, of the necessity of employing such troops, and of the objects to be obtained thereby. And the said nabob agrees to defray the additional expence of such troops, so long as they may be employed at his request, this additional expence being the sum over and above the expence of such troops while in garrison or at fixed quarters, and it shall be at the option of the said nabob to reimburse the said surplus expence, either on the conclusion of the service on which such

Modurapah Tawen	—	—	Wootamaley	—	8,128	0	0	26. Aug. F. G.
Cootala Tawen	—	—	Nadoorvacoocky	—	1,574	8	0	
Indera Tawen	—	—	Talwencotta	—	809	6	0	
Saule Tawen	—	—	Soumden	—	508	0	0	
Tade Tawen	—	—	Cadombar	—	1,016	0	0	
Nulla Cooty	—	—	Lingumpatty	—	314	0	0	
Chaturoy	—	—	Woorad	—	304	8	0	
Choca Tulevan	—	—	Maucuh	—	1,016	0	0	
Cutaboon Naik	—	—	Pandem Country	—	11,176	0	0	
Androconda Vunnyan	—	—	Ellyarumpuny	—	6,096	0	0	
Munya Naik	—	—	Malemondy	—	1,016	0	0	
Brapa Naik	—	—	Negataporum	—	6,604	0	0	
Sevemaui Naik	—	—	Caudelloody	—	1,320	8	0	
Pedenna Naik	—	—	Attingherry	—	1,727	2	0	
Chunnum Naik	—	—	Munnarotta	—	2,540	0	0	
Avalapa Naik	—	—	Pawaly	—	1,168	4	0	
Reddy Coody Vunnyan	—	—	Alligooopoor	—	108	7	0	
Geokillapa Naik	—	—	Gettapatty	—	1,168	5	0	
Colingada Gundou	—	—	Callarputty	—	6,604	0	0	
Chunnamunga Tawen	—	—	Chocumpatta	—	6,604	0	0	
Cornar Naik	—	—	Saupetoor	—	5,791	2	0	
Golapa Naik	—	—	Laudoor	—	1,930	4	0	
Ena Chunnama Naik	—	—	Zehnarry	—	1,016	0	0	
Totta pa Naik	—	—	Chunnulgoody	—	1,696	5	0	
Annechy Naik	—	—	Colatoor	—	1,016	0	0	
Gomichy Naik	—	—	Parvor	—	3,332	3	0	
Triffennada Tawen	—	—	Shatoor	—	5,080	0	0	
Paule Taleren	—	—	Ovideahporum	—	1,224	3	0	
Vanda Tawen	—	—	Gollingundon	—	365	8	0	

Chuckrams, — — — — — 103,409 5 0 57,450 0 0

Total, *Star Pagodas* 264,704 20 26

Signed and sealed at Chepauk-Honse, this —

(A true copy)

(Signed)

G. F. CHERRY,
Perf. Transl. to the Gov. Gen.

Signed and sealed at Fort William in Bengal, this —

SCHEDULE, No 2

List of the DISTRICTS, with the Amount of the Net Revenue from each, as which they shall be estimated and assumed, according to the 8th Article of the accompanying Treaty, in force from the 12th of July 1792.

Tinnevely (net revenue)	406,508	Palnaad	—	—	24,657
Madara	—	64,945	Northern Division of the Arcot	—	—
Trichinopoly, including War-	—	—	Province	—	—
more Pollom, and Arrialore	251,139	—	—	—	769,404
Nellore	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	331,783	—	—	Star Pagodas 1,341,770
Ongole	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	93,334	—	—	—

By the first condition of the 8th article of the said treaty, it is agreed that the said Company shall assume the management of such district or districts, the revenue of which, after deducting the charges of collection shall equal the amount of the gift which shall have fallen in arrears. The said Company therefore, by virtue of this condition, shall assume a district or districts from among the above named, the net revenue of which shall be as near as possible equal to the amount of the gift which shall have fallen in arrears.

Signed and sealed at Chepauk House, this —

(A true copy)

(Signed)

G. F. CHERRY
Perf. Transl. to the Gov. Gen.

Signed and sealed at Fort-William in Bengal, this —

No. 6.

TREATY between the COMPANY
and AZEEM UL DOWLAH, dated
8th July 1801

TREATY for settling the Succession of the
Subahdarry of the Territories of Arcot, and for
vesting the administration of the
Civil and Military Government of the
Carnatic Poyen Ghaut, in the United
Company of Merchants of England trading
to the East Indies

Whereas the several treaties which have been concluded between the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and their highnesses, heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, have been intended to cement and identify the interests of the contracting parties and whereas in conformity to the spirit of this alliance, the said Company did, by the treaty concluded on the 12th of July 1792, with the late nabob Wajjah, relinquish extensive pecuniary advantages acquired by the previous treaty of 1787, with the view and on the condition of establishing a more adequate security for the interests of the British government in the Carnatic and whereas subsequent experience has proved that the intention of the contracting parties has not been fulfilled by the provisions of any of the treaties heretofore concluded between them and whereas the munsub of the subahdarry of the territories of Arcot has now become vacant and whereas the right of the prince Azcem ul Dowlah Behauder, founded upon the hereditary right of his father the nabob Ameer ul Omrah Behauder, to succeed to the rank, property, and possessions of his ancestors, heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, has been acknowledged by the English East India Company and whereas the said Company, and his said highness the prince Azcem ul Dow-

lah Behauder, have judged it expedient that a new treaty shall at this time be executed, for the purpose of supplying the defects of all former engagements, and of establishing the connection between the said contracting parties on a permanent basis of security in all times to come wherefore the following treaty is now established and concluded by the right honourable Edward Lord Clive, governor in council at Fort St George, by and with the sanction and authority of his excellency the most noble the Marquis Wellesley, K. P. governor-general in council of all the British possessions in the East Indies, on behalf of the said united Company, on the one part, and by his highness the nabob Walajah Ameer ul Omrah, Mader ul Mulk, Ameer ul Hind, Azcem ul Dowlah Behauder, Showkur Jung Sepah Bazar, nabob subahdar of the Carnatic, on his own behalf, on the other part, for settling the succession to the subahdarry of the territories of Arcot, and for vesting the administration of the civil and military government of the Carnatic in the united Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies

Article 1st—The right of the nabob Azcem ul Dowlah Behauder, to succeed to the state and rank, and the dignities dependent thereon, of his ancestors, heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, is hereby formally acknowledged and guaranteed by the honourable East India Company to his said highness Azcem ul Dowlah Behauder, who has accordingly succeeded to the subahdarry of the territories of Arcot

Art 2d—Such parts of the treaties heretofore concluded between the said East India Company and their highnesses, heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, as are calculated

culated to strengthen the alliance, to cement the friendship, and to identify the interests of the contracting parties, are hereby renewed and confirmed, and accordingly the friends or enemies of the one party shall be considered to be the friends or enemies of both parties.

Art 3d—The honourable Company hereby charges itself with the maintenance and support of the military force necessary for the defence of the Carnatic, and for the protection of the rights, person, and property of the said nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behander, and with the view of reviving the fundamental principles of the alliance between his ancestors and the English nation, the said nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behander stipulates and agrees, that he will not enter upon any negotiation or correspondence with any European or native power, without the knowledge and consent of the said English Company.

Art 4th—It is hereby stipulated and agreed, that the sole and exclusive administration of the civil and military government of all the territories and dependencies of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut, together with the full and exclusive right to the revenues thereof, (with the exception of such portion of the said revenues as shall be appropriated for the maintenance of the said nabob, and for the support of his dignity,) shall be for ever vested in the said English Company, and the said Company shall accordingly possess the sole power and authority of constituting and appointing (without any interference on the part of the said nabob) all officers for the collection of the revenues, and of establishing courts for the administration of civil and criminal jurisdiction.

Art 5th.—It is hereby stipulated and agreed, that one-fifth part of the net revenues of the Carnatic shall be annually allotted for the maintenance and support of the said nabob and of his own immediate family, including the mahal of his late highness the Ameer ul Omrah, the said fifth part shall be paid by the Company in monthly instalments of twelve thousand star pagodas; and whatever circumstance may occur affecting the net revenues of the Carnatic, the said instalments shall not be less than twelve thousand star pagodas. Whatever balance of the said fifth part may remain due at the expiration of each year, shall be liquidated upon a settlement of the accounts, and the said fifth part shall be at the free disposal of the said nabob, consistently with the principles of the said alliance.

Art 6th—The fifth part of the revenues, as stated in the preceding article, shall be calculated and determined in the following manner, viz all charges, of every description, incurred in the collection of the revenue, the amount of the jaghire lands, stated in the 9th article of the treaty of 1787, at pagodas 213,421, and the sum of pagodas 621,107, appropriable to the liquidation of the debts of the late Mahomed Ally, shall, in the first instance, be deducted from the revenues of the Carnatic, and, after the deduction of those three items shall have been made, one-fifth part of the remaining net revenue (including the poligar peshcush, which shall always be calculated at the sum of star pagodas, 204,704 20 26, according to the treaty of 1792,) shall be allotted for the maintenance of the said nabob, and for the support of his highness's dignity.

Art 7th—Whereas it was stipulated

polated by the 4th article of the treaty of 1792, that the sum of six lacks twenty-one thousand one hundred and five star pagodas, should annually be applied to the discharge of certain registered debts due by the late nabob Mlahommed Ally to his private creditors, under agreements concluded between his highness and the honourable Company, and guaranteed by the parliament of Great Britain, until the said registered debt should be liquidated, the honourable English Company accordingly hereby charges itself with the annual payment of 6-1,100 pagodas from the revenues of the Carnatic, until the remainder of the said registered debt shall be liquidated.

Art 8th —Whereas certain debts are due to the said Company by the ancestors of the said nabob and whereas it is expedient, in order that the present treaty may include a complete arrangement of all affairs depending between the said Company and the said nabob, that an adjustment should be made of the above-mentioned debts, wherefore the said nabob formally and explicitly acknowledges the debt, commonly called the cavalry loan, amounting with its interest to star pagodas 1,324,842 6s 47c and also the portion of the registered debt heretofore paid by the said Company to the creditors of the late nabob Walajah (according to the annexed schedule) to be just debts and whereas, exclusively of the above-mentioned debts, other undischarged debts also remain, which were referred to the adjustment and decision of the governor-general in council of Bengal, and whereas the said undischarged debts have not been determined according to that intention, the said nabob hereby engages, that whenever the said deter-

mination shall be made, his highness will acknowledge to be a just debt the amount of the balance which shall be so declared to be due to the said Company. It is not, however, the intention of this article, to cause any diminution from the fifth part payable to the said nabob, but, on the contrary, it is specified that no deduction shall be made from the revenue on any account whatever, excepting the three items stated in the 6th article, previously to the determination of his highness's proportion.

Art 9th —The English Company engages to take into consideration the actual situation of the families of their highnesses the late nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah Behauder, as well as the situation of the principal officers of his highness's government, and the British government shall charge itself with the expence chargeable on the revenues of the Carnatic, of a suitable provision for their respective maintenance. The amount of the above-mentioned expences to be defrayed by the Company, shall be distributed with the knowledge of the said nabob, in such manner as shall be judged proper.

Art 10th —The said nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder shall, in all places, on all occasions, and at all times, be treated with the respect and attention due to his highness's rank and situation as an ally of the British government, and a suitable guard shall be appointed from the Company's troops for the protection of his said highness's person and palace.

Art 11th —The entire defence of the Carnatic against foreign enemies, and the maintenance of the internal tranquillity and police of the country, having been hereby transferred to the British government,

ment, his said highness engages not to entertain or employ in his service any armed men without the consent of the British government, who will fix in concert with his highness, the number of armed men necessary to be retained for the purposes of state. Such armed men as his highness may, in consequence of this article, engage in his service, shall be paid at the exclusive cost and charge of the said nabob.

Art 12th — The honourable East India Company shall, in conformity to the stipulations of this treaty, enter upon the exclusive administration of the civil and military government of the Carnatic, on the — day of —, and his said highness the nabob shall issue orders to all his civil and military officers, to transfer the district or districts under their respective charge to such persons as shall be appointed by the said Company to manage the said districts, and also to deliver to the persons appointed all records, accounts, and official papers belonging to their respective catcheries or officers.

This treaty, consisting of twelve articles, having been executed by Edward Lord Clive, governor in council aforesaid, on the one part, and his highness Azeem ul Dowlah on the other part, is hereby mutually interchanged, the said Edward Lord Clive engaging that a copy of the said treaty shall be transmitted to Fort William, for the purpose of being ratified by his excellency the most noble the Marquis Wellesley, governor general in council, and that as soon as the ratified treaty shall be received from Bengal, it shall be delivered to his said highness, who will then return to his Lordship the copy which he now receives.

In the hand writing of Azeem ul Dowlah

(God is Gracious.)

I, Azeem ul Dowlah, having perused and fully comprehended the several articles of the above treaty, have approved and consented to the whole of the said articles. In witness whereof, I affix my proper signature,

{ *The Seal of*
Azeem ul Dowlah. }

(A true copy)

(Signed)

J. WEBBE,
Chief Sec. to Govt.

Separate and Secret Article

Whereas his highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, by the 8th article of the treaty now concluded, has acknowledged the debt called the cavalry loan, due by his highness's family to the said Company, amounting to pagodas and whereas no account has been yet taken of the public treasure of the late government, it is stipulated and agreed, that his highness the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah shall immediately enter upon an investigation of the state of the public accounts and treasure, and that if, in communication with the British government, the said treasure shall be found adequate to the purpose, a portion of it shall be immediately applied to the entire liquidation of the said debt called the cavalry loan, in ready money.

In the hand writing of Azeem ul Dowlah

(God is Gracious.)

I approve and consent to this separate and secret article. In witness whereof I affix my proper signature,

{ *The Seal of*
Azeem ul Dowlah. }

(A true copy)

(Signed)

J. WEBBE,
Chief Sec. to Govt.

No 7

**DECLARATION of the GOVERNOR
of Port St George, dated 31st
July 1801**

*DECLARATION of the Right Honourable
the Governor in Council of Port St. George,
by and with the Authority of his Excel-
lency the Most Noble the Governor-General
in Council of all the British Possessions in
the East Indies*

An alliance of the most intimate union and friendship has long subsisted between the honourable the English East India Company, and the family of their highnesses Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, late nabob of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut by the aid of that alliance his late highness Mahommed Ally was enabled, under Providence, to support his pretensions to the possession of the Carnatic at the death of his illustrious father, to defeat the power of his enemies in arms, and finally to establish his authority in the government of Arcot and its dependencies, on the foundations of the British power

For the defence and protection of the valuable possessions thus acquired by the united arms of the English Company and of the nabob of Arcot, various treaties and obligations have been established, by which it was intended that the interests, security, and power of both parties in the Carnatic Payen Ghaut, should be cemented and identified. In conformity to the faith and spirit of these engagements, the honourable Company has invariably applied, not only the resources derived from that alliance, but the whole power of the British empire in India, to maintain the government of the late nabobs of the Carnatic against all their enemies, and has caused them to be acknowledged by foreign States as the allies of the British

nation. By these means, and by the unabated exertion of its whole power, the English nation was enabled, during the war which continued from the year 1780 to the year 1783, to support the pretensions of the nabob Mahommed Ally, and to rescue his dominions from the violence of Hyder Ally Khan, and of his successor Tippoo Sultan, who, by the assistance of the French nation, had been enabled to conquer a considerable part of the Carnatic, and to establish their authority over the greatest portion of the territorial possessions of the said nabob

To support the authority of the nabob Mahommed Ally, and to secure the British interests in the Carnatic, it became expedient for the contracting parties to enter into specific engagements for the maintenance of an adequate military establishment. The English Company accordingly bound itself by a treaty, bearing date in the month of February 1787, to maintain the whole military force required for the protection of the territories of the allies, in consideration of which engagement the nabob Mahommed Ally agreed, among other conditions, and under certain penalties therein specified, to pay an annual subsidy, amounting to fifteen lacks of *Star pagodas*.

According to the farther stipulations of that engagement, rendered necessary by experience for the mutual safety of the contracting parties, the English Company, in the year 1790, charged itself with the administration of the civil government, in addition to the military defence of the Carnatic, in a critical juncture of affairs, when the ambition and implacable cruelty of the late Tippoo Sultan compelled the British government in India to resort to arms for the support of its rights,

rights, and for the protection of its allies.

At the conclusion of the war in the year 1792, (the successful and glorious termination of which tended in the most direct manner to secure the safety and prosperity of the possessions of his highness the nabob of the Carnatic,) the British government restored the civil government of the Carnatic to his highness, thereby manifesting the strictest adherence to the stipulations of the existing engagements of 1787, but the British government did not confine itself to the mere discharge of the stipulations of its existing engagements, its views were extended to an enlarged and liberal consideration of the principles of the alliance subsisting between the Company and the nabobs of the Carnatic.

At that period of time, the nabob Mahommed Ally, relying on the friendly disposition of the British government, represented, in the most urgent manner to the Marquis Cornwallis, the inadequacy of his highness's resources to discharge the pecuniary engagements of the treaty of 1787, and the governor general, acting in conformity to the spirit of the alliance and friendship so long subsisting between the nabobs of the Carnatic and the English Company, relieved his highness from the burthenome terms of that engagement, thereby surrendering the pecuniary rights acquired by the Company under the treaty of 1787, for the purpose of promoting the tranquillity, comfort, and interests of the nabob Mahommed Ally.

With this liberal view of the principles of the connexion established between the British government and the nabob of Arcot, an additional modification of the treaty of 1787 was framed, and, by a subse-

quent treaty, bearing date in the month of July 1792, the pecuniary contribution of his highness the nabob of the Carnatic, towards the general defence and protection of the rights and possessions of the allies, was diminished from fifteen to nine lacks of star pagodas. The spirit of moderation by which the British councils were guided in respect to this alliance, was unequivocally manifested by a farther stipulation for the purpose of securing to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, the son and presumptive heir of the nabob Mahommed Ally, the succession to the territories of his father, on the terms and conditions of the treaty of 1792.

In return for this relinquishment of a considerable portion of its pecuniary resources, the English Company obtained no other advantages than an extended renewal of the territorial security, already provided by the treaty of 1787, for the performance of the nabob Mahommed Ally's pecuniary engagements, and a repetition of his highness's previous obligation not to contract alliances, nor to enter into correspondence with any European or native power, without the knowledge and concurrence of the British government, conformably therefore to this indulgent modification of the treaty of 1787, the government of the Carnatic was restored to the nabob Mahommed Ally on the death of his highness the nabob Mahommed Ally, in the year 1793, the nabob Omdut ul Omrah succeeded to the possession of his father's territories, according to the provisions of the treaty of 1792.

The nabob Mahommed Ally, as well as his son and successor, had repeatedly granted tankaws or assignments of revenue on the districts pledged to the Company, in

in direct violation of the treaty of 1792, and to the manifest injury of the territorial security provided by the Company for its interest in the Carnatic. The British government, however, continued to extend to their highnesses the indulgent operation of the beneficial conditions of the treaty of 1792, by abstaining from the exercise of the just rights acquired against their highnesses under the express stipulations of that engagement, and under the acknowledged interpretation of the law of nations.

Under these circumstances the British government might justly have required from the house of Mahomed Ally, not merely the exact and rigid observation of the treaty of 1792, but a zealous and cordial attachment to the spirit of an engagement, under which the nabobs of the Carnatic had found the most ample protection, accompanied by the most indulgent and liberal construction of every stipulation favourable to their separate interests, and by the most lenient relaxation of those penal articles, the obligation of which their highnesses had respectively incurred by violating the article of the treaty of 1792, relative to the grants of tankaws or assignments of revenue on the districts pledged to the Company.

It is with the deepest concern that the governor in council is compelled to declare, that those ancient allies of the Company, the nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, have been found not only deficient in every active duty of the alliance, but unfaithful to its fundamental principles, and untrue to its vital spirit.

In the full enjoyment of the most

abundant proofs of the moderation, indulgence, and good faith of the honourable Company, the nabob Mahomed Ally and the nabob Omdut ul Omrah actually commenced and maintained a secret intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun, the determined enemy of the British name, founded on principles and directed to objects utterly subversive of the alliance between the nabob of the Carnatic and the Company, and equally incompatible with the security of the British power in the Peninsula of India.

After the fall of Seringapatam, the British government obtained possession of the original records of Tippoo Sultaun, the correspondence of that prince's ambassadors, during their residence at Fort St George, in attendance on his sons the hostage princes, in the years 1792 and 1795, established sufficient ground of apprehension, that their highnesses the late nabob Mahomed Ally and the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah had entered into a secret intercourse with the late Tippoo Sultaun, of a nature hostile to the British interests in India. The inquiries of the British government have been since directed to ascertain a fact so intimately connected with the security of its rights in the Carnatic. The result has established the following propositions by a series of connected written and oral testimony.

First—At the very period of time when the nabob Mahomed Ally appealed to the generosity of the British government for an indulgent modification of the treaty of 1787, his highness had already commenced a secret negotiation for the establishment of an intimate intercourse with the nabob Tippoo Sultaun, without the knowledge of

British government, and for purposes evidently repugnant to its security and honour.

Second—The nabob Omdut ul Omrah (who was empowered by the nabob Mahommed Ally to negotiate the treaty of 1792 with the British government, and who actually negotiated that treaty for himself and for his father,) was actually employed at the same period of time, under his father's authority, in negotiating for himself and for his father the terms of the said separate and secret intercourse with Tippoo Sultan.

Third—The tendency of the said intercourse was directed to the support of Tippoo Sultan in victory and triumph over all his enemies.

Fourth—In the month of December 1797, the nabob Mahommed Ally imparted secret information to Tippoo Sultan, regarding the sentiments and intentions of the British government in India, with relation to the hostile views and negotiation of Tippoo Sultan at the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad, and on the first intelligence of the war between Great Britain and France in the year 1798, the nabob Mahommed Ally imparted secret information to Tippoo Sultan, respecting the views and power of France in India and in Europe, and respecting the intended operations of the British forces against the French possessions in the Carnatic. And the nabob Mahommed Ally conveyed to Tippoo Sultan secret admonitions and friendly advice respecting the most favourable season, and the most propitious state of circumstances, for the violation of Tippoo Sultan's engagements with the honourable Company.

Fifth—The nabob Omdut ul Omrah was employed by his father, or one of the agents, to convey secret

intelligence, friendly admonition, and reasonable advice to Tippoo Sultan, through the confidential agents of Tippoo Sultan, who were furnished with instructions from the said sultan of Mysore, to receive such communications from the said nabob of the Carnatic, and from the nabob Omdut ul Omrah.

Sixth—A cypher was composed and actually introduced into the separate and secret correspondence between the nabob Mahommed Ally and Tippoo Sultan; the original key of the said cypher, discovered among the records of Seringapatam, is in the hand writing of the confidential moonshiee (or secretary) of the nabob Mahommed Ally and of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and the said cypher was delivered by a confidential agent of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the ambassador of Tippoo Sultan, for the express purpose of being transmitted to Tippoo Sultan.

Seventh—The terms employed in the said cypher, particularly those intended to designate the British government and its allies, the Nizam and the Mahratta state, united in a definitive league against Tippoo Sultan, contain the most powerful internal evidence that the communications proposed to be disguised by the said cypher, were of the most hostile tendency to the interest and objects of the said alliance, and calculated to promote the cause of Tippoo Sultan in opposition to that of the said allies.

Eighth—The nabob Omdut ul Omrah, under his own handwriting, in the month of August 1794, corroborated the evidence of his intention to complete the purposes herein described, of the secret intercourse which he had negotiated with Tippoo Sultan; and the continuance of the same intention is

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manifested

attested by letter from the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and from his confidential agent, addressed to the supposed agent of Tippoo Sultan in the year 1796, subsequently to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah's accession to the government of the Carnatic under the treaty of 1793.

Ninth—At the commencement and during the progress of the late just, necessary, and glorious war with the late Tippoo Sultan, the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, to the utmost extent of his means and power, pursued the objects of his secret intercourse with Tippoo Sultan, by a systematic course of deception, with respect to the provision of the funds necessary to enable the British troops to march into Mysore, as well as by a systematic and active opposition to the supply and movement of the allied army through different parts of the said nabob's dominions.

Tenth—The stipulations contained in the 15th article of the treaty of 1787, and the 10th article of the treaty of 1793, by which the nabob of the Carnatic were bound not to enter into any political negotiations or correspondence with any European or native power or State, without the consent of the government of Fort St. George, or of the Company, formed a fundamental condition of the alliance between the said Nabob and the Company; and the violation of the said stipulations necessarily involved the entire forfeiture, on the part of the nabob, of all the benefits of the said alliance.

Eleventh—The nabob Mahomed Ally and the nabob Omdut ul Omrah have violated the said stipulations, and have thereby forfeited all the benefits of the said alliance, and the nabob Mahomed Ally

and the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, having violated the said stipulations for the express purpose of establishing an union of interests with Tippoo Sultan, thereby placed themselves in the condition of public enemies to the British government in India.

It is manifest, therefore, that the intentions of the nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, have been uniformly and without interruption hostile to the British power in India, and that those intentions have been carried into effect to the full extent of the actual power possessed by their highnesses respectively, at the several periods of time in which they have acted in pursuance of their system of co-operation with the enemy.

By acting on these principles of conduct, the nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, not only violated the rights of the Company, but, by uniting their interests with those of the most implacable enemy of the British empire, the nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah actually placed themselves in the relation of public enemies to the British government, dangerous to the extent of their respective power, and active according to the means and opportunities afforded to them by the circumstances of the moment, and especially by the most severe exigency and pressure of war; every principle therefore of public law release the British government from the intended obligations of the treaty of 1793; and every consideration of self-defence and security authorized the Company to exercise its power in the manner most expedient for the purpose of frustrating the hostile councils of the late nabobs of the Carnatic, modelled upon the actual example ac-

quoted

trated by the faithful spirit, and sanctioned by the influential voice of his father.

In proceeding to exercise this right, it was painful to the British government to be compelled to expose to the world all these humiliating proofs of the ingratitude and treachery of the nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, towards that power which has uniformly proved their guardian and protector, and in acting from the impression of that sentiment, the British government was more desirous of consulting its own dignity, than of admitting any claims on the part of those infatuated princes to its generosity and forbearance.

In conformity to this spirit of temperance and moderation, it was the intention of the British government to have made a formal communication to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah of the proofs which had been obtained of his highness's breach of the alliance, with the view of obtaining, by the most lenient means, satisfaction for the injury sustained by the British government, and security against the future operation of the hostile counsels of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah.

Circumstances of expediency, connected with the general interests and policy of the British government, interrupted the communication of this document to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah; the intermediate illness of his highness protracted the execution of that intention, and his subsequent death frustrated the wish of the British government to obtain from that prince satisfactory security for the rights pledged to the Company in the Carnatic.

The death of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah has not affected the rights acquired by the British government under the discovery of his breach

of the alliance. Whatever claim the reputed son of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah may be supposed to possess to the Company's support of his pretensions to the government of the Carnatic is founded on the grounds of the right of Omdut ul Omrah to the assistance of the Company in securing his succession to the nabob Mahomed Ally in the government of the Carnatic, was founded on the express stipulations of the treaty of 1792. The result of the propositions stated in this declaration has established abundant proof, that the fundamental principles of the alliance between the Company and the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, as well as the express letter of the treaty of 1792, had been absolutely violated and rendered of no effect by the nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, previously to the ostensible conclusion of that instrument. It is manifest, therefore, that the nabob Omdut ul Omrah could derive no rights from the formal ratification of that treaty, the vital spirit of which had already been annihilated by the hostile and faithless conduct of his highness, and that the nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, by forming an intimate union of interests with Tippoo Sultan, had actually placed themselves in the relation of public enemies to the British empire in India.

Whatever claim to the Company's protection and support the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah may derive from his supposed father, had been utterly destroyed by the hostile conduct of Omdut ul Omrah, it follows, therefore, that the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah has succeeded to the condition of his father, which condition was that of a public enemy, and, consequently,

that, at the death of Omdut ul Omrah, the British government remained at liberty to exercise its rights, founded on the faithless policy of its ally, in whatever manner might be deemed most conducive to the immediate safety and to the general interests of the Company in the Carnatic.

Before the British government proceed to exercise this right, founded on the violation of the alliance, and on the necessity of self-defence, it was desirous of manifesting its attention to the long established connexion between the Company and the house of Omdut ul Omrah, by sacrificing to the sentiments of national magnanimity and generosity the resentment created by his highness's flagrant breach of the alliance. In the spirit of those councils, therefore, with which it had been the intention of the British government to demand satisfaction and security from the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and to avoid the publication of facts so humiliating to the family of that prince, the British government communicated to the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, knowledge of the proofs now existing in the possession of the government at Fort St. George of the violation of the alliance, at the same time the British government manifested a consistent adherence to the principles of moderation and forbearance, by opening a latitude to the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah to form, by means of an amicable adjustment, that satisfaction and security which the hostile and faithless conduct of his supposed father had occasioned the British government to demand, and which the dictates of prudence and self-defence compelled it to require. The reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, by and with the advice of

the persons appointed by his father's will to assist his councils, persisted in opposing a determined resistance to this demand, thereby exhibiting an unequivocal proof that the spirit which actuated the hostile councils of the nabob Mahomme Aliy and Omdut ul Omrah, has been transmitted with unabated vigour to the supposed son of Omdut ul Omrah, secured in its operation under the sanctimonious forms of their testamentary injunctions, and preserved with religious attachment by the ostensible descendant of that prince.

Frustrated in the hope of obtaining, from the reputed son of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, reparation for its injuries and security for its rights, the British government is now reluctantly compelled to publish to the world the proofs of this flagrant violation of the most sacred ties of amity and alliance, by the nabob Mahomme Aliy and Omdut ul Omrah, and the hereditary spirit of enmity manifested by the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah to the interests of the British government. The duty and necessity of self-defence require the British government, under the circumstances of this case, to exercise its power in the attainment of an adequate security for its rights, justice and moderation warrant, that the family of Omdut ul Omrah shall be deprived of the means of completing its systematic course of hostility; wisdom and prudence demand, that the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah shall not be permitted to retain possession of resources dangerous to the tranquility of the British government in the peninsula of India.

Wherefore the British government, still adhering to the principles of moderation, and actuated by its uniform desire of obtaining security
for

for its rights and interests in the Carnatic, by an arrangement founded on the principles of the long subsisting alliance between the Company and the family of the nabob Mohammed Ally, judged it expedient to enter into a negotiation for that purpose with the prince Azeem ul Dowlah behander, the son and heir of Azeem ul Omrah, who was the second son of the nabob Mohammed Ally, and the immediate great grandson by both his parents of the nabob Anwer ud Deen Khan of blessed memory. And his highness the prince Azeem ul Dowlah behander having entered into engagements for the express purpose of reviving the alliance between the Company and his illustrious ancestors, and of establishing an adequate security for the British interests in the Carnatic, the British government has now resolved to assert its rights and its power, under Providence, in supporting and establishing the hereditary pretensions of the prince Azeem ul Dowlah behander in the Subahdarry of the territories of Arcot, and of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut.

And, for the more full explanation of the grounds and motives of this declaration, the right hon the governor in council, by and with the authority of his excellency the most noble the governor-general in council, has caused attested copies and extracts of several documents discovered at Seringapatam to be annexed hereunto, together with an extract from the treaties of 1787 and 1792

APPENDIX to the Declaration of the Right Hon the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, bearing date the 31st July 1801.

A. B.

Part I.

Extracts from a Letter from *Shahbaz Khan* and *Ally Razza Khan*, to *Tippoo Sultan* dated the 15th June 1792.

The following conversation took place at a visit made by the princes to the nabob Wajahah on the 10th of June 1792.

We presented ourselves of eleven gold mohurs to the nabob Wajahah, of which his highness took one, and rising, embraced us, and said, "May God long preserve Tippoo Sultan, who is the pillar of the religion of Mohammed. Night and day I used to be absorbed in this contemplation, and so pray for his highness's prosperity, I call God to witness this fact, because the confederacy of three allies was for the salvation of the Mahomedan religion. It is solely to be attributed to the divine goodness, that the prayers of us sinners have been accepted. Believe it true that I from my heart desire the welfare of the Sultan."

When the princes and we took leave of the nabob Wajahah, and were going away he came up to us, and with a great deal of warmth desired us to stay, as he had something to say to us. We replied, we were ready. He then told us, that his life was now drawing to a close; that he what had hitherto taken place between his highness and your majesty, there was no remedy; but now merely out of a regard to the faith, (of which your majesty was a pillar) he was desirous of establishing a cordial harmony with your majesty, and if we, having in view the claims of both parties, (upon our undertakings,) would in the presence of God exert ourselves for this purpose, the Almighty would reward us, and both parties would reap the benefits of this event, which were great and numberless; that although his highness wanted to prevent the war between your majesty and the distressed states, yet that *Nizam Ali Khan*, at the latter period of his life, was then mourning for luxury, by which he had lost the destruction of religion. "It was solely from a regard to the faith, that his highness did not encourage the war, and that he now desired that in a thousand points of view, this perfect harmony should reign between your majesty and his highness. We

¶ I

replied,

believe, that we would undoubtedly re-
sult all this to your society.

Research Methods

On the 13th June 1792, Walpole, Comdant at Omrah, and Mustafa Newwan Khan, younger Son of Walajah, Lord Cornwallis, and General Meadows, came to visit the princes. They sat two hours (about three quarters of an hour English) and talked a great deal with them. His highness took occasion to observe, that we considered him to have been an enemy, whereas he declared in the presence of God that he was not, and is not; that, on the contrary, he was a friend and well-wisher; and that he had opposed the breach between your majesty and the above allied States to finish a degree, that they now declined in his own mind, that probably your majesty and his highness were still, and he desired to see Lord Cornwallis and General Meadows, who were present; whether he had true or not.

{A series estimation}

W. B. EDMONSTONE,
Public Translator

No. 14.

Extract of a Letter from General A. B.
Kane to Mr. Sumner, in 1862.
June 25, 1862.

We had the honour to receive your Majesty's most gracious letter, dated the sixth inst 1792, giving cover to a box of papers, upon which were written two orders on the 28th Turin. We have from the first understood this warning, your Majesty knows it, as your Majesty has commanded it, and when occasion requires will act in conformity to your Majesty's commands. Your Majesty has deigned that we not dilate this subject longer than we. God is our witness that we have, from the commencement of our reign, at the present time, invariably kept your Majesty's commands, which are considered a religious obligation; and we shall continue so, provided that we have not been obliged to disavow them to the detriment of the honours of God, the safety of his Church, and the dependence of your Majesty during our reign, and after ours. An objection might be made if my religion is opposed by the laws of the Emperor, God, and through him, the law of man, that of your Majesty, I would say, without more delay.

and never will infringe this injunction in the future. I agree with my co-defendant,

(A true confession.)

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*Translation of an Armer from Ally Renna
Khen and Chaboun Ally Khen, to Tig-
not Khen; dated the 22d June 1792.*

On the 23d July 1798, we had the honour to receive by two messengers your majesty's letter, dated 22d September (at least the 28th June 1799) enclosing a slip of paper containing a couplet. We were before acquainted with the meaning of the couplet, as explained by your majesty, and accordingly have before this written to your majesty in conformity thereto, and will still continue, as occasion may require, to write to your majesty. Your majesty desires that we will not divulge the circumstance to any one. Refuge of the world! we consider the concealment of the commands and secrets of our superiors in the light of a religious duty; not to divulge the orders of princes is enjoined by the *khurra*, and this is a duty imposed upon all servants by the word of God. Who would be so forgetful of his God, and regardless of religion, as to facilitate, by a disclosure of secrets, entrusted to his charge. his present misfortune happens! in the presence of Almighty God, we declare to your majesty, that from the time we entered your majesty's service to the present moment, a term of eleven years, none but Almighty God or shall be privy to the commands with which you have entrusted us. Such is our fidelity, that Divine Providence may perhaps, through its blessings, prosper us in this and a future state, and keep us supported in respectability and credit near your majesty. All further particulars will be fully made known to your majesty from the answer which we have successfully dispatched to you. The persons, who are in health, beg to offer their most humble respects to your majesty.

(A FINE TRANSITION)

(Good) N. A. Edmonstone.

No. IV

Extract from a Letter from Ghulam Ally Khan and Ally Khan Khan, to Tipu Sultan; dated the 24th Augul 1792.

On the 20th July 1792, the nabob Wajidah sent a messenger to us by Mahomed Abdoolah Khan, that the following day, being that preceding the Eid, he would

would, if we desired, pay a visit to the prince, as he was very anxious to see his lions (which called them.) In reply, we begged he would give our respects, and be present to his highness, that the houses of the prince, and they themselves, were his own, and that the prince was his guest, that he was their superior, and his company there would afford them much happiness; but that, if he wished it, we ourselves would most readily attend him.—Accordingly the following day, about nine o'clock, Wazirah, accompanied by Omdut al Omrah and Hindia Nawaz Khan, paid a visit to the prince, and taking them upon his knees for about two hours, blessed them, and said, "May God long and permanently preserve the shadow of Tippoo Sultan extended over you and me, since in this age the preservation of religion depends upon him alone. I have passed my eightieth year, and in that time many are the things I have seen and done, and experienced.—What is passed is passed, and God only knows what security may bring to light. At present, the maintenance of religion rests with Tippoo Sultan, and may God preserve and keep him victorious and triumphant. I do not say this merely in your presence; but I say it, taking to witness those who know all that is hidden. Night and day, after the prayers of the day, and on Friday, after public devotion, I offer up my prayers (meaning for Tippoo Sultan,) and require the people also to do the same." His highness spoke to us also in terms of great warmth and friendship, and after sitting two hours went away. As Wazirah had paid a visit to the prince, it became necessary that they should return it, and consequently they waited upon him the next day, which was the Rodeo Zeha (or feast of the camel), the nabob, accompanied by Omdut al Omrah and the other finders, came out to meet them as on the first day, and having assisted the prince in alighting from their palanquins, took them within the house, where he repeatedly carried them both, and said—"God preserve the sultan in safety, for through him alone these rituals and observances of the faith (alluding probably to the Eid) yet remain." He then observed to us—"In my first conversation with you, I spoke to you upon the subject of establishing a friendship and harmony between me and Tippoo Sultan. Have you intimated it to him, and have you received a favourable answer?" We replied, that we had the same to your majesty, word for word, the

friendly sentiments his highness had expressed, and that your majesty had written in reply, that friendship, union, and brotherly regard had, from the beginning, been established among the predecessors of His Majesty, as was attested by the testimony of the holy book, agreeing to the preference of which your majesty wished that cordial friendship and attachment should, without prejudice or partiality, be established between the followers of the faith, as the means of supporting the religion of Mahomed." And that your majesty added,—"God preserve the nabob Wazirah, who is a prince, and one of the leaders of the faithful, and a pillar of the faith.—At the term, 'a pillar of the faith,' the nabob could not suppress his tears, and said, "I am, what I know myself to be."—Till the sultan, "that he is the pillar of the faith, and may God preserve him and grant him a long life, since I and all Muslims derive support from him; for otherwise the state of affairs here is evident.—That which is evident does not require explanation."—We also, in conformity to your majesty's commands, mentioned to his highness, in a becoming and suitable manner, whatever there was to state upon the subject of friendship and attachment. His highness replied, "In consideration of the completion of the times, the state of which is manifest, and that the support of the religion of Mahomed in this country entirely depends upon the sultan, my nightly and daily prayer is offered up for his good." He then said to the prince,—"Oh! say soon if my life and property can be of any service to you, God is witness that I will not refuse them to you."—He then gave orders to the superintendent of the gardens, to carry, every day, fruits and flowers to the prince, before him (the nabob's) own children; and said to us—"You are now acquainted with the state and order of affairs here. Consider me from my heart your well-wisher and sincere friend; and, at all times be assured, that in whatever I may be able to effect your benefit, either by word or deed, I will not decline my exertions.—What I said and wrote to your majesty upon the subject of making peace, God will know who was then for the new defense of his lordship, however, possessed uncontrolled authority, was a man of wisdom, and listened to the advice of others, and my observations made an impression upon him. God preserve you and increase the wisdom and greatness of your Majesty." Major Doreton and another officer, being

of the party, his highness appealed to them, observing that they had been present at the time, and could speak to the truth or falsity of what he said. Major Doveton replied, that it was very true; and that several English gentlemen were consequently much displeased with his highness. That one day, when his highness had assembled all the gentlemen, under pretence of giving them an entertainment, but really for the above purpose, and had accordingly suggested pacific measures, the expediency of which he urged in a thousand ways, they were so displeased, that they went away without partaking of the entertainment. Nay that to their animosity might be attributed the assumption of his highness's country. That when the orders were received from the king of England to restore the country, they framed the pretence among themselves that his highness was too much attached to Tippee's bulcaun, and that the restitution of his country would consequently be an impolitic measure. But his lordship maintained his opinion singly, and, disregarding the animosity of all the others against his highness, delivered to him (his highness) the country agreeably to the directions of his majesty. The story is very long. We have only written to your majesty a very small part of it. At present the commanding officer of the fort, and the other English gentlemen who are here, behave towards the nabob Walajah as if they were his servants. The princes stand two hours with his highness, and at the time of departure were presented by him with two khalepts of embroidery for the tennah, two kulgas, and two surpashies of the finest jewels. We made endless apologies, and requested that he would excuse our acceptance of them. He said, "this is a festival, and I have given to my sons, and my whole family, new garments.—These are also my children, and I entertain for them even a greater degree of regard, and I must not neglect them; these things possess little value, and it is not your province to interpose between me and my children." In like manner, his highness presented Ghobass Ally Khan with a khalept, a khalept of a khalept, and surpashies, and Ghobass Ally Khan with a khalept. He then took a khalept of each of the princes, and descending from the upper part of his house, accompanied them to the outer door of the town-house, where he took leave of them. Omdut in Omrah, and the other sons, attended them to the road, where they left them, after

seeing them into their tankens, and the nabob at parting embraced them with the greatest warmth.

We have thus communicated to your majesty the particulars of the friendly conduct of the nabob Walajah and the other lords, in fact, the disposition of all ranks of people is equally favourable, for whenever the princes go out any where, thousands of them stand in the street, and offer up prayers for your majesty's prosperity. On festivals and on Fridays in congregation, all the Musulmans first offer up their prayers for your majesty's preservation. May God fulfil them! Upon our return dancing girls and musicians, &c. were sent with the prince's retinue, and after our arrival at the prince's house and sitting there for two hours, danced, and were then dismissed.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N B EDMONSTONE.

No. V

Extract from a Letter from Tippee Sultan to Ally Rezza Khan and Ghobass Ally Khan; dated at Seringapatam, the 12th from the Birth of Mahomed.

I have received and understood the contents of your arzee, numerous distinguished kindness and regards, which the nabob Walajah treats myself, and the sincere friendship which he entertains towards me. It is evident that the nabob is a pillar of the Mahomedan religion, the elect of the Almighty, a man of dignity and worldly experience; whatever favour and attention he may show towards my sons, who are his guests, and you, I shall assuredly consider as a kindness conferred upon myself. This circumstance has afforded me much pleasure.

My hopes from Almighty God and his divine messenger are, that the nabob will do whatever may tend to the support of the religion of Mahomed, and that he will give the necessary attention to this point. You will mention to him that he must consider my sons as his own; that, in conformity to the command of God and the Prophet, the improvement of friendship among the professors of Islamism will be beneficial to various concerns both spiritual and temporal; and that, deeming me attached to our common religion and to his highness's person, he will direct his attention accordingly; you will also state to the nabob the other points of friendship, which you have repeatedly heard from my mouth.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N B EDMONSTONE.

No. VI

KEY to a CYPER * found among the Records at Seringapatam, and received at Calcutta on the 2d of March 1800.

Oh God, glorious and exalted! Oh Prophet of God! May the blessing of the Lord be upon him! Religion. Bistich.

The nabob Walejah,
The Friend of Mankind.

Ally Rezza,
The Distinguished in
Friendship

The Power of God,
A Saddle.

Hearts,
Sons.

The nabob Tippoo
Sultaun,
The Defender or Protector
of the Faith

Nothing or Nonentity,
Nizam ul Dowlah

The Victorious,
A Scymeter
A State or Dominion,

A Ring

The Faith Religion,
Gholam Ally Khan

Nabob Lalch,
The Spring, a Flower
Garden.

A Letter, an Tutorous.
Benevolent the Hand.
A Heart a Seal

The English,
Newsletters

The Mean or Despi-
cable,

The Mahabharat.
A Flower,
A Present

The Restorer of the
Faith,

Omdut ul Omrah

The Writing of
Omdut ul Omrah.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N B. EDMONSTONE.

No. VII.

Translation of a Letter from Gholam Ally
Khan to Tippoo Sultaun.

The departure of Ally Rezza Khan at this time, in conformity to the orders of the presence, is very expedient, especially for the purpose of bringing to a favourable issue the propositions of Lord Cornwallis, and the *to the end* of mankind, which is most ardently to be wished.

There are many points which cannot be committed to paper, and can only be communicated in person, at this time the friendship and good will of both firdars is from God, and the royal auspices the particulars of this summary, which a unaloked for good, will be made known to your majesty by the verbal representations of Ally Rezza, who attends the presence especially for that purpose although it is contrary to the rules of respect to presume to give an opinion upon this subject, yet I am emboldened by my long attachment and my sense of the duty I owe your majesty when your majesty shall have maturely deliberated upon and fully brought home to your mind the representation of both the firdars, from a consideration of the obligateness of the times, your majesty agreeing to this af-

fair—(upon the principle recommended in the words of Hafiz of aburas, the mercy of God be upon him! with friends, cordiality with enemies, dissimulation) seems highly expedient and advantageous to your majesty's interests.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N B. EDMONSTONE.

No. VIII.

Translation of a Copy of a Letter from
Tippoo Sultaun to the Nabob Walejah

In the name of the most merciful God! After reiterated praises and unbounded adoration to the Almighty, who assembled the body of muslimans under the banners of Mahommed, and lighted the torch of mutual attachment among them, and praise to the chosen of prophets, who promulgated the saying, "All muslimans are brothers," and took upon himself the task of intercession for all heathens, and after insinuating my desire of being personally known to your highness, and which, as it exceeds the power of the pen to describe, must be left to the heart to conceive, I have the honour to represent that the receipt of your highness's kind letter after so long a lapse of time—
(according

* These words are written by one of Tippoo Sultaun's moonshams.

† The designation of the nabob Walejah in the cypher

(according to the saying "all things depend upon the appointed season")—rejoiced me extremely, and your highness's obliging recollection of me excited my acknowledgments, and I return thanks to Almighty Providence for the joyful news of the welfare of the well-wisher of mankind (*meaning the nabob himself*), my delaying to address your highness has been owing to my not having been favoured with any letters from your highness. By the grace of God! your highness is pre-eminent, characterised for all praise-worthy qualities, and acquainted with all affairs. It is probable that your highness's delay in writing to me may have been occasioned by the particular circumstances of the times, and in consequence I also have delayed to write, else I should have written to you an hundred times. Now by the receipt of your highness's letter, and the account of your highness's friendship and attachment, which I have had from the verbal communication of the high in rank, *the distinguished in friendship*, the trusty, I am certain that (according to the words of the prophet, the sinner of the muslimans is that of the soul with the body) that warmth of attachment, original affection, implanted among muslimans, exists between us. My hope from Almighty God, and my confidence in the Prophet is that, according to the command of God, and of the Prophet, which is well known to all muslimans, all the faithful will exert themselves with heart and soul in maintaining and rendering permanent the religion of Mahomed upon your highness, who is one of the heads of the faith, this is an absolute duty, and I am confident that your highness will by all means constantly employ your time in performing what is obligatory on you and I am perfectly satisfied that you will show that devotion which is becoming your exalted station, towards my own soul, your guests, and who are as your own. I hope that separating me personally, and as your well-wisher, and that of all muslimans, you will continue to rejoice me by letters; you will learn my father's sentiments from the representatives of the high in rank *the distinguished in friendship*.

Dated the 29th of November 1799.

(A true translation of)

(Signed) M. A. RUMIATOWNE.

NO. IX.

Translation of a Copy of a Letter from Tipu Sultan to Usudul Omrah, the Nabob of the Carnatic.

After reiterating praises and unbounded adoration to the Almighty, who hath adorned the minarets of the professors of Islamism with the gem of religion, and lighted the torch of friendship for each other in the region of the heart, and endless thanks worthy of the list of the messengers of God (Mahomed), who with his prophetic tongue spoke this divine say on, "That all muslimans are brethren," and who was pleased to take upon himself the task of intercession for all believers and after intimating my desire of personal communication, and which, as it exceeds the power of the pen to describe, must be left to the heart to conceive, I set forth my object. By the grace of God, the most sincere attachment and perfect unanimity have from the beginning been established among the believers of the enlightened doctrine of Mahomed, but every event has its proper season and hence no opportunity has yet offered for the external demonstration of our mutual regard. Now however the receipt of your kind letter, replete with the friendly sentiments with which our hearts are mutually impressed, has doubly added to my sincere attachment and cordial regard, when I learnt also, from the intimation of the high in rank, *the distinguished in friendship*, the trusty, of your great and noble qualities, and the sincere friendship and cordiality you entertain towards me, my happiness was greater than language can adequately express, may God realise this source of happiness that is to say, that perfect attachment and union among the followers of Islam, which is the greatest gift of the Almighty, and then which nothing is more essential to the temporal and eternal interests of mankind. May God render it attainable, and may he preserve us firm in the faith of Mahomed, the boundless benefits resulting from which will by the divine grace be manifested.

I am confident that you will direct your attention to the adjustment of affairs between me and the well-wisher of mankind, who is the chief and principal of the professors of Islamism; and that learning me from my heart your well-wisher, you will always keep me in your remembrance by

your friendly letters: All other particulars may be made known to you from the representations of the high in rank.

May prosperity and happiness attend you.

Dated the 29th of November 1792.

(A true translation)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. X.

Translation of a Letter from Ghulam Ally Khan to Tippoo Sultan. (Without date)

On the 14th of January 1793, the nabob Walajah sent a message by Khader Newaz Khan to this effect:—Whatever animosity and disagreement formerly existed between us (meaning himself and Tippoo Sultan) are now, thank God, completely removed. If the slightest trace of them remain in my heart, I am no Mussulman, nay of another sect; and on the part of the Hyderab Circle also, I am confident the same friendly sentiments are entertained: God knows, and the Prophet is witness, on the most deliberate reflection and deep consideration, I see no one sinner who has at heart the interests of the true faith except Tippoo Sultan, and after him his father (of whom the same may be said in some degree.) In the second place, the sight of the prince gives new force to the attachment and regard that my heart feels, indeed it is superfluous to express this; hence I offer up my most earnest prayers to God for the welfare of the Sultan, and the prosperity of the affairs of the Hyderab Circle. From the impasse of these sentiments it is requisite that I should communicate some articles of intelligence, which are as follows: I have always kept stationed in Bengal several persons of the higher class, for the purpose of collecting and transmitting secret intelligence daily in the paper of intelligence which came on the 20th of December 1793, it is stated, that Sir Charles Medley, the English resident at Poona, has written to Lord Cornwallis, that numerous messengers from the Khedive's Circle daily pass to and fro between Serungapatnam and Poona, whence it would seem that Tippoo Sultan was endeavouring to form a close connection and alliance with the Poonah government, and through that government with the Mogul (Nizam Ally Khan); and that deeming this information of importance, he had written it on his lordship. The members of council in Bengal, on hearing

this, are said to have stated they opinion to his lordship, that Tippoo Sultan was infringing the settlement which had taken place between him and his lordship, and was concerning matters of a sinister nature, that, for example, the Sultan withheld payment of the kists, as mentioned in the treaty, and refused to release the European and other prisoners, subjects of the Company; that this sort of discourse had excited some degree of suspicion, nay even of alarm in his lordship's mind. Such is the present state of affairs. What, in the judgment of this well-wisher, now appears expedient is this—in a short time his lordship will go to Europe, the prince, please God, will soon return, and the kists are in a course of payment; after his lordship's departure, the liquidation of the kists and other points, whatever may be his highness's (Tippoo's) pleasure, will be right and proper, at present it is better to be silent upon every thing, because at this time his highness's honour would at all events be called in question. When another shall arrive from Europe, the impression will in every respect and in every measure fall upon him.

(A true translation)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

Note—The following extract is preceded by an account of the nabob Walajah's having invited the princes to an exhibition of fire-works, on occasion of the Eid, or festival. The governor of Madras lent his garden for the purpose.

No. XI.

Extract from a Letter from Ghulam Ally Khan and Ally Ram Khan, to Tippoo Sultan dated 2d of May 1793.

The princes having arrived at the garden, the nabob Walajah sent Omdut ul Omrah to them, desiring him to remain as attendance upon the princes as long as they should stay at the entertainment. Omdut ul Omrah accordingly attended the princes at the exhibition of fireworks until nine o'clock at night, when he took leave and went away. At parting Omdut ul Omrah said to us, "You will give my respectful compliments, by way of remembrance to his majesty and inform him that he may consider me from my heart attached to him, and that, please God, at a proper occasion my fidelity towards him shall be made manifest to him."

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE

No. XII.

Extract from a Letter from Ghulam Ally Khan and Ally Ramna Khan, to Tippoo Sultan; dated 5th of June 1793.

Refuge of the world! yesterday the wall-
paper of mankind sent the following mes-
sage by Khader Newaz Khan: "At this
time a complete rupture has taken place
between the English and French. The
story of the king of the French and their
domestic commotions are well known. Six
or seven European powers have united
for the destruction of the French and
you will soon hear that the whole of the
French territory has been divided amongst
others. The English (troops) here at Ma-
dras will proceed in a day or two against
Pondicherry. Although there is a body
of troops in that place, yet domestic dis-
sentions have risen to the utmost pitch
there, and nothing will be done and the
place will at length be taken. My ob-
ject in mentioning this event is this:—
The vakeel of the Ahmedy Circar who
was at Pondicherry, has lately returned,
returned to the presence (Tippoo Sul-
tan). Please God, there is no doubt
that the sultan keeps in view all the ups
and downs of the time. At this time no
kind of assistance will be afforded, but
out of that friendship which I feel for the
sultan, I recommend that the vakeel re-
main a short time at the presence, and
also that epistolary correspondence be
discontinued for a short time. Although
a friendly connexion has long subsisted
with the French on the part of the Ah-
medy Circar, yet, considering the circum-
stances of the times, it is not advisable
(that is, to maintain an epistolary cor-
respondence with the French) should
there be any point of urgency to commu-
nicate, there is no objection to do so ver-
bally. For God's sake, let not the sul-
tan ascribe what I say to a wrong mo-
tive; I am actuated solely by my good
wishes in making this communication.
Since the day that a cordial union took
place between us, let me be no longer a
subject, nor a servant of God, if I
have not always offered my prayers for
the sultan's good, and afterwards for
my own. May the Almighty preserve
firm and unimpaired the Mohammedan
church, and the safety of the sultan.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) M. H. ENAMWOTRA.

No. XIII.

Extract from a Letter from Ghulam Ally

Khan and Ally Ramna Khan, to Tippoo Sultan, dated 23d of July 1793.

The nabob Wajajah has repeatedly
sent word to us, by Khader Newaz Khan,
that he had something of a letter nature
which he wished to say to us in private,
adding that if we would go under pre-
tence of seeing a mosque which his high-
ness has built, he would send Omdut ul
Omrah alone to meet us. Accordingly,
on the 17th of June 1793, we went to
the mosque, whither Omdut ul Omrah
repaired also. On the left of the mosque
is the tomb of a celebrated devotee (by
name Futeh Shah,) who died about six
months ago, and erected at his highness's
expense. Under pretence of performing
the *fautehah* (or prayers for the dead)
Omdut ul Omrah took our hands and car-
ried us into the tomb. When there, he
asked us whether we had full powers
from your majesty or were under the ne-
cessity of making reference upon every
subject. We replied, that we had been
a year and more in attendance here,
during which period many points of bu-
siness had been negotiated, and continued
to be negotiated, by us, and that, please
God, our proceedings were and would
be approved and confirmed by your ma-
jesty; and that with his (Omdut ul Om-
rah's) knowledge of this, his goodness ap-
peared very extraordinary to us. That
it was proper to put to vakeels, that we
were only servants and well-wishers of
the circars, and that we had powers to
act in any thing that appeared to us cal-
culated to promote your highness's inter-
est and welfare; but in the other case
not. Omdut ul Omrah was much pleased,
and, smiling said to us, "So it ought to
be." He then declared the following,
on the part of the nabob Wajajah:—"That
for a very long time there had been,
without a truce, a veil (or want of cor-
diality) between his highness and your
majesty which had been productive of
injuries to both; but now that, by the
favour of God, a system of harmony,
such as is becoming among the professors
of Islamism, had taken place, his highness
confidently hoped from God, the peace
truce of all, that the time past might be
amply redeemed; that for his highness's
own part, considering from his heart, him-
self, his country, and his progeny to be-
long to your majesty, he had made it a
voluntary agreement to his children
and family, taking God and his holy Pro-
phet to witness, to pay night and day
for the pillar of faith, (that is to say
your

your majesty;) and to consider their prosperity and welfare as inseparably connected with your majesty; that we must ascertain your majesty's wishes on this head as a manner satisfactory to both, and if your majesty should be, from your heart solicitous of this proposed cordial harmony his highness would, under the testimony of God and his Prophet, detail to us his sentiments fully at the time of our departure, which, please God would soon take place. May it please your majesty his highness is in expectation of an answer from you to these points, and we shall represent to his highness whatever reply your majesty may direct us to make. Please God we shall hereafter have occasion to address your majesty, notifying our succession, the affairs you know of. May the sun of prosperity, &c. &c.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE

No. XIV

Extract from a Letter from Gholam Ally Khan and Ally Rezza Khan, to Tippon Sultan (Without date)

Prior to this we communicated to your majesty the circumstances of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah's coming to the mosque our meeting there, and his communicating to us several points, with which particulars your majesty must ere this have become acquainted. On a subsequent day, we sent a message to him, purporting that we were going to the garden to see and arrange the effects we had with us and that if he also would come there under pretence of taking the air, we should be very happy. Accordingly on the next day we went to the garden with Omdut ul Omrah. We sat together for four hours, (about an hour and a half English;) and Omdut ul Omrah discoursed in the most undisguised manner on the part of the nabob Wajajah, as well as on his own, of the sincerity of their friendship, at tachement and regard.

He also made use of some particular expressions of his attachment, requiring us upon oath not to countenace them to writing but to defer the communication of them until our return to your majesty. "Sure," said he, "I have expressed myself as I have done merely from my regard for the faith, and from my friendship and goodwill towards the defender (or protector) of the faith," please God, you

will shortly be with his majesty, when you will communicate them in person." We answered, that we would act as he desired, and not divulge what he had said to any one.

Proprietor of the world! Concerning the affair with which your majesty is acquainted, we have under suitable plans, and a proper introduction, prevailed upon Omdut ul Omrah to lay the foundation of it, and he is exerting himself with zeal in this business. Please God, we will inform your majesty of the result.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. XV

Extract from a Letter from Tippon Sultan to Gholam Ally Khan and Ally Rezza Khan dated 6th of August 1793.

I have understood what you have written relative to the conferences with Omdut ul Omrah. I desire that you will privately commit to paper his discourse with you and send the same to me. You will also write me information of the transaction with which you are acquainted.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. XVI

Translation of a Letter from Gholam Ally Khan and Ally Rezza Khan to Tippon Sultan dated 31st of August 1793.

(After the usual form of address.)

We have had the honour to receive your majesty's two gracious letters, giving cover to a paper containing a form of obligation, and a question of orthodoxy, by the hands of Mahommud Dewan.—We assembled all the servants, high and low, belonging to the carcar, and communicated every thing to them and enjoined them, that on the next day, which was Friday, they should all bathe, put on their best cloaths, and attend us. On that day Gholam Ally Khan was indisposed, (as he still continues,) and therefore I, Ally Rezza, carried all the servants of the carcar with me to the jaumah mosque. There were present the cause of the city, the khutub (or preacher) Syed Mahommud, a person of great learning and others, to the number of near a thousand, and likewise the sons of the nabob Wajajah. As it happened, the coorah was well adapted to our purpose. After this Friday's pray-

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one messenger, I caused all of them to be drawn, and sent to the army, and other persons of learning who were present, to have the cotohah delivered in the Hindustanny language, in order that every body might understand it. One of them accordingly explained the contents of the cotohah, which comprised the command of God to wage holy wars, not to take to flight in combating with infidels; to form an union among all the professors of Islamism; and other obligations of the faith. I then asked the clergy what was the law, if any Mussulmans acted contrary to these commands? to which the clergy replied, that, according to the duties and obligations of Mussulmans, whoever neglected to act up to the commands was a sinner. Upon which I remarked, it was very extraordinary that, notwithstanding the notoriety of this and the great plurality of Mussulmans, they should so depart from the obligations of the faith as to take up their abode in such a place, and choose to render obedience to those of a different persuasion. God grant it may turn out well for the Mussulmans of this place! I then said, it is written that the prayers which are offered up to the cotohah in favour of a prince who fights for the faith, are accepted of God; but the prayers in favour of those who do not are rejected. Either reconcile the law in this instance to the case of him in whose name you have read the cotohah, or else conform to the law; why are you knowingly guilty of sin? To this he replied, "All things depend upon their appointed season!" After this I asked, according to the law of the faith, what was the duty of servants? he answered, the sentence of the *Khawass* is plain, "Obey God and his Prophet, and those of yourselves who are placed in authority over you."—In other words, the most high God hath intended obedience to the sovereign with obedience to himself, and to his messenger; hence it is incumbent upon all servants to do that which belongs to fidelity, and to the interests of religion. I answered, that although this, that is obedience to the prince, was a duty indiscriminately binding upon all Mussulmans, yet I wanted other prayers, (the blessing of which I prayed might descend upon every individual,) to take an obligation from the servants of the *Khodadad Circar*. Accordingly, after I and all the servants of the *Almohy Circar* had finished the prayers in conformity to your majesty's commands, I

addressed all the people, and said, "The error of which ye have hitherto been guilty in, for the sake of God and of his messenger, forgiven on the part of his majesty."—Upon this they, one by one, arose and declared, that since all their errors had been forgiven on the part of your majesty, they now, under the testimony of God, his messenger, and the holy book, bound and engaged themselves, that hereafter, as long as they lived, their conduct should consist nothing else than fidelity, devotion, truth, and zeal; that they would never be guilty of flight in the face of an enemy, of theft, of lying, of injuring, withing ill, or of enmity towards those who wished well to the *Khodadad State*, nor of any thing that belonged to treachery and ingratitude; adding, that they would never swear from this engagement a hair's breadth; that they would cultivate friendship and union with the followers of the faith, and among one another; that they considered the honour of all Mussulmans as an object of individual concern, and would never commit oppression and violence upon any one, either by word or deed. After this a *futehah* (or service for the souls of the dead) was performed, and prayers that the *Khodadad Circar* might be triumphant and victorious. We then came out of the mosque, and halting in the area of it, I took an engagement from the *Elades* with me to this effect; that as they derived their support from the *Almohy Circar*, they engaged upon oath, and upon the faith of their persons, that they would be faithful to the duties committed to their charge; that their conduct should ever consist fidelity, without ever being guilty of theft, or false speaking or writing: To this they added, that if they departed a hair's breadth from this engagement, they should consider it tantamount to their having killed and eaten of a cow in the holy me; and that they should be considered as delinquents against the *circar*.

Preacher of the Word!—*Mahammed* Down verbally communicated to us your majesty's commands, that we should not suffer ourselves to feel any apprehension in fulfilling this ceremony. Consider of the Word! We can only feel apprehension and hesitation in not obeying the orders of the Prince. What apprehension can we entertain in obeying, and submission to commands, such only is the apprehension we feel in the present instance.

Spain. The commands of the Princes are imposed upon their servants, not upon others, princes and governors, who entertain servants, do so for the purpose of experiencing from them obedience and devotion to their interests; and if they exact from them the obligations and conditions of obedience, fidelity, and devotion, what harm is there in it? Officers who, every Sunday, assemble in church, and according to their laws and regulations deliver precepts and admonitions, who entertain troops, and exercise them daily, do so with a view to the adjustment of their own concerns. If we also, with a view to the arrangement and adjustment of our concerns, take obligations and engagements from our servants, where is the objection? Please God, this measure, which your majesty has suggested, your having taken obligations and engagements from the servants in attendance upon your majesty, and your directing us to do the same here, is highly proper, expedient, and advisable and in light of men of understanding, the good effects and benefits of it are endless and without bounds. The measure was necessary too: for what is the meaning that there should not be an union among the professors of the faith, that they should not devote themselves to the interests of their masters, and that, disregarding the claims of gratitude, they should turn their backs upon the enemy in the day of battle? These engagements and obligations are very proper and involve many advantages. Further particulars will be made known to your majesty by the verbal representations of Mahomed Dewan, who attended, and was an eye-witness to all that passed. A list of the servants who are here present, and who entered into the engagements, is enclosed.

(A true translation)
(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. XVII.

Translation of a Note, written with a Pen upon Half a Sheet of Post Paper, with an Envelope of English Paper, by his Highness's Omdut ul Omrah, apparently addressed to Gholaum Ally Khan.

Good faith is the law for (or practice of) Spoken. I complain of frequent negligence; but am sometimes called to remembrance; yet all evades the intelligence of the meanings of the princes has rejected me. The presents usual on such occasions from my father will be sent, or

(it may be interpreted) are now sent. Repeat the following couplet on my part to the nabob Tippoo Bahadur.

In the preservation of thy person is the perpetual permanence of the faith.

Let him not remain who witheth not thy preservation.

Make my complaints to his highness of his not writing to me, if permission be required (for stating those complaints) you will obtain it. To the prince, respect, to Razza Ally Khan, compliment. Gholaum Hussain.

Dated the 12th of August 1794.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. XVIII.

Translation of a Letter from Mibhammad Ghyas and Mahommed Ghye Khan, Ambassadors from Lipton Sultan to his Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic dated the 1, 6 of December 1795

The humblest of the servants of his majesty, the shadow of God Tippoo Sultan king defender of the faith, may his dominion endure for ever! Mahommed Ghyas and Mahommed Ghye, after performing the ceremonies of obedience, humbly repeat to those who stand in the enlightened presence.

Prior to this we had the honour to forward an address to your majesty from Ryacottah, whence we proceeded, and by regular stages, arrived on the 28th near Turmukerry.

From that place we wrote a note to Khader Newaz Khan, which we dispatched by hircarrabs, a reply arrived, signifying that the nabob Omdut ul Omrah was much rejoiced at our approach, and desired that we would proceed with all possible expedition, adding, that an habitation was prepared for our reception: at about three o'clock in the afternoon we arrived there, and immediately a gentleman waited upon us, and told us he was come to perform the rites of hospitality. We answered that it was perfectly conformable to his highness the nabob's known kindness and urbanity: he then caused firewood and carbon pots to be brought, and told us he had brought a hundred rupees for our immediate expenses. We answered, that we were come on an occasion of condolence, what necessity was there for money? he was very importunate with us, to accept it, but we made him carry it back. He returned

trapped with it however again, and again we sent him back with it. About eight o'clock at night, Khader Newaz Khan himself came, and told us that the nabob was much displeased, however, if we would not accept the money, he would send us dressed provisions. We replied, that as we were his highness's guests, he might do so for a day or two after paying Khader Newaz Khan the complement of the paim and ottur, we let him take leave. In the morning his highness sent us provisions from his own kitchen; this was continued for three days, and was continuing longer, but we sent word to Khader Newaz Khan, in the most earnest manner, that for three days it was very well, but if the practice was continued we should be under the necessity of sending the provisions back.

Immediately on our arrival at Turmut-kerry, we sent our compliments by a chapdar to the governor who returned for answer, that he was happy to hear of our arrival. The next day an European named Grant, who commands the governor's body guard, came to see us, and invited us to wait the next day on the governor, who would conduct us to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah. We accordingly next day went to the governor's, to whom we delivered your majesty's letter, and the khelaut, (or honorary dress). The governor asked after your majesty's health, and we replied in suitable terms, after complimenting us with the paim and ottur, and rose water he told us that he would introduce us early the next morning to the nabob. We then took leave and returned home and sent notice to Khader Newaz Khan that the governor had postponed the intended visit of that day, but that we were desirous only of ~~conveying~~ his highness's pleasure, and should act as his highness might direct; he returned for answer that it was no matter, we might come the day following. Early the next morning we went to the governor, and taking him with us, we proceeded to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and delivered the khelaut of mourning and letter of condolence. His highness was very much pleased, and conversed about your majesty's health, and other subjects, a whole hour (23 minutes). He then complimented us with the paim and ottur, and allowed us to depart; on our taking leave, he took our hands, and charged us with a great deal of anger, that we were his guests, and it was not proper for us to decline receiving provisions, conjuring us, for God's sake, not to

send back the provisions which should be sent us while we remained here. We refused as much as possible by argument, but his highness would not listen to our refusal, and again conjured us by oath not to return the provisions which should be sent to us while we remained; we could say no more, and returned home. The next day his highness, having sent for Nuffur ul Dowlah, appointed the next day for our agent attending him, and we then delivered the khelaut and letters which were for him (Nuffur ul Dowlah.) He also made inquiries after your majesty's health to which we made a suitable reply. His highness then gave us the ottur and paim, and suffered us to take leave. The day after we again went to the durbar, taking with us the letter and khelaut of congratulation the jewels and horset. We delivered the letter and khelaut, presented muzzers of five rupees each, and sat down. His highness, with the greatest degree of kindness, placed us close to himself and launched out into great praises of your majesty, and appeared delighted with the subject, telling us, that it was his intention to send for us and say what he had to say in private adding, that our arrival at this time was extremely proper. His highness told us, that he had commended the late nabob Walajah's body to the earth at the shrine of the saint named Muckdoom Sahib, at Mylapore, to be removed in four months.

May the sun of prosperity always continue to shine!

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE

NO XIX.

Translation of a Letter from Mahomet Ghyani, and Mahomet Ghof Khan, agents by Tippee Sultan to the Nabob of the Carnates, to the former (W. H. M. S. S. S. S.)

After dispatching our arzee the nabob Omdut ul Omrah sent for us, and spoke a good deal upon the subject of friendship between the two States; and then said to us, "You are both come on the part of my friend, and I do not desire to part with you soon." We replied, that we certainly considered both States as one, but that at present some pressing business required our return, and therefore we must request him to give us leave to depart. Upon which he said, that please God he would soon do so, but, still his highness, it is not proper in you to send back the provisions,

as you have repeatedly done so. I swear to God, that as long as you remain here, I shall send you provision, and you must allow for my particular satisfaction, wear clothes that I will provide you; you must not return them. We said in reply what appeared suitable to the occasion; but his highness would not listen to it, but renewed his adjuration, and giving us the octor and paun dismissed us. The next day, at three in the afternoon, Khader Newaz Khan came with cloth and taylora, and told us, it was his highness's command to him to see the cloth cut out before us and fitted to us. We contested the point to the utmost with Khader Newaz Khan, but he told us his highness had taken an oath, and that it was not proper in us to refuse. At length he caused four pieces of spotted muslin and four pieces of ——— for each of us, to be cut out and set the taylors to work, with injunctions to get the whole ready by the evening.

From Sunday during five or six days, the rains were incessant. On the sixteenth, when it ceased a little Khader Newaz Khan sent a message, that the rain had lately prevented our receiving our dismissal, but now the khelasi for your majesty, the elephants and hories, &c. would be sent on that day and that the following day his highness would send for us, and give us our dismissal. Accordingly, at about three o'clock in the afternoon, an elephant and five hories, two khelasis of embroidery and two pieces of jewellery, one a khulgu, and the other a surpash, besides a large box sealed in which were khelasis of spotted muslin, &c. and another box also sealed, containing the octoraun and paundaun were brought by Daoud Khan, and the keeper of the wardrobe, &c. who desired us to take charge of these articles, and convey them safely to your majesty that his highness had moreover sent two khelasis of embroidery for us, and that he would send for us the following day, and after having communicated to us what he had to say, would give us leave to depart. At their desire we took a memorandum of the articles. The next day we were prevented from waiting upon his highness by the violence of the rain. On the third day, at about nine o'clock a.m. his highness sent word to us to come in the clothes which had been newly made, as it would be a great gratification: so

please him we accordingly did so. After many salutations, his highness, with the appearance of great satisfaction, arose, and taking our hands, said, Now am I extremely happy. We then sat in a private place, when his highness expatiated during two hours with great warmth upon the subject of union and friendship, after which he gave us the octor and paun, and suffered us to take leave, and we returned home. At three o'clock in the afternoon we received a note from Khader Newaz Khan, stating that his highness sent 2000 rupees for our hories, and 400 rupees for the three duffadars, naik of hircarrabs and duffadar (or head) of khudmutgias. We in the presence of his highness's naik of hircarrabs, made presents to his highness's servants out of that 2000 rupees. We write thus for your highness's information.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTON.

Note—The original of the following translation is written in the hand of the nabob of Arcot's letters invariably are but on the cover, in place of the seals, is written the name of "Gholam Huslan" and in the place of direction "Gholam Ally." The date of its receipt is the 8th of January 1797.

No. XX.

Translation of a Letter from the Nobil Omdat ul Omrah, to Gholam Ally Khan.

After a lapse of time, and the moment my heart was desirous of learning accounts of your health, I had the pleasure to receive your friendly letter and I was gratified by the news of your welfare.

I have fully comprehended the several points contained in that letter you will become acquainted with the circumstances alluded to from the communications of Mahommed Ghayasi and Mahommed Gholam Khan. Deeming me desirous of receiving the pleasing accounts of your health, you will gratify me by communicating them.

(Interfused in the Letter, by one of Tippee Sultan's Men.)

Received the 8th of January 1797.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTON.

1797.

No. XXI.

Translation of a Letter under the Seal of Khader Nizam Khan, to Gholam Ally Khan.

Deeming my desire of the honour of a meeting, which is replete with happiness, beyond the power of writing, or speech to express, I proceed to represent the purpose of this address.

Your kind letter, intimating that you had been indisposed after your leaving this place, but that your health was completely restored, has reached me and its contents have been understood. Although I am concerned at the accounts of your indisposition my thanks are offered up to Almighty God for your recovery. What you write of the satisfaction of the nabob Tippon Sultan behander may his shadow be extended upon the intimation of my attachment has called forth my highest thanks and endless praises, and I beg you will present my respectful acknowledgments for his kindness and favours towards me. I have been from first to last endeavouring that through the favour of God, the degree of union between these two choices of the Lord [meaning the nabob Omrah and Tippon Sultan,] which is calculated to promote the happiness of God's people may daily be strengthened and cemented, and mutual friendship and attachment be confirmed and established and thanks to the Almighty, that the system of harmony and union has acquired the requisite degree of stability and firmness [literally, that as it should be, so it is.] Always believe me anxious for the news of your welfare, and constantly praying for your health and happiness.

(Underwritten on the Letter by one of Tippon Sultan's Messengers)

Received the 8th of January 1797

(Superscription on the Cover)

Be it honoured by the respected person of Gholam Ally Khan behander, Mulhuddy [i. e. Mulhud, a place in Khurasan.] Be his favour perpetual.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

Extract from the Treaty concluded in 1787, between the English East India Company and the Nabob of the Carnatic

Article 15th.—Whenever the Company shall enter into any negotiation wherein the interests of the Carnatic and its

dependencies may be concerned, the president in council of Fort St. George shall communicate the proceedings to his highness the nabob of the Carnatic, as the firm ally of the Company; and also the direction of the combined force of the country is committed entirely to the Honourable Company or their representatives.—It is nevertheless understood, that his highness shall be informed of all measures which shall relate to the declaring of war or making peace, with any of the princes and powers of Hindustan, so far as the interests of the Carnatic may be immediately concerned; and the name of his highness shall be inserted in all treaties regarding the Carnatic, and his highness will not enter into any political negotiations or controversies with any state or power without the consent or approbation of the president in council at Fort St. George.

Extract from the Treaty concluded in 1792, between the English East India Company and the Nabob of the Carnatic.

Article 10th.—The said nabob shall receive regular information of all negotiations which shall relate to declaring war or making peace, wherein the said Company may engage, and the interests of the Carnatic and its dependencies may be concerned, and the said nabob shall be considered as an ally of the said Company in all treaties which shall in any respect affect the Carnatic and countries depending thereon, or belonging to either of the contracting parties contiguous thereto; and the said nabob agrees that he will not enter into any negotiations or political correspondence with any European or native power, without the consent of the said Company.

(True copies.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE.

No. 2.

LETTER from the GOVERNOR-GENERAL to his late Highness the NABOB.

[Written 18th May 1801.]

MEM.—This letter is prefaced on a supposition, that it is the same which is required by the 11th order of the Flou House, and therein described as having been shown by Messrs. Webb and Cloke to the Regents on the 15th July 1801.

To the NABOB of ARCOR

For some time past your highness must have observed, that although I have received various communications from you with relation to the internal government of the Carnatic, and to the general state of your affairs, I have not deemed it consistent with my public duty to return any reply to any other letters which I have had the honour to receive from your highness, excepting those containing the usual interchange of compliments between your highness and the British government, the cause of my silence is of the most serious nature, and has occasioned the deepest and most sincere regret to my mind

The success of our arms against the late Tippoo Sultraun has brought to light many important and extraordinary transactions, my determination on the subject of the proofs which I possess has been formed after the fullest deliberation, and after the most dispassionate review of all the circumstances of the case, I have communicated my final opinion to Lord Clive, with my positive directions to carry into effect, without delay, those arrangements which the nature of the case appears to me to require, for the security of the British interests in the Carnatic. Lord Clive will enter into a full explanation of all the evidence which has been discovered at Seringapatam, and will also state to your highness the purport of the instructions which have been received from me. I request your highness to consider Lord Clive to be fully authorized by me to terminate the requisite arrangements, and, under this view of the question, I trust that you will not expect from me any interruption to the course of those measures which I have judged to be indispensably necessary, and

which I have directed Lord Clive to accomplish without further reference to my authority

(A true copy)

(Signed) N B EDMONSTONE,
Persian Transl to the Governor,

No 9

PROCEEDINGS of the Governor in Council at Fort St George, on the signing of the Treaty between the Company and Azeem ul Dowlah

To His Excellency the Most Noble the Marquis WELLESLEY, K P Governor General in Council at Fort William

MY LORD,

Lord Clive has had the honour of informing the governor general of the demise of his highness the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, the late nabob of the Carnatic, on the 15th instant. His excellency has also been apprized by his lordship of the measures adopted by Lord Clive, in conformity to the separate dispatches of the governor general, for establishing the rights and interests of the British government in the Carnatic, on the permanent basis of territorial security

2 Those dispatches, and the result of Lord Clive's measures for the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, having been communicated to us, we have the honour to acquaint your excellency in council, that a treaty has been this day concluded, subject to the ratification of the governor general in council, for settling the succession to the subahdarry of the territories of Arcor, and for vesting the entire civil and military government of the Carnatic in the hands of the Company

3 The separate dispatches of Lord Clive will have explained to his excellency the governor general
† K 2

not the cause which prevented his lordship from communicating to the late nabob Omdut ul Omdrah, the nature of the governor general's instructions, founded on the written and oral testimony taken at Serin-gapatam, the subsequent demand made by Lord Clive of an adequate security for the British interests in the Carnatic, from the reputed son of Omdut ul Omdrah, the positive and formal rejection by that person of an amicable adjustment of the affairs of the Carnatic, founded on the rights acquired by the Company, from his reputed father's violation of the alliance, and of the express stipulations of the treaty of 1792; the subsequent motives of Lord Clive for opening a negotiation with the prince Azeem ul Dowlah behander, for the purpose of reviving the alliance between the family of his highness and the British government, founded on the instructions of the governor general to avoid the humiliation of the family of the nabob Mahommed Ally, if it should be practicable to obtain by negotiation the security required for our rights in the Carnatic, and finally, the terms of the arrangement which has been concluded by the deputies under the immediate authority of Lord Clive. These points having been fully stated in his lordship's separate dispatches, we trust that it will be sufficient for us to refer the governor general in council to those dispatches, with the expression of our entire concurrence in the arrangements adopted by Lord Clive under his excellency's separate instructions.

4. We have now the honour of transmitting to your excellency in council, an official copy of the treaty, which has thus far been executed, and sanctioned by us, with the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah

a ratified copy of the treaty may be transmitted to us with all practicable expedition, for the purpose of being delivered to his highness.

5 The change of circumstances, arising from the conduct of Ally Hussain, and the persons appointed to assist his councils, has rendered it necessary for Lord Clive to introduce a correspondent change in the structure of the declaration transmitted to his lordship by the governor general. We have the honour of submitting to your excellency in council, a copy of the declaration, in the form in which we shall judge it advisable to publish that paper, if your excellency should deem the publication of it to be expedient.

6 It is our intention that a copy of the declaration in this form shall be immediately transmitted to the governor in council at Bombay, and to the residents at Hyderabad and Poonah, for the purpose of communicating to them the grounds on which the succession to the subahdarry of the territories of Arcot, and the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, have been settled and established, but we shall use no further means for the distribution of that document, unless we should receive instructions for that purpose from your excellency in council.

7 In concluding an arrangement involving consequences of so much importance to the British interests in India, it is impossible for us not to feel a degree of anxiety correspondent to the magnitude of the subject, until we shall be honoured by the receipt of the determination of your excellency in council on this transaction. In the mean while, anticipating with confidence the concurrence of your lordship's sentiments with our own, we offer our congratulations to your excel-

of an arrangement, by which the rights and interests of Great Britain in the Carnatic have at length been fixed on the solid foundation of territorial security.

8. We have the honour to inform your excellency in council, that his highness the nabob Azeez ul Dowlah behander, has this day been installed in the musnud of his ancestors, as nabob subahdar of the Carnatic, with every mark of public respect from the British government, and with every practicable degree of splendour conformable to the usages of India.

9. It is our intention to dispatch the *Whim* packet immediately, for the purpose of conveying to the honourable the secret committee of the court of directors our dispatches on the subject, which is now submitted to the governor general in council.

We have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) CLIVE,

J STUART,

W PETRIE,

E W FALLORFIELD

Fort St George, 31st July 1801

No. 10

CORRESPONDENCE between the Governor General and the Governor of Fort St George, on the subject of the Carnatic, from the Period of the Death of his late Highness Omdut ul Omrah, to the Elevation of Azeez ul Dowlah to the Musnud

(Official, No. 18)

To his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquis WELLBLESLEY, K P &c
MY LORD,

I have the honour of informing your lordship, that his highness the nabob Omdut ul Omrah departed this life about nine o'clock this morning.

The arrangement which I informed your lordship had been made for the preservation of order at the palace of Chepauk, upon the occurrence of his highness's death, hath completely answered the purposes intended by that measure, and I have the satisfaction of acquainting your lordship, that entire tranquillity prevails throughout the neighbourhood of Chepauk and of Madras. This measure of precaution proved to be entirely satisfactory to the mind of the late nabob, from the time his highness became acquainted with the intention of it.

Tippoo Padshaw, (or Hissam ul Mulk,) the fourth son of the late Mahommed Ally, from whom principally I expected an attempt to excite a commotion on the death of the nabob, is at present under the protection of the troops stationed at Chepauk.

Previously to the receipt of your lordship's dispatches committed to the charge of Mr Webbe, I had determined to take immediate measures, on the demise of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, for exercising the government of the Carnatic on the part of the Company; but upon the receipt of those dispatches, which define more distinctly your lordship's wishes in regard to the mode of executing that intention, I have judged it advisable to suspend the declaration of the right of the British government to assume the administration of the affairs of the Carnatic, and to preserve the gracious appearance of national forbearance and moderation as long as it might be consistent with the actual security of the British interests.

With this view I deputed Mr Webbe and Lieut. Colonel Close to the palace of Chepauk, for the purpose of conferring with the princi-

pal officers of the late nabob upon the subject of any arrangement which it might have been the intention of his highness Omdut ul Omrah to provide, for administering the affairs of his family and of his government

An authentic will was produced to the deputies, under the seal and signature of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, appointing his reputed son Ally Hossain Khan (Taje ul Omrah) to be heir and successor to all his highness's possessions of every description, and nominating Najeeb Khan and Tukhsa Ally Khan to be his guardians and supporters of his highness's reputed son

In conformity to my conditional instructions, the deputies proceeded to disclose to the guardians, Tukhsa Ally Khan and Najeeb Khan the nature of the discoveries which had been made respecting the breach of the alliance between the Company and the late nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, by the hostile conduct of their highnesses. Having explained, during this conference, the entire grounds on which the right of the Company to use its discretion in securing the interests pledged to it in the Carnatic is founded, the deputies pressed Tukhsa Ally Khan and Najeeb Khan, to concur in a negotiation for an amicable adjustment of the affairs of the Carnatic, rather than to compel the British government to proceed to the exercise of its own rights and power

The plea of delay, founded on the decency and necessity of providing for the immediate funeral of the late nabob, was urged in a manner so consistent with public decorum, and with the feelings natural to the family of his highness on this occasion, that Colonel Clive and Mr Webb judged it expedient to al-

low a latitude until seven o'clock to-morrow evening for the declaration of a final answer to the proposition of an adjustment by negotiation. In granting this latitude, the deputies were careful to refuse all validity to the will of the late nabob, and concluded the conference by an assurance to the guardians, that upon their answer to be given at the next conference, would absolutely depend either the acknowledgment of the will of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah by the Company, or the necessity of asserting the rights of the Company, by proceeding to exercise the civil and military government of the Carnatic

The guardians having declared their intention to give a categorical answer at the time proposed, I shall be prepared, at the expiration of it, to act according to the termination of the conference, either by acknowledging the successor of Omdut ul Omrah, and receiving possession of the Carnatic through the channel of negotiation, or by asserting the right of the Company, and immediately proceeding to exercise the government of the Carnatic

I should have availed myself of the earliest opportunity of opening a negotiation with his late highness the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, upon the grounds of your lordship's dispatches, but having satisfied myself, upon the solemn declaration of his highness's physician, taken on oath, that the communication of important business at the time of my receiving your lordship's instructions might have been attended with fatal consequences to the life of the nabob, I refrained informing his highness of the arrival of those dispatches, the gradual decay of the nabob has since continued to render it impracticable for me, on the same motives of humanity, to make

any communication to his highness founded on your lordship's instructions.

I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) CLIVE

Fort St. George, 15th July 1801

(Official, No 19, Secret)

*To his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquis WELLESLEY, & P
&c*

MY LORD,

1 In my dispatch of the 15th instant, I had the honour of communicating to your lordship my intention of endeavouring to effect an arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic through the channel of negotiation

2 I have considered that to be a mode of adjustment so preferable to the exercise of the rights of the British government, by the assertion of its power, that I judged it to be advisable, in my verbal instructions to the deputies, to provide, that their unceasing attention should be directed to the accomplishment of that object. The conferences opened in consequence, were conducted in a manner entirely conformable to this principle. The khans, appointed by the will of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah for the aid of his reputed son, were apprized by Mr Webbe and Lieutenant-Colonel Clive of the positive grounds of right, on which it was the determination of the British government to obtain security for its interests in the Carnatic, at the same time every argument of conciliation and persuasion was urged by the deputies, founded on the long established connexion between the Company and the family of the nabob Walajah, on the humiliating consequences of publishing to the world the evidence of the hostile conduct of Omdut ul

Omrah discovered at Serasingapatam, and on the different degrees of dignity, splendour, and comfort, which would attach to the reputed son of that prince under circumstances of friendly accommodation, or of hostile resistance to the demand of security on the part of the British government

3 The negotiation was interrupted at its earliest stage, by a refusal on the part of the khans, appointed to assist the son of Omdut ul Omrah, to acquiesce in the demand contained in the fundamental proposition of the deputies for territorial security, to the extent of vesting the civil and military government of the Carnatic exclusively in the hands of the British government. To this demand the khans opposed an uniform resistance, and the deputies would have been justified in bringing the negotiation to a conclusion on this point of difference. Reason, however, existed for believing, that their conduct was not conformable to the sentiments of the young man, it was consistent with the motive for proceeding by negotiation, that every practicable degree of facility should be given to that plan of arrangement. An opportunity was therefore offered to Ally Hussain, of declaring his genuine sentiments; and accordingly, in a separate conversation with myself, he distinctly stated that he had not participated the councils of his assistants

4 In consequence of this declaration, it was my intention to have relieved the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah from the situation in which he appeared to have been placed by the conduct of his father's confidential ministers. A second meeting was accordingly appointed for the purpose of completing the arrangement necessary to the ac-

† K 4

knowledge

knowledge of Ally Hussain's title, and for the establishment of territorial security for the rights of the Company. At this subsequent conference, which was also conducted without the presence of his assistants, Ally Hussain retracted his declaration of the preceding day; he expressed his unequivocal concurrence in the sentiments of the khaw, together with his resolution not to depart from the result of their councils, and declared his resolution to meet, at whatever hazard, the consequences of refusing this reasonable demand of security on the part of the British government.

6 Having exhausted all the means in my power of impressing on the mind of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah a just sense of the right acquired by the Company under the violation of the alliance, or of the determination of the British government to exercise that right for the attainment of an adequate security, I was reluctantly compelled to discontinue all farther communication with the immediate family of Omdut ul Omrah.

7 The detail of those conferences, which it is my intention to transmit at a future period of time to your excellency, will evince, that the deputies appointed by me have adhered to the spirit of moderation and temperance which I had prescribed for the conduct of the negotiation, for although the negotiation was formerly suspended by the rejection of the first proposition, a full communication was made both to Ally Hussain separately, and to his advisers jointly, of the plan of arrangement intended by your excellency for the preservation of his father's family from an entire banishment, your excellency will also observe, that Omdut ul Om-

rah's reputed son, (who is of an age to appreciate the consequences of his own conduct,) and his advisers, have signified their final rejection of this fundamental proposition, under the expression of their entire belief of the existence of your lordship's orders, and under the impression of the fullest knowledge of the consequences of that rejection.

7 The failure of my endeavour to accomplish an arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, by a conciliatory negotiation with the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, was as little expected by myself as by your excellency. The delay which has in consequence occurred, was inseparable from this mode of procedure, but whatever temporary inconvenience may attach to it, I have no doubt that your lordship will consider me to have adhered, in the pursuit of an amicable adjustment, to the spirit of your councils, instructions, and wishes.

8 The intention of obtaining an adequate security for the rights and interests of the British government in the Carnatic, through the channel of an amicable negotiation, having been frustrated by the unexpected resistance opposed to my demands by the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, it remained for me to apply the principles of your lordship's policy and orders to the change of circumstances, and the actual condition of the case.

9 The result of the propositions, founded on the proofs of the violation of the alliance, by the conduct of the nabobs Mahammed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, establishes the right of the British government to exercise its power in such a manner, and to such an extent, as shall be judged advisable for the attainment of an adequate security for its rights and interests in the Carnatic. The

mode of exercising that right is therefore limited to considerations of expediency: the dispatches which I have had the honour of receiving from your lordship by Mr Webbe, leave no doubt in my mind, that your excellency considers that to be the most expedient mode of exercising our right and power, which shall be most consistent with the magnanimity of moderation and forbearance, under the injuries we have sustained, and most conformable to the nature of the connection so long subsisting between the Company and Mahomed Ally.

10. The attainment of an adequate security, by means of negotiation, from the immediate family of Omdut ul Omrah, has been rendered impracticable, under the letter of your lordship's last instructions, by Ally Husein's rejection of the fundamental proposition for that purpose, but the spirit of your lordship's provisional orders, under date the 20th of March 1800, is still applicable to the actual circumstances in which the affairs of the Carnatic have now been placed. Considerations, independent of those connected with our external relations, are suggested by the state of our domestic affairs: the rebellion in the southern provinces has assumed a more formidable aspect than could have been expected; and although the force assembled is, I trust, sufficient for the suppression of it, the movement of troops required for that purpose has unavoidably so reduced the appointed force of the provinces, as to render extremely inconvenient any measure calculated to augment the number of disaffected persons. During the recent negotiations, circumstances have occurred which establish my belief of the existence of a very considerable treasure in the possession of the family of the late nabob, and it is of

great importance that so pregnant a source of mischief should not now be thrown into a scale adverse to our interests.

11. The object of the orders which I am instructed by your excellency to carry into effect, is the attainment of an adequate security founded on the possession of territory, if that object should be attainable with the consent of the house of Mahomed Ally, it is manifest that the degree of security will be greater than if the same object should be obtained by the exercise of our power, even under the qualification of our indisputable right, because such a mode of procedure is calculated to conciliate the affections of our musliman subjects, instead of inflaming the discontented state of their minds, and to secure at least a negative application of the supposed treasure to the ordinary use of the family, instead of diverting it to the purposes of treachery or hostility.

12. On a review of all these circumstances and considerations, I have judged the principles of your lordship's orders to remain in full force, although the mode of applying them has failed with respect to the supposed son of Omdut ul Omrah, but every consideration of our general policy of expediency with respect to our external relations, and of prudence with regard to our internal tranquillity, requires, in my judgement, that the actual establishment of our security, on the basis of right to exercise the entire civil and military government of the Carnatic, should be accompanied by the gracious and conciliatory measure of establishing a branch of the house of Mahomed Ally in a degree of rank and splendour suited to its long subsisting connection with the Company, and consistent with the actual circumstances of the Carnatic.

13. I have already apprized your lordship, by my private dispatches, that, under the impression of these sentiments, I had directed my attention to the situation of Azeem ul Dowlah, the only son of the late *Ameer ul Omrah*, and that, in determining to advance him eventually to the *sebahdarry* of the territories of Arcot, I had considered myself at liberty to extend to the present situation of the affairs of the Carnatic, the provisional instructions contained in your lordship's dispatch of the 26th of March 1800. Having adopted, in consequence of this intention, the necessary measures of precaution for removing the restraint imposed during a long period of time, by the family of *Omdut ul Omrah*, on the person of Azeem ul Dowlah, I directed Mr. Webb and Lieutenant-colonel Cloke to open a negotiation with that prince, upon the grounds of the rights acquired by the Company, from the violation of the alliance on the part of his family, and upon the wish of the British government to avoid, as far as might be consistent with its actual security, the humiliation of this ancient and illustrious house.

14. I have the honour of acquainting your lordship, that the negotiation has been brought to a successful determination, and I enclose the draft of a treaty * which Azeem ul Omrah has bound himself to execute in a more formal manner, as soon as circumstances may be sufficiently advanced to admit the execution of a public instrument.

15. In providing a suitable maintenance for the successor of *Omdut ul Omrah*, I have thought it more advisable to render the amount dependent on the general

prosperity of the country, than to fix an unconditional stipend for the support of his dignity: this mode of arrangement, while it cannot encroach upon our security, is calculated to qualify the entire transfer of the civil government of the Carnatic to the hands of the British, with the preservation of an active principle for securing an union of interests between the nabob of the Carnatic and the Company in the administration of the affairs of the country, and this mode possesses the farther recommendation of relieving the provision for the maintenance of the nabob from the appearance of a mere pension. On the same grounds of reasoning, I have judged it expedient to secure the income of the nabob from the effects of any considerable failure in the revenues of the Carnatic. On the principle adopted, I expect that the income of the nabob will not much exceed two lacks of pagodas, and the future augmented income will probably never exceed the sum of three lacks of pagodas.

16. I have adopted the principle stated in your lordship's letter to his highness the late nabob *Omdut ul Omrah*, of the 24th April 1790, containing the plan of a proposed treaty for the complete adjustment of all his highness's affairs with respect to the Company, and a clause has accordingly been introduced into the present treaty, by which Azeem ul Dowlah formally acknowledges, on the part of himself and of his predecessors heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, the debts due by their highnesses to the Company, on account of the cavalry loan, and on account of the proportion of the consolidated debt of 1777, paid by the Company to the creditors of

* *Fide* Copy of Treaty transmitted in the dispatch from the governor in council of Fort St. George, dated 31st July 1802, — No. 6,

of the nabob Mahommed Ally By the same clause his highness Azeem ul Dowlah has further bound himself to acknowledge, as a just debt, the amount which shall be decided to be the just balance of the unadjusted accounts referred to the determination of the governor general in council, by his late highness the nabob Mahommed Ally

17 I have judged it to be my duty to stimulate this formal acknowledgement of the debts due to the Company by the nabobs of the Carnatic, not more from the desire of providing a final settlement of the affairs of the Carnatic, than from a regard to justice in securing to the public a portion of whatever sum may eventually be appropriated to the liquidation of the floating debt of the late nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah I have considered this duty to be the more urgent, from the reports now prevailing with respect to the progress already made towards an arrangement for the consolidation of those debts, and from the manifest necessity of securing, in such an event, a more adequate proportion of the revenues of the Carnatic for the defence of the territories subject to this presidency

18 I have introduced into the declaration transmitted to me by your lordship, such alterations as the change of circumstances appears to have rendered necessary, and I have now the honour of submitting to your excellency a copy of the declaration *, in the form in which it is my intention to transmit it to the residents of Hyderabad and Poonah, and to the government of Bombay. I shall not take any farther means for the publication of this paper, until I may become ac-

quainted with your lordship's sentiment on that subject.

19. It is necessary to apprise your lordship, that upon the death of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, I considered it to be inconsistent with my desire of negotiating an amicable adjustment of the affairs of the Carnatic, to issue the orders I had proposed previously to the receipt of your excellency's dispatches, to transmit to the officers of the Company for the purpose of authorizing them to exercise the government of the Carnatic The delay which has in consequence occurred in the transfer of authority, is not likely to produce any serious inconvenience, particularly with respect to the revenue, at this season of the year, and it will enable me to transmit, together with the orders of the governor in council to the officers of the Company, those of his highness Azeem ul Dowlah to the officers of the late government, for the regular and formal establishment of the authority of the Company in the civil government of the Carnatic

20 Circumstances connected with the situation of his highness Azeem ul Dowlah, and of the family of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, will render it necessary to postpone the ceremony of installing his highness for a short period of time, and until these arrangements can be adjusted, it will be impracticable to transmit the treaty in an official dispatch, from the governor in council, for the purpose of being notified by the governor general in council

21 Since the termination of the conferences with the khans, on the part of Omdut ul Omrah's son, have received from them an address, con-

* Vide Copy of the Declaration accompanying the dispatch from the governor in council of Fort St. George, of 31st July 1801, — No 7

containing a formal communication of the succession of Ally Hussain to the rank and titles appointed by the will of his supposed father, together with an intimation of the readiness and desire of that person to perform the obligations of the treaty of 1792. This communication was immediately subsequent to a positive, formal, and personal declaration from myself, that I could no longer consider Ally Hussain to have any pretensions to those titles, in consequence of the refusal on his part to afford the degree of security required by your lordship's orders. The conduct of those khans, and of Ally Hussain, has since been conformable to this affectation of independent rights. The positive and direct communication of the intention of the British government, has not deterred those persons from proceeding to the ordinary ceremonies of installing Ally Hussain in the ostensible rank of nabob of the Carnatic. This mode of procedure manifests, on the part of Omdut ul Omrah's repeated son, and of his advisers, a systematic adherence to the spirit of hostility which animated that faithless ally, and a perfect obedience to the testamentary councils of his father. I have therefore been compelled to guard against the consequences which such an appearance of opposition to the British authority is calculated, and may be intended to produce on the internal tranquility of the country, and I have judged it expedient for that purpose to take complete possession of the palace of Obespank, by means of the British troops, and to close the public offices until the nabob Azem ul Dowlah shall be installed.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CLIVE

(Official, No 30.—Most Secret.)

To His Excellency the Most Noble the Marquis WILLESLEY, K.P

MY LORD,

1 The general grounds of belief of the existence of a very large treasure in the family of the late nabob Mahommed Ally, has been considerably strengthened by circumstances which have occurred during the recent negotiations with the prince Azem ul Dowlah, I have therefore judged it to be my duty to endeavour, by the present arrangements, to provide that a proportion of the treasure should be appropriated to the liquidation of the cavalry loan.

2 No doubt can exist of the justice or of the expediency of such a provision, but under the actual circumstances of the case I fear that considerable difficulties will be opposed to the execution of it. The prince Azem ul Dowlah has been so long excluded from the knowledge of public affairs, at the durbar of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, that it may be practicable to conceal from his knowledge the mode in which the treasure may have been distributed, if (as may be expected) the greatest portion of the treasure has been disposed of among the female part of the late nabob's family, or if it should have been deposited in the interior apartments of the palace, the recovery of it must be attended with much embarrassment: the necessity of resorting to the measures requisite for that purpose could not fail of rendering the elevation of Azem ul Dowlah unwelcome to many branches of the family, and impede, to a certain extent, that general submission to the arrangement concluded with him, which I consider it of importance to conciliate from all our muskman subjects.

3. In this view of the question I have judged it advisable to stipulate with Azem ul Dowlah a separate and secret article, providing for the eventual discharge of the cavalry loan from the treasures which may be discovered. The knowledge of the existence of this article, after Azem ul Dowlah shall have been established in the subadarry of the territories of Arcot, not being liable to the inconveniences which render the discovery at present inconvenient, it is my intention to keep this article profoundly secret, and I trust that your lordship will consider me to have provided by this mode the best security for the discharge of the debt, which is consistent with the extreme delicacy of the question, and with the advantages of relieving the first measures of Azem ul Dowlah's government from the ungracious consequences of demanding the immediate restoration of the public property.

4. I have the honour of enclosing a copy of the article for your lordship's information.

I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) CLIVE

Fort St. George, 27th July 1801

No 11.

Copies and Extracts of LETTERS from the Governor-General and the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors relative to the Revolution in the Carnatic, and the Assumption of its Government by the Company

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

HONOURABLE SIR,

Par. 1. Your honourable committee has been already made ac-

quainted, by the dispatches of his excellency the most noble the governor-general, with the written evidence discovered at Seringapatam, of the treacherous conduct of their highnesses the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah.

2. On the receipt of the governor-general's separate dispatches, Lord Clive, in conformity to his excellency's desire, expressed in a private dispatch, appointed Mr. Webb, the chief secretary of this government, and Lieutenant Colonel Clive, the resident in Mysore, to be commissioners, for the purpose of conducting the oral examination necessary to complete the proofs of these most extraordinary transactions.

3. The report of the commissioners, with the proceedings, was received by Lord Clive, and transmitted to his excellency the governor-general, in the month of May 1800, with a dispatch from Lord Clive, containing his lordship's sentiments on the result of the enquiry instituted at Seringapatam.

4. Circumstances connected with our general policy and interests, rendered it expedient for the governor-general to postpone his excellency's determination, with respect to the measures to be adopted in consequence of this flagrant violation of the ties of amity and alliance by the nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah. The causes of this unavoidable delay are explained in a recent dispatch, received by Lord Clive from the governor-general, containing the result of his excellency's deliberation on this important question, together with his lordship's instructions in regard to the nature and extent of the security to be required for the rights and interests of the Company in the Carnatic.

5. During

5. During the time when this subject was under the consideration of the governor-general, the state of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah's health became so precarious as to portend consequences fatal to the existence of his highness.

6. At an early period of time after the discovery of the papers found at Seringapatam, the governor-general had judged it expedient and prudent to transmit eventual instructions to Lord Clive, applicable to the contingency of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah's death, previously to the determination of the measures which might be rendered necessary to our safety by the detection of the faithless and hostile conduct of his highness. Lord Clive was also enabled to receive instructions from the governor-general, applicable to the contingency of the nabob's death, subsequently to the determination of the system of policy to be pursued for the future security of our interests in the Carnatic.

7. These dispatches were entrusted by the governor-general, together with his excellency's verbal instructions, to Mr Webbe, who arrived at Fort St George previously to the dissolution of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah. Although the important measures connected with the execution of the governor-general's orders rendered Lord Clive extremely anxious to demand, at the earliest practicable period of time, an adequate security for the British interests against the hostile counsels of his highness, yet the extreme debility of Omdut ul Omrah appeared, upon the affidavit of his highness's physician, to be such as to deter Lord Clive from communicating to his highness the arrival of the governor-general's dispatches,

The subsequent death of Omdut ul Omrah, which happened on the 15th ult. frustrated the intention of Lord Clive to open a negotiation with his highness according to the instructions of the governor-general.

8. On the demise of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, Lord Clive deputed Mr Webbe and Lieutenant-Colonel Close to open a conference with the principal officers of the late government, for the purpose of demanding from the successor of Omdut ul Omrah the security required by the instructions of the governor-general.

9. * The manner in which those conferences were conducted, is described in a report of the deputies, and the result of them was a declaration by Ally Hussain, (the reputed son, and the heir appointed by the will of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah,) of his final resolution not to acquiesce in Lord Clive's demand of security to the extent considered by the governor-general, and by his lordship, to be indispensably necessary to the security of the British interests.

10. During these conferences with the persons appointed by Omdut ul Omrah to assist the councils of his highness's reputed son, the deputies nominated by Lord Clive endeavoured to impress on the minds of those khans the nature of the proofs established on the written and oral testimony taken at Seringapatam, and no means of assurance, argument, or persuasion were omitted, which could tend to convince those persons of the existence of the governor-general's orders, founded on the instructions of your honourable committee, and of Lord Clive's serious determination to carry those orders into effect, to the extent of obtaining

ing an adequate security for the rights and interests of the Company in the Carnatic. Under these circumstances, of the recent death of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and of the indeterminate state of the affairs of his highness, some degree of delay was inseparable from these negotiations, but we have no doubt that your committee will consider the inconveniences arising from that delay to be compensated by the generosity of affording to the family of Omdut ul Omrah, in this spirit of temperance and moderation, sufficient leisure to appreciate the serious effects of this alternative choice on its immediate interest. The khans appointed to act on the part of Ally Hussain having persisted to refuse to the deputies the security required by the governor-general, Lord Clive judged it to be his lordship's duty, previously to the adoption of the measures dependent on that refusal, to obtain, if possible, a knowledge of the genuine sentiments of Ally Hussain himself on this important proposition. Lord Clive accordingly held two personal interviews with the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, at which none of the officers or advisers of the late government were present, the place at which these interviews were held being within the encampment of the British troops. The mode of this meeting was attended with the further advantage of affording to Ally Hussain immediate security and protection in the event of his desiring to relieve himself from the desperate and insatuated councils of his advisers. At these personal interviews, the nature of the rights acquired by the British government was explained to Ally Hussain, the determination to exercise those rights was stated, and the conse-

quences of a refusal on his part to afford, in an amicable manner, the security required by the British government, were announced in the most serious and formal manner by Lord Clive to the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah. In reply to this communication, Ally Hussain distinctly and formally stated his resolution to adhere to the councils of the khans appointed to assist, and to refuse, with a perfect knowledge of the consequences of that refusal, to accede to the demand for the establishment of an adequate security for the interests and rights of the Company in the Carnatic.

11 In consequence of the refusal, unexpectedly opposed by Ally Hussain to this reasonable demand, it remained for Lord Clive to apply the instructions and authority conveyed to his lordship by the governor-general to the actual state of circumstances. In proceeding to exercise the rights of the British government, which the conduct of Ally Hussain had compelled his lordship to assert, Lord Clive still judged it to be consistent with the sentiments of national magnanimity and generosity, that the British government should refrain from the exercise of the Company's power, and from the absolute humiliation of the family of Mahommed Ally, if an adequate security could be obtained through the channel of an amicable adjustment. Under the impression of these sentiments, Lord Clive directed his attention to the claims and to the situation of the prince Azeem ul Dowlah behander. This prince is the only son by a formal marriage of the late Ameer ul Omrah, who was the second son of the late nabob Mahommed Ally, and is the immediate great grandson, by both his parents, of the nabob

Ameer

Ameer ud Deen Khan, the founder of the family. The rights of Omdut ul Omrah, founded on the treaty of 1792, having been vitiated by that prince's violation of the alliances, and of the stipulations of that instrument, the hereditary claims of the house of Mahommed Ally descended to the second branch of the family, represented by the prince Azeem ul Dowlah, the son of Ameer ul Omrah, who was the second son of the nabob Mahommed Ally.

12 As soon as the restraint imposed by the family of Omdut ul Omrah on the person of the prince Azeem ul Dowlah could be removed, Lord Clive directed the deputies, Mr Webbe and Lieutenant Colonel-Close, to open a communication with that prince, for the purpose of reviving the alliance between his ancestors and the Company, and of establishing the rights and interests of the British government in the Carnatic on a permanent basis of security. The grounds* of the reasoning in which this determination was founded, are stated in a separate dispatch from Lord Clive to the governor-general, to which we refer your honourable committee.

13 The prince Azeem ul Dowlah having been informed by the deputies, of the foundation on which the right of the British government to demand an adequate security was supported, and of the nature of the security required, signified his acknowledgement of that right, and his willingness to afford, in the event of his elevation to the musnad of his ancestors, the security demanded by the authority of the governor-general. The deputies accordingly proceeded to frame a written engagement on these prin-

ciples, which was executed by the prince Azeem ul Dowlah.

14 In conformity to this arrangement we have acknowledged Azeem ul Dowlah to be nabob of the Carnatic, and refer your committee to the detailed grounds of this measure to a declaration, which has been transmitted to the governor general in council, to the governor in council at Bombay, to the governor of Ceylon, and to the residents at Hyderabad and Poonah, for this purpose we also refer the committee to the treaty which has been concluded with the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah behaader.

15 The mode of providing for the support of the dignity of his highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah is conformable to the principles on which the alliance between his highness's family and the Company has been revived and established. By these means the interests of his highness will become united with those of the Company in the general prosperity of the Carnatic, and while the actual security of the British interests, provided by the present arrangement, remains undiminished, the mode of supplying a fund for the expences of the family in the manner suitable to its rank, and to the dignity of the British government, by the allotment of a proportion of the public revenues for that purpose, is entirely relieved from the degrading name and appearance of a stipendiary maintenance.

16. In conformity to the plan described in the governor-general's letter of the 24th of April 1749, to the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, for including in the treaty, at that time proposed to his highness, a complete abatement of all the ad-

of his highness, and of his highness's ancestors, which yet remained unadjusted with the Company, Lord Clive deemed it to be his duty to stipulate an entire adjustment of the debts due by the family of the nabob to the Company. His highness having assented to this demand, a clause has accordingly been introduced into the treaty, by which the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah acknowledges, on his own part, and on that of his ancestors, heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, the debt commonly called the cavalry loan, and the debt arising from the proportion of the consolidated debt of 1777, paid by the Company to the private creditors of the late nabob Mahommed Ally, to be just debts due to the Company, together with interest arising thereon. His highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah farther binds himself to a knowledge, as a just debt due to the Company, the amount which may be pronounced by the Governor-general in council, to be the just and fair balance of the unadjusted accounts between his family and the Company, according to the engagement by which the nabob Mahommed Ally bound himself to abide by the decision of the Governor-general in council, when his highness referred those accounts to the determination of the supreme government.

17 It will be obvious to your honourable committee, that the intention of Lord Clive, in stipulating this article of the treaty, was directed to secure to the Company the appropriation of the sum of six lacks and twenty one thousand pagodas, unincumbered by any deductions, to the discharge of the public debt due to the Company, as soon as the consolidated debt of 1777 shall have been liquidated, under

the existing engagements with the conditions of the nabob Mahommed Ally.

18 The object of securing this sum, for the liquidation of the debt due to the Company, did not appear less important to Lord Clive, than the expediency of providing that, under any circumstances which may occur, a more adequate proportion of the revenues of the Carnatic should be applied to the military defence of those valuable possessions, than can now be appropriated to that purpose. The calamitous impoverishment of every source of wealth and population, of which the causes have been repeatedly stated to your honourable committee, leaves no immediate expectation that the net revenues of the Carnatic will exceed the sum of nineteen lacks of star pagodas. This fund, after allotting a sufficient sum for the support of the expenses of the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, for the maintenance of the principal officers, ministers, dependants, and family of the late nabob Omdut ul Ourah, and for the payment of the amount appropriated to the liquidation of the consolidated debt of the nabob Mahommed Ally, will afford a sum probably not exceed 16 nine lacks of pagodas for the defrayment of the charges of defending these extensive territories.

19 That sum exceeds, by a very small amount, the proportion of the revenue which the province of Tanjore contributes to the general exigencies of the state, and bears a very inadequate proportion, either to the expence of defending the Carnatic, or to the rate of assessment levied for the public protection in every other part of the territories subject to this presidency. The present deduction of six from fifteen lacks of pagodas, is therefore so disproportioned to the present revenues of the

the Carnatic, that we can indulge no very sanguine hope of an immediate augmentation of our pecuniary resources from the administration of the civil government of the Carnatic. The progressive decline of the revenues of the Carnatic may be considered to have approached that stage, at which your committee have been prepared to expect the entire failure of the nabob's government, and, under the existing engagements, the augmentation of our resources must be proportioned to the gradual restoration of the wealth and prosperity of the country, every consideration, therefore, of the actual expence of protecting the extensive provinces of the Carnatic, every view of the indispensable necessity of maintaining an adequate military force for the defence of the British possessions in the peninsula of India, and every motive of attention to the alarming pressure on the finances of this presidency, required Lord Clive to establish, by the present treaty, the best possible security for a more adequate application, in future, of the public revenues of the Carnatic to the exigencies of the public service.

20 We feel great pleasure in congratulating your honourable committee on the completion of an arrangement, which has at length secured the British interests in the Carnatic on the solid basis of territorial possession, and which is, at the same time, calculated to confirm the reputation of our national magnanimity, generosity, and moderation. We have no doubt, that your honourable committee will concur in our sentiments, that the negotiation, which has terminated in the accomplishment of these important objects, has been conducted in

a manner consistent with the liberal policy of the nation, unbiassed by the adventitious advantage which might have been derived from the early excitement of a competition, founded on the variety of adverse interests dependent on the determination of the British councils.

We have the honour to inform you, that, in conformity to the terms of the treaty, the installation of the nabob Azem ul Dowlah was completed on the 31st ult accompanied with every demonstration of public respect, supported by every possible degree of splendour, and confirmed under the observance of the most formal procedure.

We have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) CLIVE,

T. STUART,

W. PETRIE,

E. W. HAILFIELD

Fort St. George 3d August 1801

Extract of a Letter from Marquis WELLESLEY, to the Secret Committee

Dued Moonghyr, 28th Sept 1801

THE principal documents respecting the final settlement of the Carnatic, have already been forwarded to you from Fort St. George. I have the honour to annex to this dispatch copies of such documents*, relating to that subject, as are now at this presidency. The *Georgiana* will touch at Madras, in order to take duplicates of the papers already transmitted to your honourable committee from that presidency, with such farther advices, respecting the state of the Carnatic as the right honourable the governor in council may be pleased to transmit to Europe. The *Mornington* packet will convey to you a review, which I am now preparing,

* The documents here referred to, form an Appendix to this dispatch, and a list (A) is enclosed.

* preparing, of the circumstances which have led to the late arrangements in the Carnatic, in the mean while, the dispatches from Fort St George will have sufficiently apprized your honourable committee of the principles which governed my conduct in my instructions to Lord Clive, and in the satisfaction of the treaty concluded by his lordship with the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah

Extract of a Secret Letter from Fort St George, dated 1st October 1801

Par 1 On the third of August last we had the honour of communicating to you, by the *Whim* packet, the death of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and the progress of the transactions which had terminated in the elevation of the prince Azeem ul Dowlah behaudar to the rank of the nabob Souhadar of the Carnatic, and in the establishment of the rights and interests of the Company in the Carnatic on the solid foundation of territorial security. Duplicates of that dispatch having been transmitted by the overland conveyance, and subsequently by the extra ship *Bridgewater*, we trust that your honourable committee will have received the earliest intelligence of those important events.

2 We have since had the honour to receive the determination of his excellency the most noble the Governor-general in council, on the subject of the treaty concluded by us with his highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, and we have the satisfaction of informing the committee, that the Governor-general in council has expressed his excellency's entire approbation of the conduct of this government, during

the progress of the various events which have terminated so highly advantageous to the interests of the honourable Company.

3 The reputed son of his highness the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, having met the just and moderate propositions founded on the instructions of the Governor general, for the security of the British interests in the Carnatic, by a deliberate refusal to enter into any engagements, absolutely necessary to that indispensable object, his excellency considered the general spirit of the instructions conveyed to Lord Clive at different times under the various changes which have taken place in the situation of affairs, entirely to warrant this government in offering to the son of the late Ameer ul Omrah the same terms which had been offered to the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah and the establishment of the acknowledged heir of the Ameer ul Omrah in the rank of nabob of the Carnatic, was therefore, in the judgement of the Governor general, a measure of moderation and wisdom.

4 Under these circumstances, his excellency in council has been pleased to express his entire approbation of the general spirit and stipulations of the treaty concluded with the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah.

5 The governor in council accordingly ratified the treaty executed at Fort St George, but being desirous of introducing some improvements of importance into that treaty, the Governor general stated his opinion of the proposed modification, subjecting the adoption or rejection of it, without farther reference, to the discretion of this government.

6 The Governor general having deemed it to be necessary that a change of the terms of the preamble,

and of the first article of the treaty, should be introduced, for the purpose of specifying more distinctly, that the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah owed his elevation, not to any hereditary pretensions, but to the liberality and generosity of the British government, a copy of the treaty, so modified and ratified by his excellency in council, was transmitted to us. The Governor general in council having also deemed it to be expedient, that explanatory articles of charge to be permanently deducted from the revenue, previously to the allotment of the nabob's proportion, for the purpose of relieving the Company from the appropriation of the jaghires in land, and of substituting pecuniary stipends for the support of the families of the nabob Mahommed Ally and of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and for the purpose of limiting the income of the nabob, on account of his proportion of the revenue, to an ultimate sum, his excellency in council transmitted to us instructions for framing additional articles, in conformity to the suggestions of the Governor general.

7 Lord Clive had great satisfaction in remarking the peculiar docility observed by the Governor general in proposing those modifications, and the confidence which his excellency reposed in this government, by committing to the exercise of its discretion the eventual adoption of the improvements considered by his excellency to be requisite to the final arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic.

8 In the mode adopted by the Governor-general for conveying his excellency's observations and instructions, Lord Clive had sincere pleasure in receiving the most flattering testimony of the success which has attended his lordship's

anxious and uniform endeavours to cultivate the confidence of the supreme government, by a zealous and cordial co-operation in the system of measures adopted by the Governor general, with respect to this government, and Lord Clive took that opportunity to assure his excellency of the unfeigned satisfaction which he felt on this occasion, and which he will feel on all occasions, in carrying into execution those arrangements which his excellency may judge most conducive to the honour and prosperity of the Empire in India.

9 We have the honour of informing the Committee, that the reference to the hereditary pretensions of Azeem ul Dowlah, as stated in the preamble and first article of the treaty, was entirely voluntary on the part of Lord Clive, and that throughout the late negotiations, the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah stated his conviction that the right of his highness's family, founded on its connection with the Company, had been annihilated, and that his highness considered the causes of his own elevation to have flowed from the generosity and moderation of the British government. Lord Clive was therefore relieved from the supposed difficulties stated in the Governor-general's dispatch, in proposing to the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, the modification of the preamble and of the first article of the treaty executed at Fort St George.

10 In conformity to the principles repeatedly declared by his highness, the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah received this proposition with the utmost degree of cheerfulness, and renounced all claim to the acknowledgements of his hereditary pretensions, without expressing any diffidence or alarm with respect to the intention of the proposed modification.

dification The modified treaty, transmitted by the Governor general, has accordingly been executed by us, and formally delivered to the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah

11 In obedience to the further instructions of the Governor-general in council, with respect to the explanatory articles, we have executed and interchanged with the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah separate articles, to be annexed to the treaty, and we have transmitted a copy of those articles for the purpose of being ratified by the Governor-general in council

12 In fixing the ultimate amount of the nabob's income, we have been guided by the Governor-general's separate dispatches to Lord Clive, and your committee will observe, that the principle of calculation adopted by us will limit his highness's proportion to about three lacks of pagodas, under the most beneficial arrangements now adopted for the administration of the revenues of the Carnatic

13 We have the honour to inform the committee, that the ratified treaty, with the explanatory articles, was interchanged with his highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, on the 16th ultimo, under every circumstance of public respect *suited to the importance of the occasion*

14 We entertain a just sense of the honour which the Governor-general in council has conferred on us, by the expression of his excellency's public thanks on the occasion of executing this treaty, and we have assured his excellency, that we consider the manner in which his sentiments have been conveyed to us, highly honourable to the administration of the affairs of this government

15 Reflecting on the progress

and termination of this transaction, Lord Clive deemed it his duty to bellow that tribute of praise which is due to Mr Webb and to Lieutenant colonel Close His lordship considered himself fortunate, that circumstances permitted him to employ the services of those gentlemen, according to the wishes of the Governor general, in the oral examinations taken at Vellore and Seringaparam, and that he should be enabled, at a subsequent period of time, to avail himself of the same services in the conduct of the late negotiation

16 Lord Clive has no doubt that the Governor general and the honourable committee, will concur in the importance which his lordship attaches to the consistent form preserved by those means, in the progress of the transaction, and to the peculiar advantage derived from the employment of European gentlemen of honour, eminently qualified, by their knowledge of eastern manners and languages, to conduct an affair of so much delicacy

17 Lord Clive knew that it was unnecessary for his lordship to direct the attention of the Governor general to the merits of Lieutenant colonel Close and Mr. Webb, but his lordship felt it to be no less an *act of justice, than of personal satisfaction*, to express to his excellency in council, his lordship's high sense and approbation of the temper, judgement, and ability manifested by those gentlemen in the accomplishment of an arrangement, by which the government, acting under the authority of the Governor-general in council, has been enabled to ad-
just the affairs of the Carnatic in a manner so honourable and advantageous to the Company and the nation

18 Lord Clive having, in con-
† L. C. cart

certain with his highness the nabob, and in conformity to the instructions of his excellency the Governor-general in council, framed an arrangement for the support of the families of the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdur ul Omrah, and for the maintenance of the principal officers of the late government, has communicated to us the plan proposed by his lordship, in which we entirely concur.

19 We have the honour of transmitting a copy of Lord Clive's separate minute for the information of the committee, who will have the satisfaction of observing, that the total amount of the pecuniary stipends, pensions, and establishments, is less than the sum provided by the treaty of 1792, for the family jaghures of the late nabobs, and that the stated principle of distinction, while it secures a liberal support to every branch of the family, will necessarily produce a gradual diminution of the total expence to be incurred by the Company.

From Marquis WELLESLEY to the Secret Committee, dated 21st October 1801

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

PAR 1.—At the moment of closing my letters intended for the present dispatch overland, I received a letter from the right honourable the governor in council of Fort St. George, under date the 2nd ultimo, notifying the final conclusion and exchange of engagements between the honourable Company and his highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, in conformity to the directions contained in the orders of the Governor-general in council to

the government of Fort St. George, under date the 18th of August (a copy of which accompanied my dispatch (D), dated the 28th September, by the *Georgiana* packet,) and inclosing for my ratification two explanatory articles, framed according to the instructions of the 18th August, which articles had been executed by the right honourable the governor in council and his highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah.

2 Being absent from the presidency of Fort William, on my progress towards the upper provinces, I have this day ratified the explanatory articles of the treaty of the Carnatic.

3 By the *Georgiana* packet, I have had the honour to transmit, for the information of your honourable committee, a copy of the treaty of the Carnatic, as it was originally concluded between the government of Fort St. George and his highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, together with all the documents connected with the subject of this important arrangement.

4 By those dispatches your honourable committee will be apprized of the state of the negotiation with his highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah at the period of time when those documents were transmitted. Your honourable committee will certainly receive a communication of the result of the late negotiation with his highness, from the right honourable the governor in council of Fort St. George, by the ships under dispatch from that presidency, together with copies of his lordship's address to this government of the 2nd ultimo, and of the explanatory articles which accompanied it.

5 With the view, however, to afford your honourable committee the

the earliest information of the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, as well as to multiply the channels of intelligence upon this important subject, I deem it expedient to transmit by the present dispatch overland the following documents —

Copy of a letter from the governor in council of Fort St. George, dated 31st July 1801:

Copy of the treaty concluded with his highness the nabob Azem ul Dowlah, transmitted in the foregoing

Copy of a letter from the Governor-general in council, dated the 18th August.

Memorandum of the proposed modification of the treaty with his highness the nabob Azem ul Dowlah

Copy of a letter from the right honourable the governor in council of Fort St. George, dated 22d September

Copy of the explanatory articles inclosed in the foregoing

I I request your honourable committee to accept my congratulations on the conclusion of an arrangement, which, while it is highly creditable to the justice and moderation of the British character, has happily established the rights and interests of the honourable Company in the Carnatic upon the secure and permanent foundations of territorial possession, of exclusive civil and military government, and of undivided influence and power. It is a great satisfaction to have ultimately accomplished an object, long and anxiously desired by the honourable Company, and earnestly recommended by the court of directors to my special attention, when I had the honour to receive the charge of this government — Your honourable committee is apprized of the early solicitude which I manifested for the accomplishment of this important measure upon my first arrival at Madras in the month of April 1798, as well as of the repeated attempts which I made on various occasions in the years 1798

and 1799, to effect the same salutary arrangement, the successive failure of these attempts, combined with the reflections arising from the equally unpropitious result of every preceding proposition of a similar nature, have enhanced in my mind the pleasure of witnessing the conclusion of the late treaty. The intimate connexion of this happy event, with the success of your army in Mysore, forms a peculiar and interesting feature of the whole transaction nor can your honourable committee fail to remark, that the possession of the records of the house of Hyder Ally, in disclosing to your government the whole system of the policy of your enemy in India, is the source from which we have derived that information which has enabled us to complete the settlement of the Carnatic

7 The introduction into the Carnatic of the wise and benevolent system of government, to which these provinces are indebted for their present happiness and prosperity, will be the next object of my anxiety and care. The union of all local authorities, and the extinction of every principle of conflicting power, will preclude the operation of those causes of discord and counteraction, which must ever have impeded the progress of good government in the Carnatic, while the administration of affairs continued in the hands of the nabob

8 I consider it to be a most grateful part of my duty to express to your honourable committee the high sense which I entertain of the zeal, judgement, and temper, which has distinguished the conduct of Lord Clive, and of the government of Fort St. George, during the whole course of those important transactions, and arduous negotiations, which have terminated in a manner

so advantageous to the interests of the honourable Company in India.

9 To his lordship's judicious exercise of the powers vested in him by my authority for the settlement of the affairs of the Carnatic, is principally to be ascribed the success of those measures which the treachery and ingratitude of their late highnesses the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah, compelled me to adopt for the preservation of the rights and interests of the honourable Company in that country.

10 Justice to the merits of Mr. Webbe, chief secretary to government at Fort St George, and of Lieutenant Colonel Close, late resident in Mysore, requires me to express to your honourable committee my cordial and grateful approbation of the important services rendered by those gentlemen to the public, during the course of the late transactions and negotiations at Fort St George. The assistance which Lord Clive has derived from the zeal, talents, and knowledge of Mr Webbe and of Lieutenant Colonel Close, contributed in an essential degree to the success of his lordship's measures for the arrangement of affairs in the Carnatic.

11 The discretion manifested by those gentlemen in the conduct of the examination of Gholam Ally, and Ally Rezza, instituted by the government of Fort St George, under my orders of the 7th April 1800, under circumstances of peculiar delicacy and difficulty, deserves the highest applause.

12 I acknowledge with gratitude the assistance which I received from the abilities and local knowledge of Mr Webbe, whom I directed to attend me at Fort William, for the purpose of aiding me in framing the system of measures so

to be adopted for the future administration of affairs in the Carnatic, in consequence of the detected treachery of their late highnesses the nabobs Walajah, and Omdut ul Omrah.

The eminent services of Lieutenant Colonel Close, have already attracted the distinguished notice of the honourable Company.

14 The obligations of public duty, and the most indispensable rules of justice, concur to demand from me a recorded testimony in favour of the indefatigable activity, the powerful abilities, and proved integrity of Mr Webbe, who adds to those qualities a most accurate knowledge of the oriental languages, and an intimate acquaintance with every branch of your affairs in the peninsula.

15 In confirming the honourable testimony afforded by the right honourable the governor in council of Fort St George, in his lordship's address to this government, under date the 22d ult. to the public merits and services of Mr Webbe and Lieutenant Colonel Close, on the important occasion which attracted his lordship's approbation, I consider it to be incumbent on me to solicit the special attention of your honourable committee, and of the court of directors, to the unremitting exertions of Mr Webbe in the service of the honourable Company, since the commencement of the late war in Mysore, being satisfied, through the regular public channels of information, as well as by my personal observation, that the laborious industry of that gentleman has been employed in the most distinct and zealous, and with great success, to render himself an useful instrument, under the government of Fort St George, of promoting the interests of the honourable Company.

of

STATE PAPERS.

of securing the integrity and vigour of the administration of government, of improving the condition of our native subjects in the peninsula, and of augmenting the reputation and honour of the British name in every part of the extensive dominions subject to the presidency of Fort St George.

10 By the next dispatch I hope to be able to transmit to your honourable committee a detailed review of the causes, and a prospect of the probable consequences, of the settlement of the Carnatic.

I have the honour to be, &c

(Signed) WALLLESLEY

Patna
21 Oct. 1801

No 12

Copy of ORDERS published to the Settlement of Fort St George, dated 31st July 1801, relative to the Treaty between the Company and AZEEM UL DOWLAH

Revenue Department

PROCLAMATION

1 Whereas the object of the connexion subsisting between the honourable Company and their highnesses, heretofore nabobs of the Carnatic, was intended to cement the union and alliance between the contracting parties, and to establish, on a solid foundation, the security and rights of the said contracting parties in the territories of the Carnatic and whereas the several engagements concluded for that purpose have failed to answer the intention of the contracting parties, whereby the form of government throughout the provinces of the Carnatic has been subjected to changes injurious to established opinions, to general confidence, and to permanent prosperity. And whereas the mansab of the subadarry of

the territories of Arcot having become vacant, his highness the nabob Walajah Ameer ul Omrah, Madar ul Mulk, Ameer ul Hind, Azeem ul Dowlah, Shewkul Jung Sepah, Salar Anweer ud Deen Khan behauder, has succeeded by the hereditary rights of his father, and by the full acknowledgment of the honourable Company, to the possession of the said mansab. Wherefore his said highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah behauder, and the said Company, being desirous of correcting such errors as have been heretofore introduced into the government of the Carnatic, and of supplying the defects of all former engagements between the said contracting parties, and being also anxious to give full vigour and efficiency to the government of the Carnatic, with a view to fix the rights of the people, and the interests of the state, on a broad and stable foundation, have mutually, and of their own accord, agreed, by a treaty bearing date the 31st July 1801, that all former provisions for securing a partial or temporary interference on the part of the honourable Company in the government, or in the administration of the revenues of the Carnatic, shall be entirely annulled, and that, in lieu thereof, a permanent system for the collection of the revenue, and for the administration of civil and criminal judicature, under the sole and undivided authority of the honourable Company, shall be established throughout every village, pergunnah, and province, of the entire territories of the Carnatic.

2. Now proclamation is hereby accordingly made to all zemindars, jaggeerdars, talookdars, polygars, cavilgars, and inhabitants of every description of the Carnatic, that the honourable Company have, by the

the treaty above mentioned, acquired a perfect right to ascertain, determine, and establish rights of property, to fix a reasonable assilment upon the several pergunnahs and villages of the Carnatic, and to secure a fixed and permanent revenue, to be collected and accounted for by such officers as shall from time to time be appointed for that purpose by the said Company. And it is further published and declared, that the said Company have also acquired a perfect right to establish courts for the due administration of civil and criminal judicature, under the sole authority of the said Company, which said courts shall be conducted by officers to be appointed from time to time by the said Company under such ordinances and regulations as shall from time to time be enacted and published by the governor in council of Fort St George.

8 And whereas his said highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah behauder has divested himself, by the treaty abovementioned, of all controul, authority, or interference in the collection of the revenue, or in the administration of civil and criminal judicature. Wherefore all zemindars, jaghiredars, talookdars, polygars, cavilgars, and inhabitants of the Carnatic, are hereby required to take notice of the same accordingly. And it is hereby further proclaimed and declared, that the engagement now entered into between the contracting parties for the purposes above mentioned, are unconditional, and liable to no change whatever. Therefore the said zemindars, jaghiredars, talookdars, polygars, cavilgars, and inhabitants of the Carnatic, are required to take notice, that the right and power of fixing and collecting the revenue, as well as of administering civil and criminal judicature

throughout the provinces, pergunnahs, and villages of the Carnatic, are vested in the said Company alone, as long as the sun and moon shall endure.

4 Wherefore all zemindars, jaghiredars, talookdars, polygars, cavilgars, officers, and inhabitants of the Carnatic, are severally and collectively required, by virtue of the rights and powers acquired to the said Company by compact with the present lawful nabob of the Carnatic, his highness the nabob Azeem ul Dowlah behauder, to yield due obedience to such officers as may be appointed, and to such ordinances or laws as may be enacted by the said Company alone, for the administration and government of the territories of the Carnatic, and in all time to come.

5 Although the right honourable the governor in council trusts that the experience which the inhabitants of the Carnatic have already had, will have rendered it unnecessary for his lordship to explain the general principles of moderation, justice, protection and security, which form the characteristic features of the British government, yet his lordship, in accepting the sacred trust transferred to the Company by the present engagements, invites the people of the Carnatic to a ready and cheerful obedience to the authority of the Company, in a confident assurance of enjoying, under the protection of public and defined laws, every just and ascertained civil right, with a free exercise of the religious institutions and domestic usages of their ancestors.

By order of the right honourable the governor in Council

(Signed) J WILKS,
Chief Sec. to Govt

Fort St George,
31st July 1801

No. 13

INFORMATION submitted to the Honourable House of Commons in obedience to several Orders dated 11th June 1802

Stating reasons why the same have not been fully complied with.

The papers required by the 3d order, are presumed to be contained in the documents numbered 1 and 2

The paper required by the 4th order, is contained in paper No 4, page 17, and that required by the 5th order in the same document, page 15

The attestation of the Mahomedan lawyers, and of the families of the nabobs Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, required by the 6th order, have not been transmitted to the court of directors by the government of Fort St George nor has the correspondence required by the 8th order, or the proceedings and minutes required by the 13th order, or the separate minutes required by the 15th, or the proceedings required by the 16th, been yet received

The Company have not any record in England of the will of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, required by the 20th order

No 14

Copy of the AFFIDAVIT of the Physician of the late Nabob of Arcot, on the State of his Highness's Health, dated 22d June 1801

Maurice Fitzgerald, esq physician to his highness the nabob of the Carnatic, having been apprized by the right hon Edward Lord Clive, governor in council of Fort St. George, of his lordship's desire to communicate to the nabob of the Carnatic the arrival of a dispatch from the most noble the Governor-general in council, involving con-

siderations of great importance relative to the affairs of the Carnatic, and of the government of Fort St. George and the said M Fitzgerald being farther informed, that it is the intention of Lord Clive to solicit the nabob's appointment of an early period of time for the consideration of the object of that dispatch, unless the medical gentlemen attending his highness's person should be of opinion that such a communication would be attended with consequences injurious to the state of his highness's health. Declares upon oath, that although from the actual state of his highness's illness, he the said M Fitzgerald cannot take upon himself to fear, that the communication of Lord Clive's intentions above described would produce effects immediately dangerous to the existence of the nabob, yet, as a professional man, he can have no doubt, and accordingly declares on oath, his belief that the knowledge of the arrival of dispatches from the Governor-general, seriously affecting the interests of the Carnatic, would tend to aggravate and inflame the dangerous symptoms which now threaten his highness's life

(Signed) M FITZGERALD.

Sworn before me at Fort St. George, this 22d of June 1801,

(Signed) CLIVE.

Witnesses present,

(Signed) { A GRANT,
M WILKES

No 15

Copy of the EXAMINATION of certain Persons, taken before Messrs. WEBBE and CLOSE, at Vellore and Seringapatam, in the Month of May 1800, by order of MARQUIS WELLESLEY

Vellore, 2d May 1800

Ally Rezza having been required

by Lieutenant Colonel Doveton to attend the commissioners, is accordingly introduced, and is informed of the orders of the right honourable the governor in council, and of his lordship's authority committed to the commissioners, for the purpose of conducting an inquiry into certain transactions of great importance, connected with the interests of the honourable Company.

Previously to the commencement of his examination, the following introductory explanation having been translated into the Persian language, is read and explained to Ally Rezza.

"The consideration which the English Company has shown to the family of Tippoo Sultan and to the dependants of his government, must have manifested to all descriptions of persons the liberality and moderation by which it has been always guided and it must be equally evident that having consulted the claims of humanity as well as the dignity of its own character in this distinguished manner the English government would meet with the utmost degree of regret and concern, any necessity which should compel it to modify the arrangements which have been made for the comfort and happiness of the dependants of the late Tippoo Sultan.

"It is, however, not inconsistent with this magnanimity that the British government should exact from those who have accepted its bounty the duties of attachment and truth, in all matters connected with its interests and it requires no explanation to shew that as the British government has the generosity to forgive so, if necessary, it possesses the power to punish those who may wilfully depart from the duties which they owe to it.

"It is known to you that, after the fall of Seringapatam, the whole of the records and papers, public, secret, and confidential, of the government of Tippoo Sultan fell into the hands of the conquerors and, considering the causes which produced the necessity of the late war it will be obvious to you, that the English government has been inquisitive to discover the arrangements and councils, by which it was the intention of the late sultan to have effected his purposes of enmity against us.

"This inquiry has naturally led to the discovery of much important matter, and many original documents, plain as well as in cypher, relative to the measures and intentions of the late sultan.—Some of these measures require the explanation which it is known to be in your power to give the English government has therefore appointed us to be commissioners for receiving this information, and it will be your duty, as well as your very near interest, reflecting on what is already stated, to give a faithful and just explanation.

"From the treatment which you have already experienced it will be evident to you that the British government places too just a value on the observance of fidelity, to impute to the servants of the late sultan any blame for being the channel of executing his orders or measures. According to the established practice of the law of nations according to the principles of justice and reason, servants are not held to be responsible for executing the orders of their sovereigns, as far as they may be consistent with the public law, by which the intercourse between independent states is regulated you may therefore rely on a liberal construction of your conduct by the British government and it is not the intention of that government to deprive you of any of the works of the public bounty which you now enjoy unless by prevarication, or any treacherous attempt to conceal the truth, you should render yourself unworthy of the continuance of its favour.

"From the manner in which this inquiry has originated as well as from the means adopted for carrying it into effect, you will perceive that it is matter full of importance and gravity, it will therefore be expedient for you to deliver your sentiments and explanations with the degree of consideration and respect which is becoming the occasion.

Ally Rezza acknowledges that he comprehends and feels the force and meaning of the foregoing exhortation, and having himself perused it in the Persian language, professes his entire readiness and desire to answer all questions, and to give all information which may be required, to the best of his power and knowledge.

The commissioners proceed to the examination of Ally Rezza.

The papers marked (Nos. 14 and 15,) in the correspondence transmitted from Bengal, having been produced and read to the witness, are immediately recognized by him

Question What did Omdut ul Omrah communicate to you in the secret meeting which you held with him in the garden, subsequently to the 21d of July 1793?—*Answer* Omdut ul Omrah informed the vakeels, of the probable rupture between the French and the English and of the consequent attack on Pondicherry he stated that Tippoo Sultaun had a vakeel, Ram Row at that place that the keeping a vakeel at that time might give offence, and that therefore the nabob Walajah from his attachment to the faith, made this communication to prevent any indisposition between Tippoo Sultaun and the Company that these intimations were communicated from a regard to the welfare of Tippoo Sultaun. He recommended, that after the departure of the hostages, the sultaun should appoint an ambassador at Madras which would be attended with the best consequences, and stated that this was not communicated from any partiality to the English but from good wishes towards Tippoo Sultaun.

Q What were the particular expressions of his attachment to Tippoo Sultaun, which Omdut ul Omrah required you not to commit to writing, but to defer the communication of them until your return to the presence of your master?—*A* Having repeated the substance of his answer to the preceding question, Ally Resza was about to explain the expression of the "affair known" which is mentioned in the last paragraph of papers (Nos. 14 and 15) but was interrupted.

Q What answer did Tippoo Sultaun return to the said communication from Omdut ul Omrah, and through what channel was that answer transmitted?—*A* The sultaun replied, that the vakeels were persons of ability and information, and would conduct their affairs for the benefit of the carar. The vakeels communicated the message after their arrival in the presence, that no immediate observation was made upon it, that some days after they fell under the displeasure of the sultaun and that the intercourse between them and the sultaun was in consequence discontinued. The only subsequent communication was on the subject of a letter

from Bengal, relative to the release of the English prisoners, and to the war between England and France. Tippoo Sultaun, notwithstanding the contents, fully directed him (Ally Resza) to prepare an answer and send it to the presence that it might be dispatched.

Q Did Tippoo Sultaun return any answer to the letters Nos. 14 and 15?—*A* Yes he directed us to enquire into the particulars of the affair to represent them after our arrival when he would act according to propriety.

Q Have you any recollection of receiving from Tippoo Sultaun a letter directing you to commit to writing and to transmit to the presence the communications of Omdut ul Omrah?—*A* No he wrote nothing more than he above.

He (Ally Resza) says that at the occurrence of the vakeels, Omdut ul Omrah made three besan es and directed them to assure the sultaun of his (Omdut ul Omrah) regard and to advise him not to break with the English that he should not consider this communication to be a deviation from the principles of his religion but that the use of it was suggested in preserving unity with the English.

The paper (No. 12) is produced.

Q Do you recollect this letter?—*A* Yes and he was obedient to the above effect.

Q State the nature and object of the agreement which was established through you between the nabob Walajah and Tippoo Sultaun?—*A* At the time of the departure of Lord Cornwallis, his lordship desired me to proceed to Seringapatam, and to communicate to the sultaun such matter of advice containing observations on the state of hostility which had been protracted for a long time, from the early descent of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic.

On the action of colonel Baillie that lord Cornwallis wished the sultaun to preserve the relations of peace and friendship, and desired that Ally Resza should proceed from Madras to Seringapatam to represent verbally and fully the subject of this discourse. That at the same time the nabob Walajah also made similar observations, with professions of his friendly disposition towards the sultaun. On his arrival at Seringapatam, he (Ally Resza) represented the whole of this discourse and, according to the orders of the sultaun, committed it to writing, which was delivered to him (the sultaun) that Tippoo Sultaun wrote an answer to lord Cornwallis, professing his disposition and

with

wish to preserve peace and friendship; that the letter was very full on this point, and was accompanied by presents to Lord Cornwallis, Governor Oakeley, Mr Cherry &c. He (Tippoo Sultan) also sent letters to the nabob Walajah certainly but the witness does not recollect whether any were sent to Omdut ul Omrah.

Q. In the preceding question you were desired to explain the nature of the agreement established between Tippoo Sultan and the nabob Walajah in your answer you have not done so?—A. The agreement was to preserve the friendship established between the two durbars, the English and Tippoo Sultan, as well as the intercourse of civility and attention. Besides this, the nabob Walajah at the time of taking leave presented khilauts, &c. and Omdut ul Omrah delivered a khilaut into the hands of Sir Charles Oakeley, to be given to the vakeels of the sultan which was accordingly done. Omdut ul Omrah told them that it recommended the preservation of friendship, peace, and amity. A copy of this letter was delivered to the vakeels which they opened at Condootor*, and were surprised to find, that it contained nothing more than the ordinary expressions of friendship and a list of the presents. The letter was delivered to the sultan. The nabob informed the vakeels, that it was his highness's wish to grant a jaghire for the private expenses of the princes, as well as of the vakeels: they replied that it was contrary to the customs of their government to receive those jaghires, but that they should represent this wish of his highness on their arrival at Seringapatam.

Q. Did you according to the sultan's orders, commit to writing the matter of a secret nature, which was communicated to you by Omdut ul Omrah?—A. I complied with the orders in the sultan's letter.

Q. In what manner?—A. By writing to the sultan the particulars of the professions of regard which had been communicated by Omdut ul Omrah.

Having again referred to Nos. 14 and 15, and 13, the witness is asked, what answer he gave the sultan?—A. That he had been enjoined at his departure to postpone the communication until his arrival at Seringapatam and that he would accordingly represent it in the presence.

Q. Why did Omdut ul Omrah defer this communication till your departure? And why did he exact an oath of secrecy on the communication of this regard and

friendship for the sultan?—A. Perhaps from apprehensions that this intercourse should be known, and give displeasure to the English.

Q. Did he exact a formal oath?—A. No, he required us.

Q. It appears that the nabob Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah stated, in the presence of English gentlemen, their regard and friendship for Tippoo Sultan: Why should they be so anxious to conceal it in the private meeting?—A. He repeats the same answer and can give no other explanation.

The paper, No. 14, is again produced and read.

Q. Reconcile the formality of the proceeding described at the mosque, with the mere professions of friendship?—A. He acknowledges that the formality may be considered preparatory to more important matter but nothing passed except professions of regard the propriety of keeping up a friendly intercourse and an offer of settling some munshin themselves, which they declined in a suitable manner.

Q. During your residence at Madras, did you understand that there was any restraint on the intercourse of the nabob Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah with the hostages or with the vakeels?—A. There was no restraint: they had but four or five meetings which were with Major Doveton's previous knowledge.

Q. Did Major Doveton know of the meeting at the mosque?—A. No the vakeels told him that they were going to the mosque for the fanuah. In regard to the meeting at the garden they informed him that they were going to arrange their effects for the journey.

Q. As you found at the first meeting with Omdut ul Omrah at the mosque, that he had nothing to communicate but professions of friendship, why did the vakeels depart from their established custom by concealing from Major Doveton the intended meeting at the garden?—A. As the nabob Omdut ul Omrah estimated a wish of seeing them privately, they thought that the presence of Major Doveton would be embarrassing to his highness. At my departure from Seringapatam on my return to Madras Tippoo Sultan communicated to me his desire of forming a connection by marriage between his own family and that of the nabob Walajah. This message I delivered by the sultan's orders to Ghohum Ally Khan, and on our meeting at the garden a second time I withdrew; a conversation took

took place between Omdut ul Omrah and Gholam Ally Khan. From him I afterwards understood that the agitation of the affair was suspended until the entire completion of the treaty of Seringapatam, and the release of the hostages, in order that the disposition of the sulthan might be well ascertained at the distance of some time; that in the mean while there was neither a positive desire nor indisposition expressed by the nabob Walajah for this connection. The proposal was first made from the sulthan, and as it passed in the lifetime of the nabob Walajah I conclude that the answer of Omdut ul Omrah was with his knowledge. After the return of the vakeels to Seringapatam, they tell under the displeasure of the sulthan and I understood that Gholam Ally Sudder and Pooniah were deputed to Gholam Ally Khan to ascertain what progress had been made in the affair of the connection wishing at the same time that Gholam Ally Khan should give a letter on that subject to Omdut ul Omrah. This letter he supposes to have been granted, but does not know.

Q Did any orders pass from the sulthan on the subject of the marriage before your return to Seringapatam from Madras?—A. No. this question was not agitated before. On my arrival at Seringapatam, Tippoo Sulthan inquired of me the particulars relative to the children of Walajah.

Ally Rezza, of himself states, that the nabob Walajah communicated in the most earnest manner taking God to witness, his entreaty to the sulthan, that he should refrain from breaking with the English, and that he should adhere to the friendship established between them.

Q The proposal of marriage having been made in the first instance on the part of the sulthan, it was certainly evidence of his wish to cultivate a good understanding with the nabob Walajah's family. It is extraordinary therefore that the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, on making a simple proposition of friendship, should doubt the sulthan's acquiescence, and should on that doubt postpone the final communication of his sentiments until the answer of the sulthan should be received?—A. He (Ally Rezza) acknowledges that the proposition for the marriage was an indication of entire and cordial friendship. But although he understood from Gholam Ally Khan, that the nabob Walajah was disposed to this connection, he yet learned from others that the case was different, he therefore conjectures that the nabob shewed a desire of simple friend-

ship, without reference to the marriage.

Q When the nabob Walajah made his proposition of simple friendship, requesting an answer, how did it happen that the vakeels, who were in possession of the sulthan's orders to effect a much more intimate connection, did not satisfy the nabob Omdut ul Omrah of the disposition of the sulthan without farther reference to Seringapatam?—A. A proposition of marriage being of a very delicate nature among Mussulmans, and confined in this instance to Gholam Ally Khan only, it was not proper for both vakeels to interfere on this subject: the conversation was entirely confined between Omdut ul Omrah and Gholam Ally Khan at the garden when they took leave at parting, Ally Rezza states of himself, that after the vakeels had arrived at the Mount (on their final return to Seringapatam,) Omdut ul Omrah came to the Mount, and had a separate conversation with Gholam Ally Khan, which he supposes to have related to the proposition of the marriage.

Q Were you, or were you not, on terms of confidential communication with Gholam Ally Khan, relative to the progress of this affair of the marriage?—A. I was and heard from Gholam Ally Khan, that the nabob Walajah had consented although I had understood from other quarters that this was not the case.

Q Both vakeels being (as is stated in your answer,) in confidential communication relative to the point of the marriage, how did it happen that they did not take on themselves to satisfy the doubts expressed by the nabob Walajah, in order to promote the wishes of the sulthan; there being no impediment to a proper communication either between the vakeels themselves, or between Gholam Ally Khan and Omdut ul Omrah?—A. Having observed the doubts of the nabob with respect to the disposition of the sulthan, I took occasion to suggest to Gholam Ally Khan at the time of the meeting at the Tomb the expediency of satisfying the doubts of Omdut ul Omrah, by pointing out the positive proof of the sulthan's disposition evinced in his proposal of marriage. I then retired with Khadr Nawas Khan, and understood from Gholam Ally Khan, after the nabob Omdut ul Omrah went away, that he (Gholam Ally Khan) had made a communication to his highness to that effect, and that his highness had acquiesced. The witness repeats that he had heard from others, that the nabob Walajah was averse to this connection.

Q. As the nabob Omdut ul Omrah acquiesced in the arguments of Gholaum Ally Khan, why did it become necessary to apply for a further declaration of the sultana's disposition, on the proposition of simple friendship?—**A.** I conceive that there are two different questions, one of the marriage, the other of simple friendship, and the vakeels thought it necessary to address the sultana on that point.

Q. In the paper No. 14, the nabob Omdut ul Omrah is stated to communicate his wish of discovering a matter of secrecy, and accordingly a secret meeting was contrived for that purpose. By your foregoing answers, the result of this proposition is nothing more than a simple proposition of friendship, connected with a doubt of its being received by the nabob Tippoo Sultana. At the very same time that this doubt is stated, the nabob Omdut ul Omrah is said to have been reminded of the proof of the sultana's disposition, contained in his proposal of marriage, and (according to Gholaum Ally Khan) to have acquiesced in the arguments. It is extraordinary that Omdut ul Omrah should require so much secrecy in declaring his wish of cultivating the friendship of Tippoo Sultana, and it is inconsistent with reason that he should doubt this proof of the sultana's disposition at the moment of his endeavouring to discover it. His explanation of Omdut ul Omrah's proposition cannot be therefore reconciled with the explanation which has been given, for as the respective propositions of marriage, and of simple friendship did not depend on each other, either the doubt of Omdut ul Omrah must have been without foundation, or the necessity of farther reference to the sultana under the appellation of secrecy must refer to other matter?—**Ans.** The foregoing question is explained and fixed in every point of view to Ally Rezza, with a serious warning to consider it, and to declare the truth.—**A.** He acknowledges the inconsistency, but takes God to witness in the most solemn manner, that nothing passed at the meeting with his knowledge (save the communication between Omdut ul Omrah and Gholaum Ally Khan, on the subject of the marriage, the declaration of Omdut ul Omrah's desire of cultivating Tippoo Sultana's friendship, and his offer for establishing jaghires and mansabs for the prince and the vakeels.

Q. You have stated, that on perusing the copy of the letter delivered to you through the means of Sir Charles Oakley, you were surprised to find that it con-

tained nothing but expressions of friendship and a list of presents. What did you expect the letter to contain?—**A.** I expected that the letter would relate to the proposition of marriage, or friendship, or to the jaghires or mansabs.

Q. What do you mean by the expression in No. 14, "to redeem the time past"?—**A.** That the injuries of enmity would be replaced by the benefits of friendship. The letter in figure cypher is now produced, and Ally Rezza acknowledges it to have been written by him.

Q. Was any other cypher used in the correspondence with Tippoo Sultana?—**A.** I do not recollect any other.

Q. When was the cypher delivered to you?—**A.** When I was returning from Seringapatam to Madras.

Q. For what purpose was it given to you?—**A.** For the purpose of writing intelligence and other matters of a secret nature.

The witness states, that he once received a letter in cypher in Tippoo's own hand-writing, which could not be explained, and was referred back to him.—He also states, that the sultana was at the time extremely interested in the state of French affairs; and was desirous of obtaining information respecting them by every possible means, and he told the vakeels so, upbraiding them for not having transmitted intelligence.

Q. Explain the affair referred to in the last paragraph of No. 15, and state how Omdut ul Omrah became the means of laying the foundation of it?—**A.** It refers to the proposition of marriage, and Ally Rezza explains, that it was the wish of Tippoo Sultana to obtain a daughter either of Walajah or of Omdut ul Omrah for sultana Mueen ul Doon. The affair was communicated to Omdut ul Omrah, and he was made the farther instrument of communication to the nabob Walajah.

Ally Rezza states of his own accord, during this part of the examination, that he took occasion of stating to General Haxra, (he believes through Captain Macleod,) at Seringapatam, the anxiety which had been expressed by Lord Cornwallis, the nabob Walajah, and Omdut ul Omrah, that Tippoo should refrain from the intrusion of the treaty and should be induced to preserve friendship and cordiality with the English, as the only means by which the fortunes of his house could be supported; and that he (Ally Rezza) had explained these sentiments to Tippoo Sultana in vain.

The Paper, No. 16, is produced and read.

Q. Was

Q. Was Omdut ul Omrah present at the ceremony described in this letter?—A. No: the younger sons of Wajajah were present.

Q. What was the object of this ceremony?—A. He explains that it was a practice of Tippoo Sultan: to administer oaths to his servants, dependants, and officers of his government, on the points stated in the paper, and that the order was received by the vakils for swearing those at Madras, which was accordingly done in the manner described.

Q. Was it not to engage the congregation present to assist the Khodadad Circar and to throw off their allegiance to the British government?—A. The oaths were administered only to the servants of the Khodadad Circar. The discourse was addressed to all the muselmans present; and it is obvious, from the letter itself that the intention was to attach the muselmans to Tippoo Sultan, and to reprove them for adhering to those of a different persuasion. He (Aliy Resza) adds, that he dwells himself of all difficulty in making this confession, "since it is the object of the present inquiry to obtain the truth."

Q. Did the nabob's sons, who were present, join in the prayer, that the Khodadad Circar might be triumphant and victorious?—A. The prayer for victory and triumph refers entirely to the servants of the Khodadad Circar.

Q. Why did Tippoo Sultan imagine that you might feel apprehensive in fulfilling his orders respecting this ceremony?—A. Because the ceremony was to be performed in the territories of a foreign power, and because the nature of the oath to be administered to the servants was adverse to those of a different persuasion.

Q. Was the obligation and engagement taken on that day in the mosques from the servants of Tippoo Sultan only; or was it a general union among those professing the Mahomedan faith, residing at Madras?—A. No persons but the servants of the Khodadad Circar bore the oath.

Q. When did you leave Madras for Seringapatam?—A. On the 22d Jaffir 1209 Hegrah.

Q. How often did you go to Seringapatam?—A. Once during the residence of the prince at Madras.

Q. When did you return to Madras?—A. I was absent nearly three months.

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and returned about the 28th or 29th of Jemady ul Awwal.

The paper, No. 73, reproduced.

Q. Who was meant by the secret well-wisher of mankind?—A. The nabob Wajajah.

Q. Why was he distinguished by that name?—A. In consequence of a desire expressed by the nabob Wajajah to be distinguished by that epithet, in order to shew that he was not confined to any party, but well-disposed to all mankind.

Q. What are the points which could not be committed to paper, and could only be communicated in person?—A. To recapitulate, according to Lord Cornwallis's directions, the course of hostile transaction which had taken place from early times between the two states, to insist on the detention of the prisoners by Tippoo Sultan, and his cruelty towards them to inculcate the necessity of a reform in his sentiments towards the British nation, and to lay the foundation of permanent friendship, to be further confirmed in Europe. These propositions of Lord Cornwallis were confirmed by the advice of the nabob Wajajah, founded on his long experience and age.

Q. What firdars are meant in the passage "At this time the friendship and goodwill of both the firdars is from God and the royal auspices"?—A. Lord Cornwallis and the nabob Wajajah.

Q. Why could not these points be committed to writing at Madras since they were committed to writing after your arrival at Seringapatam?—A. The time of paying the kulta had passed; and the prisoners were still detained: it was with the intention therefore of using my personal influence with the sultan in these points, since all writing had proved vain. Aliy Resza states from himself, that about this time he had received a letter from Tippoo Sultan, mentioning that the prisoners remained in his dominions: that this communication was in consequence made to the British government, but that in one month three prisoners made their escape and arrived.

Q. Where were you in the months of Moharrem and Suffer 1209?—A. In Seringapatam.

Q. Were you at that time in the habit of attending the durbar of Tippoo Sultan?—A. It was stopped, no.

Q. Were you in the habit of corresponding with the nabob Wajajah and Omdut ul Omrah, after your final re-

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turn to Seringapatam?—A. No; there was intercourse between these nabobs and Tippoo Sultan by means of letters, and of Mahomed Ghazafi and Mahomed Ghis Khan.

Q. Were any other persons employed besides those two persons as *vakeels* at Madras?—A. I was under confinement; but I believe not.

Q. Did you at any time receive letters from the nabob Walajah or Omdut ul Omrah, after your departure to Seringapatam?—A. None.

Q. Did you receive any verbal messages?—A. None, I was confined.

Q. Do you know whether the nabob Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah used any cypher in writing to Tippoo Sultan?—A. I do not; I only recollect two letters from the nabob Walajah, and one to him from Tippoo Sultan.

The paper No. 6 is produced.

Q. Did you ever see this paper?—A. I have: it was instituted by Walajah for purposes of secret communication and the original I believe was written in pencil by Khader Newaz Khan or some person about the nabob Walajah.

Q. You stated that you knew but of one cypher, and you acknowledge to have seen this second cypher now produced?—A. It is very true, but although this paper was intended for purposes of secret communication it was of a different description from what I meant by the cypher. To my knowledge this paper was not brought into use, it having been intended for use after the departure of the hostages, in case of necessity.

Q. Did you carry this paper with you to Seringapatam when you went with Lord Cornwallis's propositions?—A. Yes, I did.

Q. From whom did you receive it; and to whom did you deliver it after your arrival at Seringapatam?—A. It was delivered to Gholaum Ally Khan by Khader Newaz Khan, and to me, at my departure, by Gholaum Ally Khan, who told me that it had been composed for communication between Tippoo Sultan and the nabob Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah, that a copy should be given to Tippoo, and the original brought back to Madras. Tippoo Sultan however kept the original paper.

Q. It appears that pains were taken to procure private meetings with the *vakeels* at Madras by Omdut ul Omrah, and it appears that two cyphers were established for the purpose of secret communication. It is therefore very extra-

ordinary, that so much trouble should have been taken to conceal matters, which, if accomplished or known, must have tended to increase the friendship between Tippoo and the British nation?—A. I acknowledge another inconsistency between the means used and the purposes already stated, and that such an inconsistency does afford ground for suspicion. With respect to the second paper, I do not know of its having been brought into use and I call God to witness, that I am ready to meet any extremity which the English government may choose to inflict, if any point was agitated with my knowledge besides those already stated. Ally Rezza adds, by way of explanation that the real cypher (in figures) was intended for communication of intelligence between the *vakeels* and Tippoo Sultan and not to be used between the two durbars. He (Ally Rezza) once took occasion to inquire of Gholaum Ally Khan what was the reason of this attention to the observance of secrecy in affairs which were apparently innocent. Gholaum Ally Khan said, that a certain delicacy of concealment (*hujalec*) was to be observed in the affair of the marriage.

Q. You have stated, that when you received from Gholaum Ally Khan the cypher (No. 6) you considered it to be for purposes of secret communication. What was your idea of the nature of the intended secret communications?—A. I concluded it to be for the purpose of concealing the mention of any affair whatever whether relating to the English or the Nizam, or the Madrasas, or any other point referred to in the paper.

Q. A paper of this nature is generally prepared for some particular purpose for what particular purpose do you believe this paper, No. 6, to have been prepared?—A. Great pains have been taken to explain the above questions. Ally Rezza, after fully comprehending the purport, and after due consideration states,—A. That he conceives the paper No. 6, to have been prepared for use, in case of any necessity whatever, but that it was not intended for any particular purpose.

Q. It appears that all intercourse had been suspended for a long time between the durbar of Tippoo Sultan and that of the nabob Walajah; that a communication was opened on the conclusion of peace, under great suspicious and doubts on the part of the nabob Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah with respect to the disposition of Tippoo Sultan and although that intercourse is stated to be merely

merely for a friendly communication between the two durbars, yet the nabob Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah put into the hands of Tippoo Sultan a confidential paper, calculated to conduct hidden correspondence of a general political nature.—A. I acknowledge that to an indifferent person there are strong grounds to suspect that more was intended than appears; but I repeat that I do not know of any particular object for which the paper No 6 was prepared. He (Ally Rezza) adds, that it was delivered by Khader Newaz Khan to Gholam Ally Khan between whom some communications passed, of which he (Ally Rezza) had no knowledge.

M.—The foregoing answer being judged inadequate to the weight of the question which it follows, the commissioners think it necessary to explain this deficiency in the fullest manner, to refer Ally Rezza to the distinct explanations contained in the preamble, and to attract his serious attention to the difficulty of this passage in the examination.—With a full sense of this serious exhortation Ally Rezza repeats, that he has stated every thing within his knowledge on the points stated in the examination: that the inconsistencies pointed out are obvious, but that he is unable to give a further explanation of them.

Q. Do you attach any other meaning to the expression of “the affair known of except that of the proposed marriage?”—A. None whatever. If I had, I would have mentioned it.—*M.* Here Ally Rezza unfolds how much it would be adverse to his interests and contrary to the devotion he owes to the Company to withhold any part of the truth. The fac-simile of the endorsement on the cypher No 6 is produced.

Q. Do you know this hand writing?—A. I do not.

Q. Where were you in the month of Zulkari, of the year Shaud 1223 A. M?—A. Under displeasure at Serungapatam.

Q. Were you in the habit of being in any degree consulted by Tippoo Sultan?—A. I was not consulted; Tippoo Sultan instructed Mahommed Ghyauss and Mahommed Ghose Khan to say, in the event of Omdut ul Omrah making any inquiry for Ally Rezza or Gholam Ally Khan, that they attended the durbar as usual.

Q. What was the object of that deputation?—A. I do not know; I was in confinement.

O. Did you send any letters or mes-

sages by those ambassadors to the nabob Omdut ul Omrah?—A. None.

Q. Did you receive any letter or verbal message by them from Omdut ul Omrah?—A. None.

Q. Did you receive any letters from Khader Newaz Khan?—A. None, I had no intercourse.

Q. What were the complets which Tippoo Sultan sent to you soon after your arrival at Madras?—A. I have no recollection of them. The papers (Nos. 2 and 3) are produced.

Q. What are the complets of which you acknowledge the receipt?—A. Ally Rezza repeats the following complet, which was intended, he says, to explain or serve as a key to the cypher in figures, viz.

Q. What is “the writing you know of mentioned in the letter?”—A. The complets explaining the cypher.

Q. You have stated that the cypher in figures (the specimen of which is produced) was brought to Madras at the time of your return to that place from Serungapatam?—A. It was first delivered to me at that time.

Q. If so, it is impossible that the complets can refer to the cypher, because by dates they appear to have been sent from Serungapatam before your departure from Madras with Lord Cornwallis’s propositions?—A. Ally Rezza ascribes this to some mistake of his memory but makes no change in the matter of fact with respect to the cypher.

The paper No. 5, is produced.

Q. What were the expressions of friendship which Tippoo Sultan states you to have heard from his mouth?—A. I never heard any expressions of friendship from his mouth, and consider the expression to be nothing more than form.

The papers, Nos. 1 and 4, are produced.

Q. It is stated that the nabob Walajah disavowed Lord Cornwallis from the war. Did you hear the nabob say so?—A. The nabob Walajah did address himself particularly to me, and did use those expressions.

Q. Did you believe the nabob Walajah sincere in these expressions?—A. I did not, there was no sincerity on either part in these expressions.

Q. Although you do not believe any sincerity to have been intended by the nabob Walajah, in his expressions of friendship towards Tippoo Sultan, do you give any credit to his professions of interference founded on his attachment to the religion of Mahommed?—A. The whole is compliment. How is it possible that the nabob Walajah could forget the dignities
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bestirred by his own family at the hands of Tippoo Sultan, when Abou Wahab Khan was confined, and his daughter and grand-daughter taken into the mahal? And if there was any sincerity in these expressions of friendship, why was not the chain preferred after the departure of the princes from Madras?

Q. Little warmth of the expressions in this letter (No. 4.) consistent with the general forms of civility?—*A.* In the western world people are correct and limited in expressing themselves, but the people of India exaggerate extravagantly their expressions of regard. I regard the whole of the expressions in this letter (No. 4.) to be exaggerated.

Q. Did the nabob Walajah actually make use of these expressions?—*A.* It was customary for the vakeels to heighten the expressions of regard which fell from Lord Cornwallis, or the nabob Walajah or any other person, for the purpose of conciliating the mind of Tippoo Sultan.

Q. Did the nabob Walajah actually use the expression "That the sultan was the only pillar of the faith, and that with respect to himself the state of affairs here (meaning at Madras) was well known"?—*A.* The expression is certainly heightened; but the nabob Walajah did allude to the difference of circumstances between himself and the sultan, with respect to power and independence, so as to form a sufficient foundation for the representation of the vakeels.

Mem.—It being now eleven o'clock, and impossible to conclude the examination of Ally Rezza this night, great pains are taken by the commissioners to impress on him, in the most earnest manner, the absolute necessity of observing the strictest secrecy on the subject of this inquiry. It is further explained to him, that the knowledge of the circumstances of the inquiry being confined to the commissioners and himself, any disclosure of the proceedings must certainly be traced to him, and as certainly followed by the privation of his pension.—Ally Rezza stated, in a very impressive manner the duties which he owed to the Company, and urged, as a confirmation of his own desire to adhere to those duties, the intimate connexion of his personal interests, which could in no manner be so well secured to him as under the liberal protection and provision which he now enjoys from the Company.

Fallon, 4th May 1802.

Ally Rezza again attends the

commissioners, and, previous to his examination, he requests permission to state two points, which did not occur to him in the examination of yesterday.—The first was, that at the departure of the vakeels from Madras, they had been charged with some rich presents and jewels, by the nabob Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah, for Tippoo Sultan, which were accordingly delivered to him.—The second was, that the nabob Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah had expressed a strong desire of obtaining an establishment of land within the dominions of Tippoo Sultan. The ostensible object was, the greater convenience of sending presents and pilgrims to Mecca from some place on the Malabar coast, than from any part of the Carnatic; and the nabob was in consequence desirous of obtaining an interchange of districts for this purpose.

The commissioners proceed to the examination of Ally Rezza.

Q. Did you ever send to Tippoo Sultan a description of the works of Fort St. George?—*A.* I did.

Q. By what means did you become acquainted with the description of them?—*A.* I made the best description I was able, from my own observation, and from the information of a masonry carpenter, sent for that purpose from Seringapatam by Tippoo Sultan.—Tippoo Sultan was desirous of building a fort on the model of Fort St. George, and also an arsenal, of which the masonry took a drawing.

Q. Was the nabob Omdut ul Omrah privy to this order?—*A.* No, the order was kept secret.

Q. Did you ever receive any intelligence from the nabob Walajah or Omdut ul Omrah of a secret nature?—*A.* The vakeels received intelligence of the death of the king of France, with advice from Walajah to withdraw Tippoo Sultan's vakeel from Pondicherry.

Q. Did the nabob explain his intention in giving this intelligence?—*A.* The nabob explained, that his motive for doing so arose from good wishes towards Tippoo Sultan.

Q. In your first visit to the nabob Walajah, he appears to have made a proposal

posals for the establishment of union and harmony between his highness and Tippoo Sultan. Soon after he inquired whether any answer had been received at a subsequent period; Omdut ul Omrah inquired whether you had full powers and postponed the communication of his sentiments until the final departure of the vakeels. He then did not make the communication until he had exacted the most solemn adjuration of secrecy. What did you suppose to be the causes of this anxiety and caution, and what did you expect to be the result of this preparation?—A. I certainly expected that some affair of importance to Tippoo Sultan, and of a secret nature, would in consequence be communicated, but I had no fixed idea of what affair would be.

The paper, No. 11 is produced.

Q. What do you suppose to have been the intention of Omdut ul Omrah's propositions of friendship described in this letter?—A. The establishment of cordiality.

Q. Considering the long established rivalry and enmity between the two families, something more than mere cordiality appears to be imputable to the anxiety of Omdut ul Omrah?—A. The prosecution of the former wars had been attended with great detriment to both parties, and he (Ally Rezza) conceives that Omdut ul Omrah's motive was to repair those losses by the preservation of peace.

Q. From the general warmth of these expressions in the correspondence of Tippoo Sultan and Omdut ul Omrah do you suppose that it was the intention to extend the union and harmony of those princes, to a means for the general advancement of the Mahomedan cause?—A. I do not believe that their views were extended to any object of that kind.

Q. It appears from many passages in the correspondence, as well as from the proceedings at the jummal mosque, that prayers were offered for the triumph and victory of Tippoo Sultan; if those prayers had been successful, there is no reason to believe, from the former conduct and enmity of Tippoo Sultan, that his victory would have been attended with any temporal advantage to the nabob Walajah's family?—A. Of course the success of those prayers would have been extremely disadvantageous to the nabob Walajah.

Q. Then the object of Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah, in offering those prayers, must have been extended to the general success of the Mahomedan inter-

ests?—A. It was the language of the tongue, and not of the heart.

Q. Is not that language stronger than that used in the ordinary intercourse between princes?—A. It certainly has the appearance of exaggeration, but to my knowledge it did not extend beyond civility.

The paper No. 12, is produced.

Q. What is meant by the expression, "It is certain that no assistance will be offered from thence?"—A. That the sultan attending to the circumstances stated in the letter, would not certainly assist the French.

Q. Was there any communication between the vakeel Ram Row at Pondicherry and the nabob Omdut ul Omrah?—A. None.—At the time of the equipment against Pondicherry, Sir C. Oakeley acquainted the vakeels in a private manner that Pondicherry would certainly fall into the hands of the English, and that if Tippoo should offer the French assistance, it would as certainly be attended with injurious consequences to him.

The papers, Nos. 8 and 9 are produced.

Q. Consider the particular points insisted on in these letters, and explain the object of them?—A. It is well known that the object of the sultan was to unite all muslums for the purpose of extirpating the English, or of falling in the attempt; and the frequent repetition of oaths to his servants and army was directed solely to that object.

Q. This intention of the sultan being well known, is it not reasonable to conclude, that the frequent allusions of the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah, to the interest taken by the sultan in the Mahomedan cause, may be referred to the same intention and included under the same consideration?—A. I think not, but that they were expressions of civility. On one occasion the nabob Walajah stated, that the sultan should consider the connexion with the English to be the proper object of his religious care.

Q. Was Khader Nawaz Khan the only person of rank through whom communications between the vakeels and the nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah passed?—A. Yes.

Q. Was Khader Nawaz Khan acquainted with "the affair known?"—A. He was.

Q. Was it intended to have kept the marriage, if it had taken place, secret from the English?—A. It was intended to have been effected with the knowledge of the British government. I brought presents

for this purpose, which were to have been delivered in case of success, and otherwise to be returned to Serangapatam, which was accordingly done.

Q Was Khader Nexas Khan acquainted with the use of the cypher No. 6?—
A. He was—he gave it to Gholam Ally.

Q Do you recollect the particular phrases used by Qmdut ul Omrah in communicating his ultimate message previously to your leaving Madras?—A. I do not but am certain that nothing more passed with my knowledge than what I have stated.

Q You are acquainted, that your report on the works of Madras, and your exhortations to the muslimans at the jumah mosque, have come to the knowledge of the British government. You must be sensible also that in the one case you had taken the advantage of the confidence reposed in you by the British government, as an hostage to betray its interests under the mask of friendship, and that, in the former case, you have preached the language of rebellion in the capital of the Company's dominions. In both instances you can have no doubt that you have acted contrary to the laws of nations and are therefore liable to the resentment of the British government. The principles on which the British government acts in reference to these points, were explained to you at the commencement of this examination and as you will justly have forfeited all claim to its favour, if, on the examination of other persons, you should be proven to have deviated from or to have suppressed the truth, which is the object of this inquiry—it is earnestly recommended to you by the commissioners to trace the whole subject in your mind, and to correct any errors which you may have committed, while it is yet not too late.

Answer.—The foregoing question, being of a very serious nature to Ally Rezza is translated and committed to writing, and Ally Rezza, after full consideration delivers the following answer, written by himself in the Persian language.

Answer.—The truth is, that in giving this information I was under the orders of my master. He gave me particular injunctions to procure information on these points, and also sent a scribe in order to examine the works. In this case it was not in my discretion to act contrary to those orders, I therefore made known whatever I had observed. According to the rights of peace, this con-

duct was improper in a person entrusted being without resource, I acted in conformity to the orders of my master, in respect to the exhortation, I acted under similar circumstances. Although these acts, in a foreign territory, were improper, yet I was without resource, and acted accordingly. With regard to the recommendation of the commissioner to trace the subject of the inquiry in my mind, in order to correct any errors which may have occurred, or any omissions of the truth the case is this. The transactions are of long standing; in every case in which I have been questioned, I have answered to the best of my remembrance; if any thing farther should occur to me I will represent it without any deviation. It is for consideration whether a person like me, enjoying such favour from the Company, would, by concealing any matters in his knowledge, wilfully expose himself to injury. It will never be, that I shall conceal from the Company any thing of a secret nature in my knowledge. In every point in which I have been questioned, I have represented whatever I knew, and I repeat, that if any new matter shall arise in the inquiry, I shall be ready to give information to the extent of my ability.

The injunctions on the subject of secrecy having been repeated to Ally Rezza, his examination is closed, and the commissioners think it their duty to state, that throughout the examination of Ally Rezza they have observed (as far as depends on exterior manner) a ready disposition on his part to give the fullest information, and that although great inconsistencies appear in the course of the inquiry, the commissioners did not discover any wilful prevarication, or outward endeavour to suppress the truth.

(Signed) J. WILKES,
B. CLOSS.

Serangapatam, 9th May 1802.

Gholam Ally Khan attends the commissioners, by the directions of the hon Colonel Wellesley, and they proceed to take his examination;

tion, Colonel Wellesley being present

The introductory paper of explanation, translated into the Persian language, and prefixed to the * examination of Ally Rezza, is read and minutely explained to Gholaum Ally Khan, who acknowledges himself to understand the meaning and extent of the paper, and professes himself at the same time ready to answer any questions that may be proposed to him

The papers Nos. 14 and 15 of the correspondence are produced, and Gholaum Ally Khan acknowledges the contents of them.

Q What did Omdut ul Omrah communicate to you in the secret meeting which you held with him in the garden subsequently to the 23d of July 193?—A. I recommended to Lord Cornwallis, that before his lordship's departure, some means should be taken to establish harmony and cordiality between the families of Tippoo Sultaun and of the nabob Walajah, and the best means which occurred to me of doing it, was that of reciprocal marriages in the two families, and this affair is the ground of the two letters, Nos. 14 and 15

Q What were the particular expressions of attachment to Tippoo Sultaun which Omdut ul Omrah required you not to commit to writing, but to defer the communication of them until your return to the presence of your master?—A. That the enmity between the families of Tippoo Sultaun and the nabob Walajah had been removed by the interference of Lord Cornwallis, and that unity had been established between them. The whole substance of the discourse however referred to the object already explained.

Q What answer did Tippoo Sultaun return to the communication from Omdut ul Omrah, and through what channel was that answer transmitted?—A. The answer was, that on the arrival of the vakeels this communication would be made known, and taken into consideration.

Q In what manner did the affair of the proposed connexion arise? and how was it conducted?—A. The object of our mission was to attend the hostages until the completion of the treaty. Tippoo Sultaun, finding that there was a disposi-

tion on the part of the nabob Walajah to establish cordiality and harmony between the two families, thought that the best means of effecting it would be by marriage and therefore directed the vakeels to make a proposition on that effect.

After it is explained to Gholaum Ally Khan that this inquiry is of great importance, and that it will be necessary for him to recollect, in order that his answers may be consistent.—Answer Gholaum Ally Khan then states, that the agitation of the affair of the connexion first originated with the nabob Walajah.

Mrs. This answer being to inconsistent with the fact as it appears from the correspondence and from the other testimonies, the caution is repeated and, —A. He still adheres to the last explanation. Gholaum Ally adds, that Tippoo Sultaun, on receiving this communication considered it to be an affair of great delicacy, and not to be conducted by writing. He therefore ordered Ally Rezza to attend the presence of the nabob returned by him a message, with considerable presents.

Q You have stated that the nabob Walajah was the first agitator of this affair. In your letter (No. 15) you state, that you have made Omdut ul Omrah the foundation of the affair. Explain the inconsistency?—A. It is true that the nabob was the first agitator of it, but in a disguised manner and therefore Omdut ul Omrah was made the instrument of communication.

Q What was the object and intention of Ally Rezza's journey from Madras to Seringapatam, during the residence of the hostages at Madras?—A. The Sultaun considered the affair to be of great importance, not to be committed to writing he therefore ordered Ally Rezza to attend the presence on that point.

The paper No. 7, of the correspondence, is produced and read.

Q It is stated in this letter, that the affair cannot be committed to writing and that therefore you (the vakeels) considered the departure of Ally Rezza to be particularly necessary?—A. The departure of Ally Rezza was considered particularly necessary "in conformity to the orders of the presence."

Gholaum Ally states, of his own accord, that after the death of the nabob Walajah, he (Gholaum Ally) wrote to Omdut ul Omrah, renewing the connexion by order of Tippoo Sultaun, which letter was sent to Madras by

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Mohammed Ghureh of Coddapah. The answer was not brought to him, but he has since understood from Ghureh, that Omrah ul Omrah had said in reply, that the princesses were daughters of the late nabob Walajah, and his property, with which Omrah ul Omrah was not at liberty to interfere.

Q. The proposal having originated with the nabob Walajah, and Tippoo Sultan having shown his disposition to agree, by sending Ally Rezza with presents for the occasion; how did it happen that the affair failed of accomplishment, both being willing?—A. The nabob Walajah considered Lord Cornwallis's leave to be necessary but which was not obtained. This was the cause of the impediment.

Q. Was the first proposal, on the part of the nabob Walajah, communicated to the vakeels, with the knowledge of Lord Cornwallis?—A. The nabob said ten times, his preference of the whole durbar, that it was proper to establish such a connection, and that, for his part, he would consent to and effect it, if his lordship would have no objection.

The Paper, No. 6, is produced, and an immediate change was observed, as well in the countenance as in the manner of Gholam Ally Khan.

Q. Did you ever see this paper?—A. I never saw it before this day, and do not know the contents of it.

The paper No. 7 is again produced.

Q. Who is meant by the term "The well-wisher of mankind?"—A. Walajah.

Q. Why did you call him The well-wisher of mankind?—A. The nabob told me to use that phrase, and not his own name, Walajah.

The paper, No. 8, is produced.

Q. Who is meant in this letter by the term, "Well-wisher of mankind?"—A. The nabob Walajah, who was always distinguished by that name in Tippoo Sultan's letters.

Q. Who was meant by the term, "The distinguished in friendship?"—A. Ally Rezza.

Q. Was that a title conferred on him?—A. It was a mode of address fixed for him.

Q. By whom?—A. The author of the letter.

Gholam Ally Khan, of his own account, says formerly Tippoo Sultan distinguished the nabob by the name of Walajah, and lately by that of "Well-wisher of mankind." He adds also, that

the paper, No. 6, contains certain figurative terms, established in the secretary's department.

Q. At what time was it established?—A. I do not know.

Q. You say that it was established for the conduct of business in the secretary's department; on what occasion?—A. I did not attend the durbar for five years, and I suppose it to have been invented for that purpose.

Q. What is meant by this passage in No. 8, viz "I am perfectly satisfied, that you will show that kindness, which is becoming your exalted person, towards * hearts your guests."—A. The children.

Mem.—It is necessary here for the commissioners to explain, that the witness at once gave the above answer, but on recollection, he endeavoured to refer the term "HEARTS" to its literal meaning in the composition of this passage, by explaining that Tippoo Sultan meant his hearts (which was the same as heart, &c. the plural for the singular) should be the guest of the nabob Walajah, and that Walajah should bestow his affection on it. It being evident to the commissioners that the witness is wilfully perverting on this point, from a remarkable change of manner and countenance; it is judged proper to repeat the inaccuracies contained in the preamble to this inquiry, and that paper, in the Persian language, is again read to him, and minutely explained. Gholam Ally Khan again repeats, that he perfectly understands the paper, and acknowledges himself liable to the penalty eventually or conditionally denounced.

Q. You have stated that the nabob Walajah expressed his desire of being distinguished by the name of "Well-wisher of mankind. Recollect yourself, and describe the particulars respecting the communication of that desire?—A. At the time of Ally Rezza's departure from Madras to Serampore, the nabob Walajah expressed his desire to both the vakeels, that the name of "Well-wisher of mankind," and not of Walajah, should be used whenever it became necessary to mention his name.

Q. Did the nabob Walajah desire that his name might be used only in Tippoo Sultan's letters, or did he desire that it should also be used in the letters of the vakeels?—A. The vakeels being both present when Ally Rezza took leave, the nabob Walajah said, that he was business an old man; that he was a father; that he had

had now nothing to do with the title of Walajah, and directed the vakeels to tell Tippoo Sultaun, that he wished to be distinguished by the name of "The well-winner of mankind."

Q Did you receive the expression of Walajah's desire from his own mouth, or through the medium of another person?—A. From Walajah's own mouth.

Q In what place did he communicate this desire?—A. In the fort, when the nabob Walajah came left to give leave to Ally Rezza.

Q Who were present besides yourself and Ally Rezza?—A. No person.

Q Did the nabob retire to a place of secrecy, as only three persons were present?—A. I was sitting in my chamber, and the nabob and Ally Rezza came close to make the communication to me.

Q Did the nabob Walajah express any wish that any other persons or things should be distinguished by similar fictitious titles?—A. No, only with respect to himself.

Q When was the title of "Distinguished in friendship" first conferred on Ally Rezza?—A. It appears from the correspondence of Tippoo Sultaun, Ally Rezza was formerly distinguished by another title, which I forget, but on Ally Rezza's return to Seringapatam, he requested that his title might be increased. This was done.

Q Did Tippoo Sultaun communicate to you the increase of Ally Rezza's title?—A. No.

Q As no communication was made to you of the increase of Ally Rezza's title, how was it possible for you, or for the nabob Mahommed Ally, to know who was meant by The distinguished in friendship?—A. Because Ally Rezza was himself the bearer of the letter.

Q At what time did Ally Rezza return from Seringapatam to Madras?—A. I do not recollect, but believe that I can ascertain the point, from a memorandum of the preparation made by me to receive Ally Rezza.

Q Both vakeels being present at Madras, did it ever happen that one of them wrote separate addresses to Tippoo Sultaun?—A. When both were present, they wrote jointly.

Q The explanation which you have given of the expression "Hums," &c. being so contrived as to render the passage almost void of meaning, how do you reconcile the absurdity of this passage, according to your construction, with

the stated style of Tippoo Sultaun's letters, which is evident and reasonable?—A. I explain it thus; viz. "Ours heart is struck, or truly, (that) your house, and (for) your little sons. In this manner (for this reason) there is the fullest confidence, that virtuous becoming excited (great) characters, will be put in practice."

Q Do you think that Tippoo Sultaun would have written a passage so absolutely destitute of meaning?—A. He has written it.

Mem.—After a full discussion of this construction, it is stated to the witness that the needless and absurdities of his explanation have established a belief, that he is endeavouring to conceal the true meaning, which it remains for him either to remove, or to be answerable on his responsibility to the Company.

Q On this question being first put to you, you gave a direct answer which was intelligible; but, on another question you have signified an answer, which is not to be understood.—A. His trial may have said so.

The paper, No. 6, is put into the hands of Ghulam Ally Khan again, and he is asked, in the most serious manner,

Q Did you ever see this paper, or not? or did you ever hear of its being brought into use?—A. I now see that Omdut ul Omrah's name is at the bottom of the paper. After the death of his father, Omdut ul Omrah sent it to Tippoo Sultaun, to be used in their correspondence.

Q How do you know this?—A. Because it is indorsed by one of the mottoes of Tippoo Sultaun.

Q What connexion is there between the indorsement and the period you have described? and on what grounds have you fixed the period at the death of Walajah?—A. (It is impossible to obtain any answers but he says that) it came in the cover of a letter, which must have been dated. I am responsible for this fact.

Q It has been explained to you that the English government is in possession of the records and secret papers of the late Tippoo Sultaun; and consequently that they have ample means of examining all persons who appear to have had any share in the transaction of his affairs, consider well, and answer this question on your responsibility to the Company.—Did you, or did you not, receive the paper, No. 6, written in pencil, from Omdut ul Omrah?—A. No, I did not. After further reflection, Ghulam Ally says, if he

sent it, he may have sent it by means of Ally Resza.

Q. If he sent it at the time of the death of the nabob Walajah (as you have stated,) how could he have sent it by means of Ally Resza?—A. I spoke from conjecture.

Mem.—It appears from the whole of Gholaum Ally Khan's answers, that he is wilfully perverting, and that no explanation can be obtained from him. As he appears, therefore, to be callous to the manifest falsehoods in his testimony the commissioners deem it unnecessary to pursue this part of the examination further.

Q. Was there any cypher in use in your correspondence with Tippoo Sultan?—A. If there was, it was lodged with Ally Resza, and I understand that such a paper was given to him on his return to Madras. After further hesitation, Gholaum Ally states, that Ally Resza desired him to take a copy of the cypher, which he declined, saying that he was not a person to be engaged in those affairs.

Q. Was it ever used by Ally Resza?—A. He never told me of his having done so.

Q. Did you ever hear that it was brought into use?—A. Never, never.

Q. Did Ally Resza ever communicate to you that he had used it?—A. One thing is true, that Tippoo Sultan did write a letter in cypher to Ally Resza.

Q. Did it ever happen, that both vakeels being present at Madras, they corresponded separately with Tippoo Sultan?—A. No.

Q. Did Tippoo Sultan ever send any letter separately to either vakeel, when both vakeels were present at Madras?—A. No.

Q. Did the letter above-mentioned in cypher come to Ally Resza alone, or addressed to both vakeels?—A. Ally Resza told me that he had received the cyphered letter, but I declined having any concern with it.

Q. Was you not considered to be the principal vakeel?—A. Ally Resza had charge of the expenditure, and I was entrusted with political negotiation.

Q. Was it usual for Tippoo Sultan to write in cypher on the subject of your expenses at Madras?—A. I know that he wrote one letter in cypher.

Q. Did Tippoo Sultan ever communicate to you any circumstance whatever by means of a cyphered letter?—

Q. Did he ever communicate any circumstance in cypher to Ally Resza?—A. No; no letter was received. He showed me one letter.

Q. Did you ever hear that Ally Resza had, on any occasion whatever, written to Tippoo Sultan by means of a cyphered letter?—A. I did not know of it. I never heard of it, and never was told of it.

Q. What were the orders of Tippoo Sultan for conducting your correspondence?—A. He gave us no orders, none whatever.

Q. Did you ever hear that Tippoo Sultan had ordered an oath of fidelity to be administered to his servants, at the mootue in Madras?—A. Yes, orders came for that purpose, which were executed by Ally Resza.

Gholaum Ally Khan having earnestly requested permission to retire, leave is accordingly granted to him, it being evident, from his determination to perjure, that no farther useful matter can be obtained from his testimony.

Seringapatam, 11th May 1802.

Gholaum Ally Khan again attends the commissioners, agreeably to his appointment.

The paper, No. 7 in the correspondence, is produced.

Q. What are the points which could not be committed to paper, and could only be communicated in person?—A. The communication of the friendship and harmony which was felt for Tippoo Sultan.

Q. What firdars are meant in the passage "At this time the friendship and good-will of both firdars is from God and the royal auspices"?—A. Lord Cornwallis and the nabob Walajah.

Q. What appeared to you to be so extraordinary in the friendship and good-will of both firdars as to make you think and say that it could only have proceeded from God and the auspices of Tippoo Sultan?—A. Formerly enmity was established between the two states; I therefore considered this disposition now manifested to be a most fortunate occurrence.

Q. Why did you consider what had passed between you and the nabobs Walajah and Omout ul Omrah, as an unlooked-for good?—A. Because I found a better disposition than I expected towards my master.

Q. What was the subject alluded to in the letter, in which Tippoo Sultan was so deliberate, maturely, and so bring fully home to his mind?—A. The harmony and friendship which is mentioned in the letter.

Q. What

Q What was meant by the allusion in this letter to the changeableness of the times?—A The instability of human affairs, I therefore meant to impress on the sultana's mind the necessity of forming useful friendships.

Q What was the affair which you were desirous Tippoo Sultana should agree to?—A My object was to promote a disposition on the part of the sultana to cultivate this friendship.

Q How did you mean to apply the passage from the poet Hafiz? who were the friends with whom Tippoo was to maintain cordiality? and who were the enemies with whom he was to dissemble?—A I meant to impress the policy of cultivating the friendship of the two sirdars, and of keeping apart from the Mahrattas and the Nizam.

Q Did you at any time receive letters or messages from the nabob Walajah or Omdut ul Omrah after your final return to Seringapatam?—A Soon after my return I was put under restraint, and I received no communication whatever either by letter or message, from the nabob Walajah or from Omdut ul Omrah. The paper, No 1 of the correspondence, is produced.

Q Do you recollect receiving from Omdut ul Omrah the letter of which this is a copy?—A As it is an answer to the letter which was written under my seal by the nabob Tippoo Sultana, I did not receive it.

Q Did you receive any verbal message or letter from the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, or from any person in his confidence, through the channel of the ambassadors Mahommed Ghyanis and Mahommed Ghose?—A None.

The paper No 2 is produced.

Q Do you recollect to have received this letter?—A No.

Q Was your seal sent for more than once by Tippoo Sultana?—A No.

Q How many years are passed since the sultana sent for your seal?—A I do not recollect, it is a considerable time, upwards of two years, as far as I can guess.

Q You say that the sultana sent for your seal but once two letters have been produced from Omdut ul Omrah to you, after an interval of two years and a half, in each of which a letter from you is acknowledged, one of them therefore must have been written by yourself?—A The sultana kept my seal for five days, and may have prepared different covers of letters with it, I know nothing of the letter myself.

Q Did you at any time receive a letter from Khader Newaz Khan?—A I received one; it was a letter of recommendation.

Q Respecting whom?—A I do not recollect his name he was a gentleman destined for this quarter I returned no answer.

Q Did you receive any other letter from Khader Newaz Khan?—A No. The paper, No 21, in the correspondence, is produced.

Q Did you not receive from Khader Newaz Khan, some time in the month of Rejeb 1211 Hegerah a letter of which this is a copy?—A I did receive it.

Q When?—A I have no recollection of the time.

Q It does not appear to be a recommendation of any gentleman?—A It is the only letter I received and it might have contained a separate note of recommendation.

Q By whom was it brought?—A The gentleman above-mentioned about a year after my return from Madras.

Q What were the contents of your letter to Khader Newaz Khan, which is acknowledged in this letter?—A Informing him of my arrival and communicating the expressions of friendship and good wishes towards the sultana.

Q What was the nature of the intimations of Khader Newaz Khan's attachment to Tippoo Sultana, which had occasioned Tippoo Sultana to express through you his satisfaction?—A Nothing more than the desire already expressed of establishing and preserving cordiality and friendship between the two durbars.

Q Through what channel were the said intimations conveyed to Tippoo Sultana?—A I delivered the message of Khader Newaz Khan, on my return to the presence, and acquainted him with the reception of it by the sultana. This is the answer to my letter.

Q What did Khader Newaz Khan mean by saying, that the system of harmony and union between Tippoo Sultana and Omdut ul Omrah had acquired the requisite degree of stability and firmness?—A I explain, that being a man not very opulent, Khader Newaz Khan was desirous of rendering his instrumentality in establishing the friendship and cordiality useful to himself, by obtaining a present from Tippoo Sultana.

Q Did he obtain any?—A None. The object of the connexion was not accomplished.

Q You must be sensible, that, from the inconsistency of your answers, you have

have endeavoured to frustrate the object of this inquiry, and we have explained to you that this examination will be transmitted to our superiors. We refer you, therefore again to the serious exhortation which was given to you at the commencement of this inquiry; and as the perversion in your testimony is too obviously intended to conceal some matters connected with the inquiry, we recommend that you should consider the nature of the evidence you have given lest it should subject you to the serious displeasure of the British government?

Ans.—All the above question having been verbally explained to Gholaum Ally Khan, he is informed, that it will be translated into the Persian language, and sent to him in the morning (it being now very late) and that he will be required to subscribe his own answer in the same language at the bottom of the question.

Gholaum Ally Khan accordingly with-

Seringapatam, May 1st 1800.

The question recorded yesterday having been translated into the Persian language, is sent to Gholaum Ally Khan by Colonel Close's moonshere, and after a considerable interval, the following note is received from Gholaum Ally himself.

"The moonshere is desirous that I should write at the bottom of the paper sent to me. At one o'clock to-morrow I will wait on the gentlemen, and communicate something. For the present I request that the moonshere may be recalled.

Seringapatam May 14th 1800.

In conformity to his note of the 12th instant, Gholaum Ally Khan attends the commissioners, and, after stating the reluctance which he felt for disclosing the secrets of his master entrusted to him, delivers the following answer (written by his own moonshere) to the question recorded in the proceedings of the 11th instant; viz

"God and his prophet know and witness, that whatever was known to me from the beginning of the year 1207 to the year 1214 Hijrah, has been explained, without deviation or difference, before the gentlemen of the Company."

Q. In year 1207 of the 12th instant, you stated, that you had something to communicate. What is that something? *Ans.* It was my intention to mention, that on the departure of Ally Reza Khan, his place, he was charged by the nabob

Wajajah with a sword and a saddle of value as a present to Tippoo Sultan. It was also my intention to state, that the ink was scarcely dry on the treaty (of 1792,) when Tippoo Sultan sent for his vakeel from Pondicherry, I did not know what passed between them, but I explain the obscurity of the passage in the letter (No 8,) by referring the word "Harta" to Tippoo Sultan himself, and the word "Khardegawm" to the French.

Q. There being the most rooted enmity between the French and the nabob Wajajah, how could Tippoo Sultan, in a letter of civility to the latter denominate the former The children of his highness?—*A.* It was an allusion.

The paper, No. 10 of the correspondence, is produced.

Q. Did the nabob Wajajah actually communicate this intelligence to you? and did you transmit the message without addition to Tippoo Sultan?—*A.* I received the intelligence through the means of Khader Newaz Khan. On drafting the letter I showed it to Khader Newaz Khan, and he having approved of it, it was dispatched to the presence.

Q. What is the meaning of this passage, viz "What is the judgment of this well-wisher now appears expedient is this. In a short time his lordship will go to Europe, and the kists are in a course of payment. After his lordship's departure the liquidation of the kists and other points, whatever may be his highness's (Tippoo's) pleasure, will be right and proper. At present it is better to be silent in every thing, because at this time his highness's honour would at all events be called in question. When another shall arrive from Europe, the imputation will in every event and in every measure fall upon him!"—*A.* The French,—the French,—the French,—a thousand times the French.

Q. How could the agitation of the affairs here alluded to, before the departure of Lord Cornwallis, be attended with disreputation to Tippoo Sultan?—*A.* Because Lord Cornwallis himself being a party to the treaty, any deviation from it on the part of Tippoo Sultan, as so early a period as during his lordship's residence in India, would be particularly injurious to the character of Tippoo Sultan.

Q. How could the departure of Lord Cornwallis remove any part of the disreputation of violating the treaty?—*A.* By the possibility of their being able to contradict the hear comes to their views.

Q. Do you mean to include the nabob Wajajah and Omdut ul Omrah in this intended

intended arrangement for conciliating the new comer?—A. I received the message from Khader Newaz Khan on the part of the nabob Walajah and therefore only include him in it.

Q. What answer did Tippoo Sultan return to this proposition?—A. An answer was received and delivered to the nabob Walajah, but the contents were not explained to me. The sultan informed us that he had received our dispatch and enclosed a letter for the nabob Walajah from himself, which was accordingly delivered.

Q. Was the letter transmitted to the nabob Walajah by means of Khader Newaz Khan?—A. It was delivered to the nabob Walajah himself, at one of his visits to the prince.

Q. The original message from the nabob Walajah having been verbally communicated to the vakeels, did his highness make no mention to you of the purport of the answer which he had received from Tippoo Sultan?—A. No, I made no inquiry on the subject.

Q. You have stated, that the whole of the affair alluded to in this letter refers to the French, but the very subject of the letter is founded on the too frequent communication between the sultan and the government of Poonah. How do you reconcile this?—A. It is true, that the letter refers principally to Poonah, but the nabob Walajah's caution was general, and included all.

Q. Do you understand, that in giving this advice, the nabob Walajah communicated his intention to the British government?—A. I have no knowledge on this point.

The letter in figured cypher is produced, and recognised by Gholam Ally Khan.

Q. Did you transmit to the sultan the description of the works of Fort St George, promised in this letter?—A. No, we did not who would permit us to obtain the information?

Q. The British government is in possession of a very long and detailed description of the works of Fort St George, written during the residence of the vakeels at Madras?—A. It may be but I have no recollection of it. If such a letter was written, it will have fallen into the hands of the British government.

Q. At what place did you take your last leave of Omdut ul Omrah?—A. At the mount.

Q. As Omdut ul Omrah appears to have met the vakeels at the garden on the

plain for the purpose of delivering his last message, why did he follow them to the mount?—A. After our return from our meeting at the garden, we received a message from Khader Newaz Khan, that the nabob would entertain us at the mount, and accordingly Omdut ul Omrah came thither.

Q. Had you any particular conversation with Omdut ul Omrah on that occasion?—A. No, none whatever.

Q. Had you any particular conversation at the garden when you took leave of Omdut ul Omrah?—A. None. That meeting was five or six months previous to our actual departure.

Q. Was the affair which Omdut ul Omrah required you not to commit to writing, communicated only to yourself, or to both the vakeels?—A. To both.

Q. Was there at that meeting any conversation between yourself and Omdut ul Omrah unknown to any other person?—A. Yes we conversed on the subject of the connexion by marriage, and of the harmony of Tippoo Sultan and the English, during which time Ally Reza was on one side.

Q. Was there any separate conversation between yourself and Omdut ul Omrah at the tomb?—A. Yes. There was on the subject of the connexion.

Q. It appears that you held private conversations with Omdut ul Omrah at the mosque, and in the garden, recollect whether you had not also yourself a separate conversation with him at the mount?—A. None whatever.

Gholam Ally Khan returns.

(Signed) J. WARR.
B. CROOK.

No. 16

Copy of such Parts of the CORRESPONDENCE aforesaid in the Palace at Seringapatam, and alluded to in the Letter from the Right Hon the Governor in Council of Fort St George to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 2d of August 1801, as are not included in the Appendix to the Declaration of the Governor of Fort St George, dated 31st of July 1801.

Translation of a Letter from Mahommed Osman, Vakeel at Madras,

*Mudras, to Hyder Ally Khan,
dated the 30th of Jan 1773*

Agreeably to your orders, I had an audience of the nabob, at which, after expressing in strong terms the friendship that subsisted between us, I requested the passport for the arms. Immediately on hearing these expressions of friendship, his highness acquiesced in my demand of the passport, and taking me by the hand, led me to the top of the house, where there was a room, from whence the beautiful prospect of the sea, Fort St George, &c like a plain, appearing to our view, he remarked what a beautiful spot it was, and added, May Almighty God soon produce a cause, from which the nabob Hyder Ally Khan and I shall be enabled here to sit and enjoy ourselves together. He proceeded in these words, "The nabob Hyder Ally Khan, inattentive to the value of my friendship, has always considered me separate from himself, whilst I have ever considered us as one. I may say indeed, that I look on his existence as my own flesh and skin, and it is incumbent upon him to do the same. It is necessary that a friendship should subsist between us so firm, as that both our countries also should be one, that if any enemy (which God prevent!) should burn one of his villages, I ought to feel as if one of my own was consumed, and were one of mine to be destroyed by the fire of an enemy, he ought to feel as if one of his were destroyed. Again he observed, your master may make many friends, and doubtless will, but such a friend as I am he never can acquire, when friendship shall be established between us, then it will be seen what the friendship of friends is. I am that friend, who, if he (which God prevent!) should require the sacrifice of my child, as a means of promoting his prosper-

ity and dominions, would, looking upon this as the greatest blessing in the world, most willingly deliver my offspring up to him. It is my wish to establish such a friendship with your master, that our children after us may be united in the bonds of affection and of love. Let us therefore, during this transitory life, be friendly and united, and render good offices to each other, since in the next no person can be connected with another, it is indeed singularly happy that Almighty God has been so bounteous to each, as that we want for nothing else than friendship and affection, it is incumbent upon us mutually to transmit to one another presents and rarities, &c. which God has bestowed on both, which, amongst friends, is a source of satisfaction, a means of overawing others, and in every respect seemly. It therefore any thing in your master's country should be wished or required by me, let me take it without any apology; and in like manner should he want any thing from mine, let him send for it without excuse. This is the mode in which the princes of former times displayed their friendship for each other, and in the present times it is the same. Your slave, (Mahomed Osman,) upon hearing all these friendly expressions, made the two following remarks. "Almighty God has bestowed upon your highness (the nabob) a general knowledge of every matter, and a clear understanding, my master (Hyder Ally) contemplating by anticipation from his own great foresight all that I have now heard, and wishing to promote a unity with you, addressed to you a letter, wherefore did your highness not write him in return?" He answered, "I am convinced that your master wrote me that letter of condolence in friendship, but while I cherish d

to my mind his friendly sentiments, I judged it unprosperous and improper, as a beginning of friendship, to reply to a letter of condolence, and therefore failed to write to him, but should he wish in future to maintain a correspondence with me, I will look upon him, and address him as a king. My second observation was as follows: "Almighty God has made your highness powerful and great. The Mahrattas you know to be evil-minded and wickedly disposed during three years they were at war with my master, and over ran and destroyed his country to the value of many crores. Notwithstanding his repeated demands of assistance from you, with an offer of paying the expenses of the troops, how did you continue inattentive to his wish, and an inactive spectator? it would appear then, that you were unwilling to have him for a neighbour, (or a friend,) and preferred the neighbourhood (or friendship) of the Mahrattas." He replied, "the sentiments you express are precisely my own. May the Almighty destroy and root out the Mahrattas. It is with this object in view that I am anxious to establish an alliance with your master, that in future whatever we may do may be concerted and engaged in with one heart and tongue, whether to make war or peace, because hitherto he has not, in the first instance, made application to me, nor communicated with me upon any subject. When he attacked the Europeans, and made peace with the English, who were my servants, it depended upon my consent to conclude it. I was the prince and owner of the country, and was at no great distance from the scene; but not a word, not a sentence, not even a man, did he think proper to send to me. Hence

I could not but conclude, that he wished not to be in unity and friendship with me, and consequently what ought I to have to do with his other wars and pacifications? Had your master maintained friendship and correspondence with me, and had I then neglected to fulfil my obligations, and remained an inactive spectator, these might be grounds for complaint. But let us totally forget the past, and if the nabob Hyder Ally Khan should conceive that nothing or no advantage is to be gained from my friendship, let him reflect that the most willing degree of its advantage is this, that if every year, whatever number of arms he may be able to purchase and carry away from this quarter, he may do so without molestation, it is no less a privilege than what he possesses in his own country. In the present instance, when you applied for a passport to the governor, you knew the answer he gave he does not choose to comply with your request. Upon a principle of foresight, I consider your master's friendship as paramount to every thing, it is incumbent likewise on your master to do the same by me, and continue firm in his friendship, for our two hearts are in reality one."

His highness further added, that an odd incident had occurred, and told me, laughing at the same time, that when your highness came down upon the English, he was in this very garden where we were, and sending answers to the letters which he received, that the people told him, "To-day the English gentlemen are embarking upon a pilgrimage." Here the conversation broke up, and his highness desired me to come to-morrow for the dusk.

P S In your former letter to the nabob, your address was such as

to produce an observation from him, that people in general write thus to their servants. It will be necessary therefore to consider this in future, that no offence may be taken. His highness gave me an English pocket book, as a present for you, which Penelope. If you send him something handsome in exchange, I think it would be proper.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) M. B. EDMONSTONE
Perf. Transl. to the Gov

No. 17.

Minute of Lord Clive, dated 29th of September 1801, relative to the pecuniary Provision to be made for the Families of the late Nabob Mahommmed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, &c &c

I have the honour of communicating to the board a statement of the pecuniary provision which I propose to make for the family of their late highness the nabob Mahommmed Ally, and the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, as well as for the principal officers and dependants of the late government. This statement has been prepared in communication with his highness the nabob Azem ul Dowlah. Reason therefore excels for believing that the provision now proposed extends to every branch of the family, and that the Company will be liable to no further expence for its support.

It appears by the accounts with which I have been furnished from the dewan of the nabob, that the appropriation of the family jaghires by the nabob Mahommmed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah has been extremely excessive; by these means many members of the family have lived in the enjoyment of superfluous splendour, while the greater part has

with difficulty contended the means of subsistence. This mode of appropriation has therefore afforded no guide for the allotment of the pecuniary stipends; and I have judged it most expedient to divide the family and its connections into separate classes, according to the respective gradations of the different branches.

In proposing half a lack of rupees for the support of each of the legitimate sons of the nabob Mahommmed Ally, I have allowed myself perhaps to exceed the bounds which a strict interpretation of the situation of those princes might justify; but I have been unwilling to detract from the liberality by which the British government has been guided throughout the recent transactions connected with this family, and it did not appear to be consistent with this plan of arrangement, that a less income should be allotted to the legitimate sons of Mahommmed Ally, than that appropriated to the support of the elder sons of the late Tippoo Sultan. To the inferior branches of the family I have allotted stipends, calculated in a relative proportion, according to the respective classes to which they have been referred.

Some oppressive exactions having been made by Hussein ul Mulk, (the second surviving son of the nabob Mahommmed Ally,) in his capacity of fowdar of Trichinopoly, particularly in the pagoda of Seringam, the means of recompensing the sufferers will hereafter be a subject of consideration for the governor in council, but I shall consider it indispensably necessary to apply a great portion of the stipend of Hussein ul Mulk to this purpose; for the same reason I shall propose to reimburse the Company in the amount of the arrears paid to the troops

troops of Sulstana ul Nisabegum, the favourite sister of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah, from the stipend allotted to that princess.

The only deviation I have admitted from the principle of distributing the family into classes, is in favour of Tajé ul Omrah, the eldest reputed son of the late nabob Omdut ul Omrah. The operation of that principle would have referred him to the class of Nekail sons, and perhaps a strict interpretation of his condition might be more consistent with that principle, because a deviation in his favour can only be founded on considerations connected with his former rank and expectations, and might therefore be liable to the imputation of encouraging hopes, which have been decidedly cut off; it may be unwise to indulge. I am disposed, however, in the present state of circumstances, to consider Ally Hussain to be more an object of compassion than of danger, and I think that the proposed stipend of rupees 24,000 per annum, affords sufficient means of gratifying his wishes, without encroaching on the expediency of suppressing his pretensions to the government of the Carnatic.

The list of the officers of the late government is not extensive, and the provision which I propose to make for them is liberal. Of the four principal officers of the nabob Omdut ul Omrah, introduced to the deputies after the death of that prince, I have included only Tahia Ally Khan, and I have allotted to him a stipend proportioned to his former rank in the durbat Najeeb Khan (the other person named in the will of Omdut ul Omrah,) holds at present a jaghere which will hereafter come under the consideration of the Board, and will assured, I have no doubt, ample

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means of maintaining that rank. The part which Ally Khan has acted in the extraordinary negotiations of the late nabob Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, has rendered it impossible to include him in the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic upon the present foundation, and with respect to Mr Barter, it will be manifest, from the description of that person, contained in the report of the deputies, that the same considerations do not apply to him, which apply to the Mussulman gentlemen of rank and character in the service of the late government.

The three princes connected with the family of the emperor of Delhi have, I understand, resided in the neighbourhood of this presidency, and have been supported by the bounty of the late nabob Mahommed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah during a long period of time; I have therefore judged it necessary, in framing the present arrangement, to secure to persons of their description, the certain means of subsistence through the channel of the Company's government.

Having concluded these arrangements with his highness the nabob, in conformity to the stipulations of the treaty, I consider it to be consistent with the spirit of that instrument, to give every appearance of support to the dignity and rank of his present highness, and to restrain the spirit of hostility which has been avowed by many branches of the family towards the nabob Assem ul Dowlah. While, therefore, I propose to secure to each branch of the family the actual enjoyment of the pension allotted to it, by rendering it payable at the Company's treasury to such persons as may be appointed to receive it, I judge it to be indispensably necessary, to the

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preservation of good order and harmony in the family, that the receipts to be granted by the different members of it should be previously subjected to the nabob's inspection, and that the payment of the pensions shall be suspended unless such receipts shall bear the seal and signature of his highness.

I consider it to be extremely desirable that every precaution shall be used for securing the happiness and comfort of the nabob on the foundation of the present arrangement, in order thereto to preserve his highness from the errors of his predecessors, to defend him from the machinations of interested persons, to restrain his expenses within the limits of his income, and to impress constantly on his mind the principles of his connexion with the British government, I judge it to be expedient that a person should be appointed to attend his highness's darbar, and to hold a constant personal communication with him on the part of this government. The general objects of this arrangement will be subject to the immediate superintendence of the government, and the duties of the subordinate office, which I propose to create, will be directed to the maintenance of that intercourse, to the timely communication of the intended measures of the nabob, and to the establishment of an immediate control, under circumstances contributing at the same time to the honour and respect due to his highness's station.

The nature of these duties is such as to require the appointment of a Mussulman of good character and understanding, rather than an European gentleman. I have the best opinion of the fidelity of Gholam Hussain, the principal moonshie in the Persian office, and of his qualifications to discharge the duties of

that station with satisfaction to this government and advantage to the Company. I propose accordingly to nominate Gholam Hussain to attend (under the immediate orders of the governor,) the darbar of his highness the nabob, with a salary of one hundred pagodas per month, and with an allowance of fifty pagodas for equipage and servants. These sums of money it is my intention to charge on the fund to be appropriated to the support of the family and dependants of the nabob.

The board will observe, by the statements which I have the honour of communicating to it, that the amount of the proposed pecuniary provision for the family and dependants of the nabob, is less than the amount appropriable to that purpose, according to the stipulations of the treaty of 1792, and the nature of the present arrangement is calculated to secure a gradual diminution of this expenditure.

I propose that the payment of the stipends shall commence from the 1st day of October.

I STATEMENT of the pecuniary Provision to be made for the surviving Branches of the Families of their Highnesses the late Nabob Mahomed Ally and the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah.

FAMILY of the Nabob MAHOMMED ALLY

Three sons by legitimate marriage, viz

	Rupies.
Sief ul Mulk — —	50,000
Hussain ul Mulk — —	50,000
Nasser ul Mulk — —	50,000
	150,000

Three daughters by legitimate marriage, viz.

Bahanna ul Nissa Begum	25,000
Mollick ul Nissa Begum	25,000
Omdut ul Nissa Begum	25,000
	75,000

Ten sons by Nika, viz.

Hussain Newaz Khan	10,000
Serafraz Khan — —	10,000
Carry forward — — —	245,000

	<i>Rupees</i>		<i>Rupies</i>
Brought forward	245,000	Chuloor Begum — — —	5,000
Abdul Hamud Khan —	10,000	Mahatab — — —	5,000
Nuffar Gollah Khan —	10,000		10,000
Gholam Mahomed Khan —	10,000	One inferior concubine, recently admitted into the Mahal with her infant son — — —	2,400
Imam Khan — — —	10,000	The Haram — — —	4,953
Hussan Mahomed Khan —	10,000		
Abou Tufah Khan —	10,000		
Abdul Mahmood Khan —	10,000		
Abdul Ghaffar Khan —	10,000		
	100,000	Total	1,00,413

Five Nekkai ladies, viz.

Rasul Nissa Begum —	5,000
Zub ul Nissa Begum —	5,000
Lal Mahal — — —	5,000
Khuttajah Begum —	5,000
Padshaw Begum —	5,000
	25,000

Twelve daughters by Nika, viz.

Nejub ul Nissa Begum —	5,000
Ameer ul Nissa Begum —	5,000
Seroj ul Nissa Begum —	5,000
Afzul ul Nissa Begum —	5,000
Fachul ul Nissa Begum —	5,000
Dawlat ul Nissa Begum —	5,000
Razia Begum — — —	5,000
Reheem ul Nissa Begum —	5,000
Fuzul ul Nissa Begum —	5,000
Rasbia Begum — — —	5,000
Lut ul Nissa Begum —	5,000
Hafiza Begum — — —	5,000
	60,000

One grandson by Nika, viz.

Abdul Bofil Khan — —	3,000
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Inferior Nekkai ladies, viz.

Purfun Beeby — — —	3,000
Hudjung Beeby — — —	1,200
Aumunah Beeby — — —	1,200
Kanullah Beeby — — —	1,200
Four Circassians — — —	4,200
Maddary Begum — — —	1,200
	12,000

The Haram — — —	8,400
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Total 411,400

3. FAMILY of the Nabob QASIM UL OMAR

The Begum Dolary Begum	35,000
Three sons by Nika, viz.	
Taje ul Omrah — — —	24,000
Shah Sower Jang — — —	10,000
Bekir Hussina Khan — —	10,000
	44,000
One daughter by Nika, viz.	
Mahab ul Nissa — — —	5,000
Four Nekkai ladies, viz.	
Gulshay Begum — — —	5,000
Golum Begum — — —	5,000

3. The FAMILY of ABDUL WAKAR KHAN, the legitimate Brother of the Nabob Mahommed Ally, viz.

Two sons by legitimate marriages, viz.

Dileer Jung — — —	24,000
Khan Jehan Khan — — —	12,000
	36,000

Four sons by Nika, viz.

Serafraz Khan — — —	3,000
Needum Gollah — — —	3,000
Abdoo Razza Khan — — —	3,000
Kurran ud Deen Ahmed —	2,000
	11,000

One legitimate wife, Lally Begum	6,000
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Three Nekkai ladies, viz.

Allah Rukhy — — —	2,000
Mofira Khanum — — —	1,000
Suliah Beeby — — —	500
	3,500

Five daughters, viz.

Kurram ul Nissa — — —	2,000
Rahmul ul Nissa — — —	2,000
Ahmady Begum — — —	2,000
Buddy ul Begum — — —	2,000
Waggy ul Nissa — — —	2,000
	10,000

The Family of Ezzadar Khan, a son by Nika — —	2,000
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Total 68,500

4. The FAMILY of MASBOOR KHAN, the brother of the Nabob Mahommed Ally by Nika.

One son Masboor Khan —	6,000
Three daughters, viz.	
The wife of Mahommed Merad — — —	2,000
Datta of Mahommed Ally Khan — — —	2,000
Beeby Sabab — — —	1,200
	5,200
Total	11,200

5 Separate Connexions of the Nabob MAHOMMED ALLY ABBUL KHAN, the Nephew of Mahommed Ally, by his legitimate Sister — — — — —	Rupers	12,000
The Family of Jam Jehan Khan, Nephew of Mahommed Ally, by his legitimate Sister — — — — —	5,000	
The Family of Lewah Khan, a Nekaal, son of Mahommed Ally	5,000	
The Family of Hussain Ally Khan a Nekaal, son of Mahommed Ally — — — — —	5,000	
The Family of Nazeem Oollah Khan a Nekaal, brother of Mahommed Ally — — — — —	2,000	
The Family of Budder ul Hissani Khan a Nekaal, brother of do	3,000	
Total	32,000	

6 Offices of the Government of the Nabob OMUD UL OMRAH not included in the provision made for the family of his highness Mochtar Jung Fowdar of Tanoreilly — — — — —	Rupers	4,200
All, Newaz Khan, Killadar of Arcot — — — — —	4,200	
Purky Ally Khan, one of the Ministers at Madras — — — — —	4,200	
Meer Asud Oollah Khan — — — — —	4,200	
Kutrub Godun Khan — — — — —	4,200	
Jowaher Ally Khan, Killadar of Ryhatgur — — — — —	5,400	
Serafrax Ally Khan, Killadar of Ternoor — — — — —	1,400	
Bekur Gowar, Killadar of Chittoor — — — — —	1,200	
Amood ul Deen Ally Khan Bahaider — — — — —	2,400	
Commodant Mahommed Ibrahim — — — — —	1,200	
Mahommed Obolam Hussain — — — — —	6,320	
Total	34,520	

7 Three Relations of the Emperor of Delhi permitted by the Nabob MAHOMMED ALLY.

Hussain Bux — — — — —	Rupers	6,000
Ally Bux — — — — —	4,200	
His young brother — — — — —	3,200	
Total	13,400	

RECAPITULATION:

1. Family of the Nabob MAHOMMED ALY — — — — —	Rupers	4,33,400
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Brought forward	4,33,400
2. Family of the Nabob Omud ul Omrah — — — — —	1,00,453
3. Family of the Nabob Abdul Wahab Khan — — — — —	64,500
4. Family of the Nabob Maphoon Khan — — — — —	11,200
5. Separate Connexions — — — — —	32,000
6. Officers of the late government — — — — —	14,520
7. Relations of the Emperor — — — — —	11,400
Total	6,98,473

(Signed) CHIVE

No 18

Copy of a paper, purporting to be a Letter from Hussain Ally, the reputed Son of the late Nabob of Arcot, to James Stuart Hall, and Samuel Johnstone, Esquires

From his Highness the Nabob Walajah, Ameer ul Hind, Taje ul Omrah, Ameer ul Mulk, Moya ul Dowlah, Mahommed Ally Hussain Khan Bahader Zuffar Jung, &c

To James Stuart Hall, and Samuel Johnstone, Esquires

WHEN I look around me, and perceive the many dangers which beset me, I am overwhelmed with difficulties, every object occasions new alarms, and my little experience in business, my unacquaintance with the world, and my great want of friends in a trial so serious, leaves me little able to encounter the difficulties which present themselves. Though a stranger in person, yet I would persuade myself that, in relation and character, I am not wholly unknown, nor will you forget the anxious solicitude with which my ever honored and lamented father recommended his only offspring to you, at your departure from these regions, a pious solicitude, which seemed to anticipate the awful and melancholy moment which has since ensued.

Apprizd

Apprized as I am of the esteem in which you was held by his late highness the nabob, of your unalterable concern for his true interests, and of your sincere friendship for his family, I naturally turn to you in this embarrassment of my affairs, and most earnestly entreat the benefit of your advice and endeavours to extricate me from surrounding perils.

I have not trusted to a stranger's aid to make known these circumstances, which it is my first wish to be communicated to you. I will detail them to you with my own hand, I will trace the unhappy events which have happened, and the evils which they have introduced in their train, I will explain to you the sentiments to which they have given rise, the results to which they have already led, and the consequences which they may eventually occasion. These will not only direct your services, of which I consider myself secure, to proper objects, but will be the means (for I am confident in the justice of my claims,) of obtaining the redress which I am feeling. A true and faithful account of my situation, to whom it may be required to be made known, will be all sufficient to the success of my application.

In order that you may have a complete knowledge of all that has happened, it will be necessary to begin with circumstances apparently remote, though certainly not unimportant nor unconnected with the present situation of affairs. I shall therefore first acquaint you, that early in the month of June last his highness the nabob of the Carnatic was seized with very dangerous symptoms, which continued, with little variation, for the space of several days, and were sufficient to

alarm his family and friends for his highness's safety and life. It pleased the Almighty to allow his highness an interval of a few days of quiet and tranquillity, to arrange and settle the particulars of his house, and to provide for the succession to his dominions and so serene and untroubled a moment of freedom from bodily pain and infirmity did his highness enjoy, that his family and servants had a most reasonable hope that he might be able to overcome the violence of the attacks. After a few days however, the disease returned with an increase of violence, and disappointed all the expectations and prayers which had been kindly conceived and fervently offered up for his highness's recovery. Tears will not allow me to describe with exactness the scene which followed. You will in a word learn, that his highness lay on the extreme bed of sickness, awaiting the summons from an eventful life with a dignified patience and resignation, affording a striking lesson, never to be forgotten, of the vanity of sublunary greatness, and in this painful and agonizing state he continued until the 15th of the succeeding month, when his spirit and soul forsook him, in their way to a higher glory and more perfect happiness.

On the 6th July, about ten days previous to the melancholy event which I have last mentioned, a large body of troops, consisting of European and native infantry and cavalry to the number of 500 men, with a proportionable number of artillery, supplied with requisite stores and field equipage of every denomination, were sent by government under the command of Colonel MacNeil (one of the Company's officers) to take possession of the garden and palace of Chirpakk, under

under the pretence of defending them against any insult or violence, which the decease of his highness the nabob might possibly produce, a measure which had been advised and adopted without any communication either with his highness or his ministers, until the very moment of its execution, when Major Grant, the town major of Fort St George, was sent to the sick chamber of his highness, to acquaint him with the instant approach of the troops, and to explain to him the reasons which had determined that extraordinary act of government.

It will not be necessary for me to attempt a relation of the various emotions, under the conflict and agony of contending passions, which this sudden and unseasonable communication unfortunately excited, you will be able to form some conjecture at them, if you advert to the situation and condition of his highness at that moment, and to the hand which executed the measure. Whether from this or some other cause, I am too deeply and dearly interested to dare to form an opinion, his highness's disorder augmented daily in violence, and ended in the unfortunate way which I have before been obliged to state.

The troops, notwithstanding the representations and last entreaties of his highness, surrounded his highness's apartments, and the inmost species of his palace at the time of his demise, and although but one mind manifested itself amongst his highness's relations, and the ministers of his affairs; although the most uninterrupted order and regularity every where appeared, and a spirit of loyalty, I am proud to say it, universally shewed itself to his highness's successor; yet the military force still kept its position un-

der the same instructions, and seemingly with a view to dictate the order and terms of the succession.

Under these unhappy circumstances, did an old and honourable ally draw his extreme breath. In this degrading situation did his unoffending successor begin the cares of his government and dominion.

Decent attentions had scarcely been paid to the unanime form of his highness to prepare it for its shroud, when Mr Webbe, the secretary of government, and Colonel Close, the resident of Mysore, were sent to the palace under the instructions, as they represented, of the right honourable the governor—His highness departed this life at about a quarter past ten, and at a quarter past one of the same day, I was advised of the approach of the commissioners of government. I am thus circumstantial in my detail, as I cannot but conceive that it will tend to shew the features of the policy which was intended to be adopted in the beginning, and which has eventually terminated in the utter subversion of every thing like right and justice.

Though secure from the position of the force about the palace of every access to it, and of the knowledge of every act which might pass within it, yet at the sacred hour of sorrow, and into the chamber of hallowed affliction, did these cold commissioners obtrude themselves, not with the tender offers of friendship or condolence, but with offers of indignity and insult.

It would not be believed, unless solemnly asserted, and I do assure you, on the honour and faith of a prince united to any subterfuge or compromise, that at this melancholy juncture, I was drawn by peremptory messages from the side of the great deceased, to answer to the

the countless interrogatories of commissioners instructed to examine me I hope I shall not suffer in the eyes and contemplation of good men, in yielding to importunities so unworthy of myself and them, which nothing less than the peace and tranquillity of my family, and the fear of pollutions, which I cannot bring myself to think of, could possibly have led to, but they are past, and I will endeavour to be calm.

Attended by several of my principal officers, I went to the apartment where the commissioners were waiting, when I was immediately accosted by one of them with an inquiry as to the disposition which his highness had made of his affairs. I answered with calmness, but not without a sensibility natural to my favoured situation, (from the bounty of my royal predecessor,) that such disposition was clear, short, and unequivocal, and was contained in a written paper, which had been executed in a quadruplicate, the several parts of which had been sent many days previous to his highness's demise, to their several destinations, one of them had been forwarded to his majesty the king of Great Britain, one to the court of directors, one to the governor-general, and the remaining part was first delivered to his highness's chief minister, and had by him, since the decease of his highness, been delivered into my possession, where it then remained.

The commissioners requested to see the papers to which I had immediately alluded, when one of my officers, struck with the impropriety of the request at such a season, could not restrain himself from observing, that the present moment was devoted, as well by feeling as custom, to the indulgence of grief, and he trusted that they would not

again advert to the paper, or to circumstances to which it had relation, but would suffer the intervals allowed to humane and religious considerations, not to be molested with worldly cares or reflections, that, after three days, his highness would be happy to produce the will, and consult with them on the objects connected with it, so far as they related to the Company. But the commissioners would not hear this considerate suggestion, but insisted, with a firmness to which I was unused, on the immediate production of the paper.

Fearing that some possible doubts might have been entertained as to the reality of the paper, if it had not been produced at the time when demanded, I gave it to their hands with as little reluctance as the occasion could permit, they examined it in my presence, and in the presence of my officers, with a particular and scrupulous care, observing, when it was returned to me, "That his highness had appointed me to the entire dominion and government of the Carnatic, and, with very small exceptions, to the possession of all his property, but that in contemplation of my youth, had placed me under the guardianship of two of the noblemen, or *Rajahs*, about his highness's person, who were to fill the office of regents, until I should arrive at my nineteenth year." I instantly observed to them, "That I had been long sensible of this disposition of his highness's affairs, that I was well aware and greatly thankful for the kind and tender precaution of his highness, in committing my inexperience into such able and worthy hands; that I well knew and highly respected them, and was ready in all things to abide by their counsel and advice," and concluded with

with remarking, "That since his highness had so disposed of me, and had so confided the business of the government, it were unnecessary that I should be consulted further at a moment so inauspicious. The regents, I was sure, had not less inclination to meet and forward the desire of the Company, than what I now felt, and should ever continue to feel, being the first and earliest impression I had received, and would, I hoped, be the last that would remain with me." On this I was preparing to depart, when the commissioners desired that I would yet remain, having something important to communicate to me, and which they begged to deliver in private, or, at least, in the presence only of the regents and myself. On this my officers and servants were instructed to withdraw, when the commissioners proceeded in the manner in which I shall now succinctly and clearly relate.

On the immediate departure of my principal servants, the officers of government produced a letter, presented by them to have been written by the Marquis Wellesley, and intended for his late highness the nabob, which accused my royal grandfather, and my much revered father, of an improper and unjustifiable correspondence with the Sultan of Mysore, and concluded with demanding an immediate surrender of all the country of the Carnatic for an alleged breach of treaty. After the reading of this correspondence, they remarked, that the territory of his highness had been forfeited to the Company by the act which had been stated in the letter, and that of consequence he had no manner of right to dispose of it by will, yet to shew that the Company had every disposition to serve and protect the son, whom his highness had

so favoured, they were fully inclined to make a very liberal provision for him, on condition of his previous surrender of all the dominions which had been nominally willed to him. The regents being present, were as much moved as myself at the extraordinary communication which had been just made to us, and although we were fully convinced that no unauthorized correspondence had ever taken place between his late highness or his predecessor, with the Sultan of Mysore, yet we were so much agitated and afflicted at the serious manner in which the charge was preferred, as not to be able to afford a cool and dispassionate answer. After stating our internal impressions, that neither of the respected personages, to whom allusion had been made, could have ever been engaged in a clandestine communication with any foreign power, in enmity with the British interests, and our great mortification at the proposal which had been offered, as founded on that supposed fact, we begged for a few days consideration of the terms which had been suggested, which was conceded to us after some discussion.

Every inquiry was made in the interval to ascertain the correspondence which had at any time taken place of the nature already mentioned, when no vestige could be traced which could throw the slightest stigma on the venerable names which had been implicated in so unfortunate a charge.

The only correspondence which had ever occurred between the parties in question, and which could have given rise to the suspicion entertained by the Company, happened at the instance of the Earl Cornwallis, of the termination of the war so successfully conducted by

by his lordship against the late sul-tan, and related to a family connexion, which, from well known circumstances, never took place. Thus correspondence naturally produced mutual communication of courtesy on several domestic events, which concerned either of the parties personally as occasion happened, but nothing that could affect any interests connected with national or public considerations.

The regents, at the conference on the next evening, being confirmed in their first impressions of the rectitude of his late highness's conduct in the particulars referred to, stated, in perspicuous terms, the steps which they had pursued to investigate into the truth of the accusations which had been alleged to have been contained in the letter of the Marquis Wellesley, and that they had found, on a full investigation, that there was not the smallest foundation for the charge which had been urged, but on the contrary, that the only correspondence which had occurred between his highness and the late sul-tan, had been carried on with the knowledge and consent of the executive local government, and had been forwarded officially by them, and in proof of this assertion, referred the commissioners to their own immediate records.

The regents then expressed their concern that the matter of this accusation had not been made known, and inquired into, in the lifetime of his late highness, when it might have been fairly and candidly explained and answered. This circumstance alone led them to hope, that the Company did not seriously believe that correspondence of such a description had in reality happened, though they might have felt themselves authorized in requesting an explanation concerning it, and,

under this conviction, they could not but conclude the terms proposed to them at their last conference would be given up, as they were applicable to a situation of things which did not exist.

The regents next professed themselves most ready to receive any proposals which might serve to promote a good understanding in respect to the existing engagements, or might render them more convenient to either of the subscribing parties, though they were not sensible how they could be improved, at the same time they were apprehensive that a new arrangement might give rise to discussions which had been long set at rest by the subsisting treaty.

The commissioners still stood on their first ground, and insisted, in peremptory language, on the proposal which they had before made. Seeing there was no possibility of diverting them entirely from this object, the regents considered of an expedient, which, in their expectation, might have induced the commissioners to have forgone their proposal, at least in the extent in which it had been moved, being well aware, from an intimate knowledge of his late highness's affairs, that the preceding governors of Fort St. George had looked for possession of the Pinnevelly, and some of the adjacent countries, as more convenient to their affairs, and sensible that the present government, from the nature of the proposal made, had similar views, though in a more extended shape, they determined, under the peculiar circumstance in which they stood, to meet their desires, in as much as they could, consistent with their own honour and interests which they had been given in charge, and with this intention, they proposed

passed to deliver into the hands of the Company (for their entire management and control,) the whole of the Tinnevely and Madara provinces to the southward, and Ongole and Palnaad to the north, on the condition that the prince of the Carnatic should be allowed in his periodical gifts the amount rent of such districts, agreeable to the schedule No. 2, annexed to the treaty of 1792, being a yearly sum equal to the full amount of the subsidy claimable by the Company by virtue of such treaty.

To the proposal of the regents, the officers of government gave a short reply "That it would not in that way do, and that nothing short of the demand which had been made could be accepted or considered." In consequence of this disposition, on the part of the commissioners, the regents requested a farther time to reflect, and were indulged to the next day.

I shall not trouble you with the particulars of the next or the succeeding meeting on the day following, for you will find them circumstantially related in the journal of the regents, which I have directed to be forwarded with this. You will readily anticipate, that although the regents have been disposed to have rendered up more of the countries (which really was the case) on a like condition with those already tendered by them, they could not unworthily bring themselves to make an unqualified and unconditional surrender of those rights, which it was their duty to protect and guard. The meetings therefore, to which I have last requested your attention, passed without effect.

Seeing that the regents were in-
discernible in their duty, and conceiv-
able from any want of knowledge

in public concerns, that I might possibly be rendered an instrument (as I cannot but consider,) to my own undoing; the commissioners, at the last conference, and towards the conclusion of it, sent a note to Lord Clive, who thereupon appeared at the palace, but, instead of going to the apartment where negotiations had hitherto been carried on, his lordship went to the tent of Colonel MacNeil in charge of the troops about the gardens, and immediately requested my attendance on him.

I cheerfully complied with his lordship's request, and went with him to the tent. His lordship then accosted me with seeming kindness, and begged "I would well consider the Company's proffered terms, which, if then neglected, would evade my acceptance for ever, that they were now offered for the last time, that a liberal allowance should be made out of the collections, (but which his lordship did not particularise,) if I would listen favourably to his proposals, but that if I did not incline to them, that I should be reduced from the grandeur which awaited me, into an humble and private station." I observed to his lordship, "that I was not acquainted with matters of so high concern, that I was indeed an utter stranger to business, that my royal predecessor had wisely committed me to the care and attention of others, and had recommended my conformity to their advice; that, in respect of my father's will, and to the persons to whom my affairs were trusted, I could not think of answering, of myself, the important propositions made to me, but from regard to his lordship's character, and to the interests which he represented, I was inclined not only to give my ready attention to what

what his lordship communicated, but would advise the regents, if it were compatible with their honour and my own safety, to overlook any formal difficulty which might stand in the way of the acquiescence, for this purpose I would beg leave to acquaint them with what had passed, and would appoint an early day when his lordship should have my answer.' His lordship observed, 'that he would wait on me the next day at the same place, and took his leave.

In consulting with the regents, and the khans and omrahs of my empire, before whom the whole of what had passed at the preceding conference was laid, I was full advised of the dangers to which my affairs and family might be exposed by the acceptance of terms so disrespectful and so vague, an advice which I had no reason to suspect to prejudice or infidelity, and by which, after the most mature consideration, I was determined to govern my conduct accordingly, when the governor came the next evening, I acquainted him ingenuously, 'That I could not accede to the offer which he had yesterday the goodness to make me, that I had every personal good wish for the prosperity of the Company, and for the real and substantial interests of the British nation, which I had been taught to admire from my earliest years, but that I could not sacrifice my own and my family's rights for any supposed benefit to the Company, or any provisional good which I was given to expect, besides, the mode of surrender dictated, and the ground on which it professed to be founded, was such that I could not adopt it, without rendering a credit to suggestions highly dishonourable to those whom, by duty and religion, I was bound to honour and revere. I had al-

ready shewn an inclination to attend to the Company's requisitions, in so far as they could be attended to, and was much induced by my own sentiments to extend the proposal which had been made on my behalf, even to a greater latitude, on the principle of the footing on which it had been made. My motives therefore for the non acceptance of his lordship's offer could admit of no doubt, that I had the highest personal consideration for his lordship, and would hope that the frank and explicit answer which I had now given him, would not occasion offence.'

While I was delivering what I had to say, a number of troopers rode around the tent with drawn swords, and an unusual guard of sepoy were posted at the door, who traversed constantly to and fro; and a certain degree of confusion seemed to reign around, I endeavoured, nevertheless, to preserve a coolness and consistency of demeanour so requisite for the occasion, and have to thank heaven that my reason and fortitude was not to be shaken by a circumstance calculated to move them, and which, from other practices, I am sorry to add, that I cannot but imagine was contrived with that view.

After I had concluded what I had to answer, his lordship replied, 'That I was extremely badly advised, that I had sacrificed my ~~best~~ interests to specious appearances, and that I should rue the rejection of his proposal, that it was the very last time that he should address me on the subject,' and with a few words of form he departed the tent.

I have taken some pains to acquaint you with the foregoing circumstances, as well by himself, as by the more detailed account of the regents, as they tend to shew the

true grounds of disagreement which existed between me and the government, and which have been made the pretence of dispossessing me of a throne, to which by personal right, as well as by the will of my royal predecessor, I was lawfully and indisputably entitled.

From the detail of which you are in possession, you will readily perceive the policy on which the Madras government have acted, that they had an ambitious design, from the beginning, of possessing themselves of the whole dominions of the Carnatic, a design, which the circumstances of the times seemed peculiarly to favour apprehensive, however, of the opinions of the European and Asiatic world, they determined on arriving at their ends by means the least alarming and suspicious. They therefore first betook themselves to him, whom they well knew, if he could be brought to consent, could give not only effect but legality to their unbounded views, but they soon experienced, from the wise precautions of his predecessor, that he was not left a ready instrument to their purposes, though not indisposed in sentiment to accept any reasonable terms, and judging from the latter circumstances, (which shewed a pliancy of character,) that he might yet be made, what the government desired to see him, they endeavoured by promises, allurements, and threats, to mould him in their wishes, but seeing in the event, that all their stratagems failed, while their ambition remained unabated, they resort to other expedients that seemed to promise, if not a more honourable, at least a more successful issue. Their ambition still exhibited its original naked character; it possessed not any of that daring, open, and

dazzling quality, which leads the world to overlook the means, in the splendour of the event, but a lofty and towering mind, with a diminutive and half-adult spirit, which affects, but can never perfect, a great or admirable achievement.

Disappointed in their first expectation, the government sought to accomplish their object, by the instrumentality of the next immediate prince to the musnud of the Carnatic, and, unmindful of the order of succession, and of the disposition of his late highness, did not scruple to open negotiations with him for filing the imperial seal. But I shall not trouble you at any length, on the many subtleties used on this occasion, or of the measures adopted, through an oblique medium, of obtaining their originally intended end.

On the 23d July, about eight days after the demise of his late highness, the commissioners of government, whom I have had so often occasion to mention, sent for Hussain ul Dowlah, (son of the ameer and nephew of his late highness) to the tent of colonel MacNeill, and there entered into a conference with him for some hours. They repeated their visits every day, at some times bringing with them large supplies of money, until the instant, when the ameer's son was removed with great ceremony, and under a strong escort of the Company's cavalry, to a house provided for him by the government, at which place a treaty was devised and executed, stipulating, as I am told, the whole territories and countries of the Carnatic to the possession of the Company.

During the time, even when these transactions were passing, several representations were made to me through

through Colonel MacNeil, of the favourable dispositions of the government to me, and of the advantages which would be lost by my refusing to meet their wishes, that he was well assured, that the ameer's son would readily accept any terms which the government should graciously grant to him. But as I had delivered my sentiments publicly to the officers of government, and at open conferences, I declined to hear any private proposals, and so informed the colonel observing at the same time, that I implicitly believed whatever he told me respecting the ameer's son, for I well knew that he would receive what the Company would be pleased to give him in lieu of the territories of the Carnatic, as he would be receiving every thing, when he had nothing in reality to return.

I need not acquaint you, (for it is a common consequence of the policy I have been describing,) that every means were used to spread dissensions in the family, and provoke counter claims, in order to give the government a colour for interference, and notwithstanding the variety of contending interests which this stratagem put in motion, I am happy to say, that a sense of justice finally prevailed, and that there was but one opinion as to the succession which ought to be consulted, and but one sentiment of the conduct of government as to the measures adopted by them.

And thinking that the united sense of the family, and the most learned Mahomedan lawyers, might have had a weight and influence, I inclosed two written instruments to the government, declarative of their opinions and sentiments on the act which government were about to sanction. Copies of

which papers are inclosed for your further information.

And hearing, shortly after, that government intended to place the ameer's son on the musnud, at all events, and at all consequences, I requested the regents, in a public letter, (a copy of which accompanies,) to address the right honourable the governor in council on the subject of my affairs, recapitulating what had passed at the conferences with me and them, professing our joint wishes to form such an alliance with the Company as might ensure our mutual interests, and begging that they would open a negotiation with us in writing, and in a direct way, which they had always previously declined, and we would endeavour to satisfy their expectations as far as our means would allow. But to the address of the regents the government did not return an answer.

Being informed on the 29th, that a public notification had been made through the different streets of Madras, that the ameer's son would be placed on the musnud on the 8th instant, under the influence of government, I immediately addressed the governor, with the advice of the regents, on the suggested measure, and proposed to accept the terms which had been at first offered, a measure which my mind revolted at, but seemed to be demanded by the trying exigencies of the moment, and I felt confident within myself, that if my offer had been accepted, the liberality of the British nation would never have held me bound by conditions which had been so compulsorily imposed on me, or would have ameliorated a situation that had been produced by means which neither honour or justice could bear to contemplate. My

My address was wholly and totally disregarded

I cannot repeat the scene which followed, that intulged every noble feeling and outraged every right I have endavoured, under the mortifying events which have happened, and the variety of sensations which have possessed me, to acquaint you of the unhappy situation in which I find myself exposed, and I am afraid that I have ill succeeded, I need not endeavour to impress you with the horrors of the situation to which I feel myself reduced you have but to picture to yourselves the height of human grandeur, and the sad and miserable reverse of it, the highest and lowest condition of which humanity is capable, but even the meanest subject of the very worst government possesses a blessing which my fortune and fate forbid. He owns the gratifying sensation of knowing him his fate amidst the society of his fellows, while I, alas! have no friendly or kindly sociality, none of those relations and ties which are made to secure the comforts and happiness of life, an unit, as it were, in the sum of the people of the Carnatic I am delivered into the hands of an enemy, who has but one act to execute to finish his career

If I fail of your active services, your zealous and strenuous support, there is but one short step to inevitable destruction, let me entreat and implore, that you take the immediate time to seek the removal of this which are about to overwhelm me, from the distance which intervene, from my ignorance of the fit and proper means or remedy, and from my sensibility of the injuries with which I am severely galled I know not what course to try, in your judgement, expe-

rience, and cooler determination, I console and rest

It is my business to instruct you with a complete information of my state, the amendment of it must be your better care, and more fortunate achievement, you have prudence, courage, and ability, and with those no circumstances or cause unattainable are lost

I have furnished you with a detail of particulars, and with all the documents which it may be necessary eventually to use, you will easily perceive that my first object is to obtain what is right at the hand of government by all practicable means, but they failing, we must afterwards resort to the justice and sentiments of the people

You will first betake yourselves to the sovereign, the very best of kings and men, and present my humble addresses, and then to his royal highness the prince of Wales, who has always evinced a very particular and friendly regard for the interests of my family. It will be unnecessary to state any thing to them further than what is mentioned in my letters. These high and august personages will want no inducement to lend their utmost aid to repel oppression, so flagrant and so indefensible as in my unhappy case

To the president of the board of control, and the court of directors, whom you will next accost, you will use all the information and means herein afforded, to explain and enforce my claims, and avail yourselves of the co-relative assistance which is requisite in a cause less honourable and just. For I know you will have to combat with a legion of bad passions, and a host of hostile interests. I almost shudder for the event

Your last reference will naturally be

be to the house of commons, when the petition of his late highness's brother, which also accompanies, will afford you no inconsiderable strength, and to this I hope you will be enabled to add the numerous list of creditors of his late highness the nabob and his illustrious predecessor, who are interested in no secondary degree in the success of my application, it being my determined resolution to do them ample justice in the allowances and consolidation of their claims, in the event of my restoration to the dignities of my fathers -

This you may justly inform them was the only obstacle to my accepting, in the first instance, the offers and advances of government, which, if accepted, would have proved an eternal barrier to the recovery of their respective credits for it would have been no difficult matter

to have stipulated for a clear revenue, which would have satisfied individual splendour, and every personal consideration. But feeling, I hope honourable, for the character of those who have preceded me in the ties with which they were bounden, and the necessary obligations of the sovereignty, I disdained to make any compromise which I could not reconcile to their memories, and to the opinions of mankind. I have suffered a temporary loss, which I cannot say but I feel with great grief and concern, but certainly with less emotion than I should regret a departure from those principles which have been religiously instilled in me. That the loss may not be more than temporary, I rely most firmly on your advice and activity, and that as our cause is just, the Almighty will it to be prosperous! What need I say more?

**ACCOUNTS PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,
FROM THE EAST INDIA COMPANY,
RESPECTING THEIR ANNUAL REVENUES AND DISBURSEMENTS, &c**

(Ordered to be printed 18th June 1802.)

Not Owing to the great length of these Accounts, in detail as presented to the House of Commons by the India Company we have been under the necessity of giving only an Abstract, or the Sum Total, of the Receipts and Disbursements for the several years, at the respective Presidencies.

(Abstract) ACCOUNT of the Annual REVENUE of the East India Company, and of the CHARGES defrayed by the said Company in the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, and from Benares and Oude, for three years, together with the latest Estimate of the same.

	Revenues	Charges	Net Revenues
	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.
1798-9, - - -	6 15,86 158	- - 3,91 29 083	2,24,06,169
1799-1800, - - -	6,49,84,726	- - 4,43 74 628	2,06,10,098
1800-1, - - -	6 65,83,346	- - 4,79,24 004	1,95 59 342
1801-2, per Estimate,	7,06,11,044	- - 4 58,22,007	2 46,89 637

(Abstract) COMPARISON of the Estimated and Actual Amount of the REVENUES of the East India Company, and of the CHARGES defrayed by the said Company, in the above Provinces, for the year 1800-1.

	Estimated amount	Actual amount	Surplus
	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees.
Revenues, - - -	6 33 72 037	- - 6 65 80,346	31 91,309
Charges, - - -	4 4 40 470	- - 4 78,06,115	- 35,86,639
Net Revenues, - - -	1,91 71,561	- - 1,87,77,231	-
Deficiency of Net Revenues, - - -	- - -	- - -	394,930

(Abstract) ACCOUNT of the Annual REVENUES of the East India Company, and of the CHARGES defrayed by the said Company at the Presidency of Fort St George, and the Settlements subordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and Northern Circars, for three years, together with the latest Estimate of the same.

	Revenues	Charges	Net Charges
	Pagodas.	Pagodas.	Pagodas.
1798-9, - - -	53,69 581	- - 88 04,014	28,94,433
1799-1800, - - -	70 56 941	- - 76 64 701	6,08,800
1800-1, - - -	88 00 669	- - 1,10 1,807	21 63 228
1801-2, per Estimate, - - -	97 47 601	- - 1,13,98,278	16,50 67

(Abstract) COMPARISON of the Estimated Actual Amount of the REVENUES of the East India Company and of the CHARGES defrayed by the said Company, in the above Presidency and Settlements, and in the Carnatic and Northern Circars, for the year 1800-1.

	Estimated amount	Actual amount	Surplus
	Pagodas.	Pagodas.	Pagodas.
Revenues, - - -	81 92,182	- - 88 50,669	6,57,987
Charges, - - -	94,14 782	- - 1,07,33,276	13,18,494
Net Charges, - - -	12,22,100	- - 18,82,607	-
Surplus of actual Net Charges, - - -	- - -	- - -	6,60,507

(*Abstract*) ACCOUNT of the Annual REVENUES of the East India Company, and of the CHARGES defrayed by the said Company, at the Presidency of *Bombay*, and the Settlements subordinate thereto, for three years, together with the latest Estimate of the same

	Revenues	Charges	Net Charges
	Rupees	Rupees	Rupees.
1798-9 -	33 9 657	- - 1,08,72 962	- 75,43 303
1799-1800, -	36 9 783	- 1 32 87,221	- - 95 92,438
1800-1, -	25 46 284	- 1,12,43 719	- - 89,87,495
1801 2, per Estimate, -	24,16 227	- 1,05 36,075	- - 81,19 848

(*Abstract*) COMPARISON of the Estimated and Actual Amount of the REVENUES of the East India Company and of the CHARGES defrayed by the said Company, at the above Presidency and Settlements, for the year 1800-1801

	Estimated amount	Actual amount	
	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.
Revenues, - - -	26 70 847	25,46 284	Deficiency, 1 24 603
Charges, - - -	91,64,384	1,18,14 898	Surplus, - 26 50,514
Net Charges, - - -	64,93 497	92,68,614	
Surplus in actual Net Charges, -	- - -	- - -	- 27 75 117

ACCOUNT of the Annual CHARGES defrayed by the East India Company for the management of their Trade and Commerce in *Bengal* & *Madras* and at *Bombay*, so far as the same can be distinguished from the Civil or other Charges respectively, for three years together with the latest Estimate of the same

	Bengal	Madras	Bombay
	Current Rupees.	Pagodas.	Rupees.
1798 6 - - -	13 59 327	2 00 000	2 73 5,1
1799-1800, - - -	19 92 321	3,54 630	- 2 77 824
1800-1, - - -	16,30 751	2 00,937	- 2 67 003
1801 2, per Estimate, - - -	11 52,831	1 90,539	- 3 04,000

(*Abstract*) ACCOUNT of the Net EXPENSES of the Residency of *Fort Marlboro* and its Dependences, the Island of *St Helena*, and the Factory of *Canton*, for three years, together with the latest Estimate of the same

	Fort Marlboro	St Helena	Canton
	Dollars	Pou d Sterl	Pounds Sterl
1797-8, - - -	435 6 3	56 262	- 30 100
1798 9, - - -	459 8 2	57,048	- 5 860
1799 1800 - - -	295 12 0	54 2 2	- 43 0 2
per Estimate, - - -	228, -	-	-

{ (*Abstract*) ESTIMATE of the Probable RESOURCES and DISBURSEMENTS of the Bengal Government, from 1st May 1801 } Cr

To Balance—Amount remaining in the several Departments on 30th April 1801

By Ordinary Disbursements.

	Rupees.		Rupees.
Civil department, 46 53 692		Civil depart -	1,77 25,650
Military ditto - 3 43,553		Military ditto, -	1 89 0 000
	49 97,245		3,66 3,650
Resources.		Extraordinary Disbursements	
Civil depart 4,64 26,000		Civil depart	4,86 78,980
Military ditto, 70 54 429		Military ditto,	0,25 000
	5,34 80 429		5,36 03,980
Carried over, 5,84 77 684			

	Rupees		Rupees.
Brought over	5,817,684	Brought over,	9,02,39 03½
Extraordinary Receipts			
Civil depart	1,8584 351	Balance—Amount expected	
Military ditto,	20,000	to remain in the several de-	
		partments on 30th April	
	1,93,84 351	1802	49,23,005
Amount to be supplied by re-			
mittances of bullion from			
England and China, or by			
the issue of Treasury bills			
or other loan, to be raised			
in Bengal, - - -	1,73 00,000		
	Rupees, 9,51,62,035		Rupees, 9 51,62,035

Dr { *Abstract*) ESTIMATE of the Probable RESOURCES and Dis-
BURSEMENTS of the Madras Government, from 1st May 1801, } Cr

To Balance—Amount remaining in the following Departments on 30th April 18 1

By Ordinary Disbursements

	Pagodas.		Pagodas.
Civil department	29 67 439	Civil department,	30,03,624
Military ditto	6,12 430	Military ditto, -	73 47 000
	35,82,909		1,03,50,624
Resources		Extraordinary Disbursements	
Civil department,	65 77 195	Civil department,	61 50,378
Military ditto, -	27 94 884	Military ditto, -	7 83 000
	93,72,009		69,33,378
Extraordinary Receipts			
Civil department, -	20,95 880	Amount expected to remain	
	1,60,60,798	in the hands of the officers	
To Balance—Being the a-		in the different departments	
mount which the expected		on 30th April 1802, - -	35,82,909
demands exceed the expect-			
ed resources, - - -	58,16 113		
	Pagodas, 2,78 66 911		Pagodas, 2,08,66,911

Dr { *Abstract* } ESTIMATE of the Probable RESOURCES and Dis-
BURSEMENTS of the Bombay Government, from 1st May 1801, } Cr

To Balance—Amount remaining in the several Departments on 30th April 1801

By Ordinary Disbursements

	Rupees.		Rupees
Civil department	4 72,011	Civil department,	29,06,075
Military ditto, -	2 80,167	Military ditto, -	75,70,000
	7,55,678		1,04,96,075
Ordinary Receipts		Extraordinary Disbursements	
Civil department,	20 27,270	Civil depart	1,36,39 937
Military ditto, -	3,81,407	Military ditto, -	39,600
	24 28 727		
Receipts Extraordinary			
Civil depart, -	1 80,10 700		
Military ditto,	3 20,000		
	1,83,30,700		
To Balance—Being the a-			
mount which the expected			
demands exceed the expect-			
ed resources, - - -	26,78,507		
	Rupees, 2,41,73,618		

*General Abstract of the ESTIMATES of the REVENUES and CHARGES of the
Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St George, and Bombay, from 1st May 1801,
to 30th April 1802*

	Fort William.	Fort St George	Bombay	Total.
	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees	Current Rupees	Current Rupees
Revenues, -	7 05,11 6¼	4 14,27,304	28,00 8.3	11,47,41,771
Charges, -	4,58 20,007	4 84,42 681	1,22, 1,847	10,64,86,533
Net Revenues,	2,46,89,637			
Net Charges, -		70,15 377	94,19 024	
Total Net Revenues,				82,55,236

ACCOUNT of the Amount received at the above Presidencies, for Sales of In port
Goods and Stores and for Certificates on the Court of Directors, within the last
three years respectively, together with the latest Estimate of the same

	Bengal	Madras	Bombay	
	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees	Current Rupees.	Current Rupees
1798-9, - - -	21 73,010	13 31,431	10 22,965	Average 38,10,844
1799-1800, -	20,32 326	23 88 402	26,44,221	
1800-1, -	20 93,964	9 11 094	19,38,219	
1801 2, per Estimate,	23,20,000	7,60,049	25,50,224	

AMOUNT of the BOND and other DEBTS owing by the East India Company, at
their several Presidencies in the East Indies, on the 30th April 1801 the Rates of
Interest which such Debts respectively carry, and the Annual Amount of such In-
terest

Bengal—Debts at Interest		Current Rupees
Loans at 12 per cent. -	Sicca Rupees, 18,04,694	
Ditto at 10 per cent. -	- - - 1,89,09,169	
Ditto at 8 per cent. -	- - - 24 81,481	
Bonds and notes at ditto, -	4 99,57,783	
Bonds and notes at 6 per cent. -	- - - 5,24,89 206	
	- - - 53,28,547	
	71,84,81,616	
Interest on the above, to 30th April 1801, -	35 18,384	8,20,00,000
Treasury bills outstanding, at 12 per cent	1,07 34 000	
Interest thereon estimated, - - - -	2,60,000	
		1,10,00,000
		9,38 00,000
Batta 16 per cent -	-	1 48,80,000
		10,78,80,000
Commissioners for the sinking fund -	Rupees, 6 04 373	
Bills outstanding, drawn by other presidencies, &c -	- - 38,01,118	
Deposits, - - - -	- - 17 62 076	
Bonds and notes ordered for payment, on which interest has ceased, - - - -	- - - 1,75 372	
Due on account of Robilla donations, -	- - - 1,66,584	
		64,09,963
		10,78,80,000

* Of these there were in the hands of the commissioners for the sinking fund,
36,75,257 sicca rupees, or 65,83 298 current rupees, and interest accruing thereon,
2,24,743 sicca rupees, or 2,60,702 current rupees, making together 68,44,000 current
rupees; which should be deducted from the total debts here stated

The sum of 16,94,996 sicca rupees, or 19,66,114 current rupees, remaining to be
drawn for by bills on the court for the 12 per cent remittance loan, is not included
above.

	Brought over,	64,09,963	Current Rupees, 10,78,80,000
Arrears and Debts.			
Civil Department—General, -	Sicca rupees, 5	23,159	
Judicial, - - - - -	- - - - -	3 58,267	
Revenue, - - - - -	- - - - -	3 71,093	
Commercial, - - - - -	- - - - -	7 45,343	
Minor, - - - - -	- - - - -	3 04,429	
		<u>23,02,291</u>	
Military department, - - - - -	- - - - -	44,80 281	
		<u>1,31,92,535</u>	
Batta 16 per cent - - - - -	- - - - -	21 10,805	
		<u>1,53,03,340</u>	

Total Bengal current rupees, 12,31,83,340

Fort St George—Debts at Interest

Bonds at 12 per cent exclusive of the remittance		
loan, payable in England, -	Pagodas,	5,72 793
Ditto at 10 per cent - - - - -	- - - - -	74 8
Decennial loan certificates at do -	17,4 821	
Receipts to be exchanged for bonds, at do	5 27,548	
Treasury bills at ditto, - - - - -	4,63,318	
	<u>27,48,115</u>	
Decennial loan certificates at 8 per cent.	15 36,158	
Temporary loan receipts at ditto, -	1,15,490	
Bonds at ditto, - - - - -	17,62,940	
	<u>34,04,588</u>	
Bonds and certificates at 6 per cent - - -	3,79,107	
	<u>71,04,603 *</u>	
Interest on the above, computed at - - -	2,75,000	
	<u>73,79,603</u>	
Bonds &c undischarged, on which interest has ceased,	66 579	
Deposits, - - - - -	1,28,668	

Arrears and Debts

Civil Department—General, - - -	980	
Revenue, - - - - -	1,11,720	
Commercial, - - - - -	23,498	
Military, - - - - -	1 11,721	
	<u>2,49,919</u>	
	<u>4,45,166</u>	

Total pagodas, 78,94,769

At 425 current rupees per 2 pagodas, 3,32,65,268

Bombay—Debts at Interest

Loans at 12 per cent exclusive of remittance		
loan, - - - - -	Rupees,	24 52,291
Ditto at 10 per cent - - - - -	- - - - -	19,64,726
Ditto at 9 per cent - - - - -	6,66,842	
Debts at ditto, - - - - -	27,06 841	
	<u>33,73,683</u>	
Loans at 8 per cent - - - - -	14,13,448	
Notes at ditto, - - - - -	24,80,628	
	<u>38,94,076</u>	
Ditto at 6 per cent. - - - - -	32,80,582	
Demands bearing interest, rate not specified, sup-		
posed at 8 per cent - - - - -	1,69,008	

Carried forward, 1,51,84,866

* Of this 1,81 660 pagodas had been liquidated by the commissioners for the sinking fund, which should therefore be deducted.

STATE PAPERS.

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Brought forward,		1,51,347.66	Current Rupees,
Interest estimated,	- - - -	4,66,580	
		<u>1,55,89,946</u>	
Bonds advertised not demanded,	- - - -	1,11,698	
Deposits,	- - - -	2,75,023	
Arrears, viz			
Civil,	- - - -	1,27,638	
Judicial,	- - - -	14,269	
Revenue,	- - - -	39,406	
Commercial,	- - - -	9,707	
Munee,	- - - -	3,13,328	
		<u>5,04,468</u>	
Military,	- - - -	5,25,054	
		<u>14,16,237</u>	
		Rupees,	1,70,06,183
At 116 current rupees per ₹ ,			1,97,27,178
<i>Fort Marlborough</i>			
Paper currency outstanding,	- Dollars,	141,424	
Bonds ditto,	- - - -	46,502	
Sundry debts,	- - - -	50,570	
Total Fort Marlboro,	- Dollars,	<u>2,38,496</u>	
		At 243 current rupees per ₹ ,	5,79,545
Total in India,		Current rupees,	<u>17,67,45,323</u>

ANNUAL AMOUNT OF INTEREST ON DEBTS

	Principal	Interest	Current Rupees
<i>Bengal</i> —On loans and notes, S R	1,25,38,604 at 12 per cent.	15,04,643	
On ditto ditto	1,89,09,169	10 ditto, 18,90,917	
On ditto bonds, and notes,	5,24,39,206	8 ditto, 41,95,136	
On notes,	53,28,547	6 ditto, 3,19,718	
	<u>Sicca rupees, 8,92,15,616</u>	- - - 79,10,409	
	<u>Bata 16 per cent 1,42,74,498</u>	- - - 12,65,665	
	<u>Current rupees, 10,34,90,114</u>	- - -	91,76,074
<i>Fort St. George</i> —On bonds, Pags	5,72,793 at 12 per cent	68,725	
On bonds, certificates, and notes,	27,48,115	10 ditto, 2,74,811	
On ditto, ditto ditto,	24,04,588	8 ditto, 2,72,367	
On ditto and ditto,	3,79,107	6 ditto, 22,746	
	<u>Pagodas, 71,24,603</u>	- - - 6,38,659	
	At 425 C Rs. per ₹ pagas C Rs. 3,01,94,563	- - -	27,14,301
<i>Bombay</i> —On loans,	Rupees, 24,52,291 at 12 per cent	2,94,275	
On ditto,	19,64,726	10 ditto, 1,96,473	
On ditto and debts,	33,73,623	9 ditto, 3,03,631	
On loans, notes, and debts,	40,63,024	8 ditto, 3,25,047	
On notes,	32,80,582	6 ditto, 1,96,825	
	<u>Rupees, 1,51,34,966</u>	<u>13,16,251</u>	
	At 116 C Rs. per ₹ C Rs. 1,75,55,864	- - -	15,26,863
<i>Fort Marlborough</i> —On bonds,	Dollars, 46,502 at 10 per cent	4,650	
	At 243 C Rs. per ₹ C Rs. 1,13,000	- - -	11,300
Total amount bearing interest, C Rs.	1,19,53,541	Total annual interest,	<u>1,34,28,538</u>
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ACCOUNT of the Amount of DEBTS furnished in India, between 30th April 1800, and 1st May 1801, agreeable to the Court's orders of 25th June 1793

		Current Rupees
Bengal	- 6,49,911 sicca rupees, or - -	7,53,897
Madras,	- 8,947 pagodas at 425 current rupees per 100 pagodas,	38,025
Bombay,	- 29,438 rupees, at 116 current rupees per 100 rupees,	26,936

Total, — Current rupees, 8,18,878

Dr { (*Abstract*) STATEMENT of the RECEIPTS and DISBURSEMENTS of the Bengal Government, from 1st May 1800, to 30th April 1801 } Cr

To Balance—Amount remaining in the several Departments on 30th April 1800		Sicca Rupees
Civil department	50,98,970	
Military ditto	1,73,608	
	52,72,578	
Relief		
Civil depart	4,58,79,022	
Military ditto,	70,54,429	
	5,29,33,451	
Extraordinary Receipts		
Civil depart	3,92,29,626	
Military ditto,	8,27,784	
	3,40,57,410	
Ordinary Disbursements.		
Civil depart	1,79,04,133	
Military ditto,	1,80,27,087	
	3,59,28,226	
Extraordinary Disbursements		
Civil depart	4,93,57,392	
Military ditto,	19,00,573	
	5,12,57,966	
Balance—Amount remaining in the following Departments 30th April 1801		
Civil department	46,59,692	
Military ditto,	3,43,563	
	49,97,255	
Sicca rupees,	9,22,53,448	Sicca rupees 9,22,53,448

Dr { (*Abstract*) STATEMENT of the RECEIPTS and DISBURSEMENTS of the Madras Government, from the 1st May 1800, to the 30th April 1801 } Cr

To Balance—Amount remaining in the several Departments on 30th April 1800		Pagodas
Civil department,	28,11,616	
Military ditto, -	4,24,614	
	32,36,230	
Resources		
Civil department,	65,17,063	
Military ditto, -	21,02,588	
	86,22,651	
Extraordinary Receipts		
Civil department,	77,39,876	
Military ditto, -	12,173	
	77,46,049	
Pagodas,	1,96,04,930	Pagodas, 1,96,04,930
By Ordinary Disbursements		
Civil department,	27,18,325	
Military ditto,	63,00,010	
	90,18,334	
Extraordinary Disbursements		
Civil department,	61,74,387	
Military ditto,	8,92,150	
	70,66,537	
Balance—Amount remaining in the several Departments		
Civil, - -	20,04,323	
Military, -	6,15,481	
	35,19,809	

Dr { (*Abstract*) STATEMENT of the RECEIPTS and DISBURSEMENTS of the Bombay Government, from 1st May 1800, to 30th April 1801 } Cr

To Balance—Amount remaining in the several Departments on 1st May 1800		Rupees
Civil department,	17,35,163	
Military ditto, -	7,51,246	
	24,86,409	
By Ordinary Disbursements		
Civil department,	27,80,151	
Military ditto,	76,54,844	
	1,04,34,995	
Carried forward,	24,86,409	Carried forward, 1,04,34,995

Rupees.		Rupees.	
Brought forward,	24,86,409	Brought forward,	1,24,34,595
Ordinary Receipts.		Extraordinary Disbursements *	
Civil department,	21,47,419	Civil depart	1,13,87 7.5
Military ditto, -	3,81,4.7	Military ditto,	5 50,9.7
	25,28,876		1,21 38,882
Extraordinary Receipts		Balance—Amount remaining	
Civil depart	1,80,14,129	in the following Departments	
Military ditto,	2,21,039	Civil, -	4 36 8c.
	1,82,35,168	Military,	2 40,571
			6 77 376
Rupees,	2,32 5. 463	Rupees,	2,32 50,453

ACCOUNT of the Balance of QUICK STOCK exhibiting a State of the Company's Affairs, in respect to their DEBTS and ASSETS as they stood at the several Presidencies of *Fort William*, *Fort St George* and *Bombay* and at the *Residency of Fort Marlborough* at the conclusion of the year 1800-1801

	<i>Fort William</i>	<i>Fort St George</i>	<i>Bombay</i>	<i>Fort Marlbro</i>	Total
	Curt Rupees	Curt. Rupees	Curt Rupees.	Curt Rup	Curt Rupees
Cash, - -	51,44,935	1,02,93,761	7 97,974	4,02,459	2 18 38,590
Bills receivable, -	4,87 180	-	-	-	4,87,183
Stores - -	78,61,136	63,94 588	28,19,557	2,99,026	1,73 74,257
Debts outstanding (including advances for investment),	2,19,58,754	3,78 21,783	20,20,359	16,16,939	6,24,17 829
Export goods	25,46,281	15 19 723	37,82 052	1,70,588	80,18,644
Import goods -	10,45 504	3,64 947	20,88 886	-	34,99 337
Salt, opium, grain, and cattle, - - -	28 20,006	86 71 617	11,826	-	65,03,449
Total assets,	4 20,63,199	6 00 66,410	1,15 20,598	24,89,012	12,11,39 228
Bond or registered debts, - - -	10,34,90,114	3,01,94,563	1,75,55,864	1,10,000	15,13,53,541
Arrears and debts not bearing interest,	1,96 93 226	30,60,705	21 71,308	4,66,545	2,02,91,782
Total debts,	12 31,83,340	3,32 55,268	1,97,27 172	5,79,545	17 67 45,325
Excess of debts,	8,11 20,141	-	8,06,574	-	8 93 6,715
Excess of assets,	- -	3,18,11 151	- -	19,09,467	3 37,20,618
Net excess of debts,			-	-	5 56,06 097

ACCOUNT of the Prime Cost of all CARGOES purchased in India, and shipped for Europe, in the year 1800-1801; together with the Commercial Charges at each Presidency, not added to the Invoice

Bengal, - - - - -	72,80,565	- - - - -	10,56,484
Fort St George, - - - - -	50,25,510	- - - - -	5,05,482
Bombay, - - - - -	- - - - -	- - - - -	1 22,286
Total,	1,23,06 075	- - - - -	16,84,252

(Errors excepted)

East India House, 17th June 1802

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WM WRIGHT,
Auditor of India Accounts.

ESTIMATE of the same for the current year, from 1st March 1802, to 1st March 1803

£	£
Cash in the treasury on 1 st March 1802 (morning), exclusive of duty on tea,	168 759
Company's goods sold, and to be sold,	6,500,600
Honourable board of ordnance, for salt petre,	43,000
Private trade goods sold before 1 st March 1802,	600,000
Charter and profit on private trade,	130,000
One year's interest, at 3 per cent per ann on 1 207 559 15s the Company's share of the annuities transferred to the Bank, agreeably to act of Parliament,	36,226
Persons returned from India,	1,000
Loyalty loan,	282,926
Balance against 1 st March 1803,	7 781,511
	1,434,056
	£ 9 216 067
Customs,	142,035
Freight and demurrage,	1 696 752
Goods and stores exported,	1,804 692
Indian debt,	281,900
Bills of exchange from India and China,	1,232,200
Bullion to be exported,	1,000,000
Charges on merchandise, including supra cargoes commission, &c	750,000
Indigo contractors,	3 500
Dividends on stock and interest on bonds,	734,000
Bonds drawn to be paid off,	15,517
Proprietors of private trade,	675,000
Captains whole ships are worn out,	51 300
Pay to marine and military officers on furlough, and retired from service,	50,000
Warrants passed the court unpaid,	42,200
Buyers of tea returned,	971
Bank, for a loan on mortgage of the annuities,	700,000
Bank, for a loan on bond,	100,000
	£ 9 216 067

STATEMENT of their **BOND DEBTS** and **SIMPLY CONTRACT DEBTS**, with the Rates of Interest they respectively carry, and the Amount of such Interest, and the State of Cash remaining in their Treasury and other Effects appertaining to the Company in Great Britain, and abroad, on the 1st day of March 1802

To	£	By	£
Bonds bearing interest at 5 per cent per annum	1,446,112	What due from Government to the Company	1,207,560
Bonds not bearing interest,	15,517	Cash its balance on 1 st March 1802, including cash belonging to the separate fund,	153,242
Bills of exchange unpaid from China	365,222	Cash reserved to pay off bonds advertised to be paid off,	15,517
Ditto from India	527,897		168,759
Ditto from &c to, on account of the Indian debt,	74 757	The amount of goods sold not paid for,	2,070,000
Customs on goods sold and unsold	185 773	The honourable board of ordnance, for salt petre delivered,	48,000
The Bank for a loan on mortgage of the annuities, at 41 per cent per annum	700,000	The value of goods in England unsold,	4,011,078
Ditto, on bond, at 41 per cent per annum,	100 000	Cargoes from England not arrived in India and China at the dates of the several quick stocks,	2,382,144
Ditto, for interest on the above loans,	10,666	Exports paid for, exclusive of bullion,	1,273,392
Freight and demurrage,	330,000		
Supra cargoes commission on goods sold and unsold,	72,000		
Proprietors of private trade on all goods sold,	675,000		

* Carried over, £ 4,452,444

Carried over, £ 11,160,832

Memorandum—In the preceding Account of Stock, the article of dead stock is valued at 400,000l, which includes buildings and fortifications, plate, household furniture, plantations, farms, floops, vessels, stores, and other articles of dead stock, according to Lord Godolphin's award in the year 1702. Whereas the whole of the sums of money expended in buildings and fortifications, by the latest advices from the Company's several settlements, for the acquisition and maintenance of their possessions, and the nearest estimated value of other articles of dead stock is as follows:—

	Buildings and Fortifications	Plate, Household Fur- niture, Plantations, Farms, Sloops, Vel- sels, Stores, &c.	Total
Bengal, - - -	4,987,082	450,612	5,444,594
Fort St. George, and subordinates, - - -	1,706,852	441,448	2,148,300
Bombay and ditto, - - -	1,170,203	325,003	1,505,046
Fort Marlborough, - - -	191,691	17,298	208,989
St. Helena, - - -	41,047	60,281	101,328
	<u>£ 8,106,865</u>	<u>1,401,399</u>	<u>9,408,257</u>

Not any credit is taken in this account for the prime cost and charges on tea sent to America, amounting to 15,819l for which the Company have not received any return.

There are bonds given to sundry persons by the chief and council of Balambangan, to the amount of 10,167l and interest thereon which are not included in the debt of this account, it not being yet determined whether the Company are liable to the payment of the whole of these bonds.

ACCOUNT of the Amount of all GOODS sold at the East India Company's Sales, from the 1st March 1801, to the 1st March 1802

Company's Goods, viz —	Tees,	£ 9,458,284	
	Bengal piece goods,	1,131,531	
	Coast and Surat piece goods,	701,131	
	Coast and Surat and Bengal da- maged piece goods,	116,824	
	Raw silk,	450,770	
	Organzine silk,	47,805	
	Nankeens,	76,642	
	Pepper,	269,246	
	Saltpetre,	96,880	
	Spices,	233,441	
	Drugs, Sugar, &c	149,883	
			6,630,487
Private Trade Goods, viz —	Tees,	211,865	
	Piece goods,	431,788	
	Raw silk,	37,040	
	China ware,	3,297	
	Nankeens,	53,100	
	Pepper,	82,084	
	Saltpetre,	62,423	
	Spices,	3,465	
	Drugs, sugar, indigo, &c	1,205,741	
	Coffee,	155,632	
			2,304,725
Neutral Property, viz —	Tees,	131,204	
	China ware,	1,783	
	Nankeens,	28,364	
	Pepper,	176	
	Drugs, sugar, indigo, &c	39,495	
	Coffee,	24,754	
			220,775
			<u>£ 9,125,987</u>

(Errors excepted)

CHAS CARTWRIGHT, Accountant General

East India House, 18th June 1802

THE DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE,

Between His Britannic Majesty and the French Republic, his Catholic Majesty and the Batavian Republic Signed at Amiens the 27th day of March 1802

(PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY)

HIS Majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, being animated with an equal desire to put an end to the calamities of war have laid the foundation of peace in the preliminary articles signed at London, the 1st of October 1801, (9th Vendémiaire, year 10.)

And as by the fifteenth article of the said preliminaries it has been stipulated that plenipotentiaries should be named on each side, who should proceed to Amiens for the purpose of concluding a definitive treaty, in concert with the allies of the contracting powers

His majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has named for his plenipotentiary the marquis Cornwallis, knight of the most illustrious order of the garter, privy counsellor to his majesty, general of his armies &c., the first consul of the French republic in the name of the French people the citizen Joseph Bonaparte, count-dor of state, his majesty the king of Spain and of the Indies, and the government of the Batavian republic, have named for their plenipotentiaries, *videlicet*, his catholic majesty Don Joseph Nicholas de Azara, his counsellor of state knight, great cross of the order of Charles III his said majesty's ambassador extraordinary to the French republic &c. and the government of the Batavian republic, Roger John Schimmelpenninck, their ambassador extraordinary to the French republic who after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, which are transcribed at the end of the present treaty, have agreed upon the following articles.

ART I There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding, between his majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland his heirs and successors, on the one part, and the French republic, his majesty the king of Spain, his heirs and successors and the Batavian republic, on the other part. The contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to maintain between themselves and their States a perfect harmony, and

without allowing on either side, any kind of hostilities, by sea or by land to be committed for any cause or under any pretence whatsoever

They shall carefully avoid every thing which may hereafter affect the union happily re-established, and they shall not afford any assistance or protection directly or indirectly to those who should cause prejudice to any of them.

ART II All the prisoners taken on either side as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom in six weeks, at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty and on paying the debts which they have contracted during their captivity. Each contracting party shall respectively discharge the advances which have been made by any of the contracting parties for the subsistence and maintenance of the prisoners in the country where they have been detained. For this purpose a commission shall be appointed by agreement, which shall be specially charged to ascertain and regulate the compensation which may be due to either of the contracting powers. The time and place where the commissioners, who shall be charged with the execution of this article, shall assemble, shall also be fixed upon by agreement and the said commissioners shall take into account the expenses occasioned not only by the prisoners of the respective nations, but also by the foreign troops, who, before they were made prisoners, were in the pay or at the disposal of any of the contracting parties.

ART III His Britannic majesty restores to the French republic, and her allies, namely, his catholic majesty and the Batavian republic, all the possessions and colonies which belonged to them respectively and which had been occupied or conquered by the British forces in the course of the war with the exception of the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in the Island of Ceylon.

ART IV His catholic majesty cedes and guarantees, in full right and sovereignty,

reignty to his Britannic majesty, the island of Trinidad.

ART V. The Batavian republic cedes and guarantees in full right and sovereignty to his Britannic majesty all the possessions and establishments in the island of Ceylon, which belonged before the war, to the republic of the United Provinces, or to their East India Company.

ART VI. The Cape of Good Hope remains in full sovereignty to the Batavian republic, as it was before the war.

The ships of every description belonging to the other contracting parties shall have the right to put in there, and to purchase such supplies as they may stand in need of as heretofore, without paying any other duties than those to which the ships of the Batavian republic are subjected.

ART VII. The territories and possessions of her most faithful majesty are maintained in their integrity, such as they were previous to the commencement of the war.

Nevertheless, the limits of French and Portuguese Guiana shall be determined by the river Arawari which falls into the ocean below the North Cape near the *Isle Neuve*, and the *Island of Penitence* about a degree and one third of North latitude. These limits shall follow the course of the river Arawari, from that of its mouth which is at the greatest distance from the North Cape, to its source and thence in a direct line from its source to the river Branco, towards the west. The northern bank of the river Arawari from its mouth to its source, and the lands which are situated to the north of the line of the limits above fixed, shall consequently belong in full sovereignty to the French republic. The southern bank of the said river from its source, and all the lands to the southward of the said line of demarkation, shall belong to her most faithful majesty. The navigation of the river Arawari shall be common to both nations.

The arrangements which have taken place between the courts of Madrid and of Lisbon, for the settlement of their frontiers in Europe, shall, however be executed conformably to the treaty of Badajoz.

ART VIII. The territories, possessions, and rights of the Ottoman Porte, are hereby maintained in their integrity, such as they were previous to the war.

ART IX. The republic of the Seven Islands is hereby acknowledged.

ART X. The islands of Malta, Goza, and Comino, shall be restored to the Or-

der of Saint John of Jerusalem, and shall be held by it upon the same conditions on which the Order held them previous to the war, and under the following stipulations.

1. The knights of the order, whose languages shall continue to subsist after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, are invited to return to Malta as soon as that exchange shall have taken place. They shall there form a general chapter and shall proceed to the election of a grand master, to be chosen from amongst the natives of those nations which preserve languages, if no such election shall have been already made since the exchange of the ratifications of the preliminary articles of peace. It is understood that an election which shall have been made subsequent to that period, shall alone be considered as valid, to the exclusion of every other which shall have taken place at any time previous to the said period.

2. The governments of Great Britain and of the French republic being desirous of placing the Order of Saint John and the island of Malta, in a state of entire independence on each of those powers, do agree that there shall be hence forth no English nor French languages, and that no individual belonging to either of the said powers shall be admissible into the Order.

3. A *Makrefe* language shall be established, to be supported out of the land revenues and commercial duties of the island. There shall be dignities, with appointments, and an auberge appropriated to this language; no proofs of nobility shall be necessary for the admission of knights into the said language they shall be competent to hold every office and to enjoy every privilege, in the like manner as the knights of the other languages. The municipal revenue, civil, judicial, and other offices, under the government of the island, shall be filled at least in the proportion of one-half by native inhabitants of Malta, Goza, and Comino.

4. The forces of his Britannic majesty shall evacuate the island and its dependencies within three months after the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner if it can be done at that period the island shall be delivered up to the Order in the state in which it now is—provided that the grand master, or commissioners fully empowered according to the statutes of the Order be upon the island to receive possession, and that the force to be furnished by his Britannic majesty, as heretofore stipulated, be armed there.

5. The garrison of the island shall, at

all times, consist at least one half of native Maltese, and the Order shall have the liberty of recruiting for the remainder of the garrison from the natives of those countries only that shall continue to possess languages. The native Maltese troops shall be officered by Maltese, and the supreme command of the garrison, as well as the appointment of the officers, shall be vested in the grand master of the Order, and he shall not be at liberty to divest himself of it, even for a time except in favour of a knight of the Order and in consequence of the opinion of the Council of the Order.

6. The independence of the islands of Malta, Goza and Comino as well as the present arrangement, shall be under the protection and guarantee of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia.

7. The perpetual neutrality of the Order of the island of Malta, and its dependencies, is hereby declared.

8. The ports of Malta shall be open to the commerce and navigation of all nations, who shall pay equal and moderate duties. These duties shall be applied to the support of the Maltese language in the manner specified in paragraph 3 to that of the civil and military establishments of the island, and to that of a lazaretto, open to all flags.

9. The Barbary states are excepted from the provisions of the two preceding paragraphs, until, by means of an arrangement to be made by the contracting parties, the system of hostility which subsists between the said Barbary states, the Order of Saint John, and the powers possessing languages, or taking part in the formation of them, shall be terminated.

10. The Order shall be governed both as spiritual and temporal matters, by the same statutes that were in force at the time when the knights quitted the island, so far as the same shall not be derogated from by the present treaty.

11. The stipulations contained in paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10, shall be converted into laws and perpetual statutes of the Order, in the customary manner. And the grand master (or if he should not be on the island at the time of its restitution to the Order, his representative), as well as his successors, shall be bound to make oath to observe them punctually.

12. His Britannic Majesty shall be invited to furnish 2000 men, natives of his dominions, to serve as a garrison for the several fortresses upon the island. This force shall remain there for one year from the

period of the restitution of the island to the knights, after the expiration of which term, if the Order of Saint John shall not, in the opinion of the guaranteeing powers, have raised a sufficient force to garrison the island and its dependencies, in the manner proposed in paragraph 5 the Neapolitan troops shall remain until they shall be relieved by another force judged to be sufficient by the said powers.

13. The several powers specified in paragraph 6 *vide* supra, Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain and Prussia shall be invited to accede to the present arrangement.

ART XI. The French forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory, the English forces shall in like manner evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean or in the Adriatic.

ART XII. The cessions, concessions, and restitutions, stipulated for by the present treaty, except where otherwise expressly provided for shall take place in Europe within one month in the Continent and seas of America and Africa within three months, and in the Continent and seas of Asia within 12 months after the ratification of the present definitive treaty.

ART XIII. In all the cases of restitution agreed upon by the present treaty, the fortifications shall be delivered up in the state in which they may have been at the time of the signature of the preliminary treaty, and all the works which shall have been constructed since the occupation shall remain untouched.

It is further agreed, that in all the cases of cession stipulated, there shall be allowed to the inhabitants, of whatever condition or nation they may be, a term of three years, to be computed from the notification of this present treaty for the purpose of disposing of their property acquired and possessed either before or during the war, in which term of three years they may have the free exercise of their religion, and enjoyment of their property.

The same privilege is granted in the countries restored to all those whether inhabitants or others, who shall have made therein any establishments whatsoever during the time when those countries were in the possession of Great Britain.

With respect to the inhabitants of the countries restored or ceded, it is agreed that none of them shall be persecuted, disturbed, or molested in their persons or properties, under any pretext, on account

of their conduct or political opinions, or of their attachment to any of the contracting powers, nor on any other account, except that of debts contracted to individuals, or on account of acts posterior to the present treaty.

ART XIV All sequestrations imposed by any of the parties on the funded property revenues, or debts, of whatever description belonging to any of the contracting powers, or to their subjects or citizens, shall be taken off immediately after the signature of this definitive treaty. The decision of all claims brought forward by individuals, the subjects or citizens of any of the contracting powers respectively, against individuals subjects or citizens of any of the others, for rights, debts, property or effects, whatsoever which according to received usages and the law of nations, ought to revive at the period of peace, shall be heard and decided before competent tribunals and in all cases prompt and ample justice shall be administered in the countries where the claims are made.

ART XV The fisheries on the coast of Newfoundland and of the adjacent islands, and of the Gulph of St. Lawrence, are replaced on the same footing on which they were previous to the war, the French fishermen and the inhabitants of Saint Pierre and Miquelon shall have the privilege of cutting such wood as they may stand in need of in the Bays of Fortune and Despair, for the space of one year from the date of the notification of the present treaty.

ART XVI In order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute which may arise on account of prizes which may have been made at sea after the signature of the preliminary articles, it is reciprocally agreed, that the vessels and effects which may have been taken in the British Channel, and in the North Sea after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of the said preliminary articles, shall be restored on each side, that the term shall be one month from the British Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, whether in the Ocean or in the Mediterranean two months from the said Canary Islands as far as the Equator, and lastly five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any more particular description of time or place.

ART XVII The ambassadors ministers, and other agents of the contracting powers, shall enjoy, respectively, in the

states of the said powers, the same rank, privileges, prerogatives, and immunities, which public agents of the same class enjoyed previous to the war.

ART XVIII The branch of the House of Nassau which was established in the republic formerly called the Republic of the United Provinces, and now the Batavian Republic, having suffered losses there, as well in private property as in consequence of the change of constitution adopted in that country, an adequate compensation shall be procured for the said branch of the House of Nassau for the said loss.

ART XIX The present definitive treaty of peace is declared common to the Sublime Ottoman Porte, the Ally of his Britannic Majesty and the Sublime Porte shall be invited to transmit its act of accession thereto in the shortest delay possible.

ART XX. It is agreed that the contracting parties shall, on requisitions made by them respectively, or by their ministers or officers duly authorized to make the same, deliver up to justice, persons accused of crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed within the jurisdiction of the requiring party; provided that this shall be done only when the evidence of the criminality shall be so authenticated as that the laws of the country where the person to be accused shall be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial if the offence had been there committed. The expenses of such apprehension and delivery shall be borne and defrayed by those who make the requisition. It is understood that this article does not regard in any manner crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed antecedently to the conclusion of this definitive treaty.

ART XXI The contracting parties promise to observe sincerely and *bona fide* all the articles contained in the present treaty and they will not suffer the same to be infringed directly or indirectly by their respective subjects or citizens, and the said contracting parties generally and reciprocally guaranty to each other all the dispositions of the present treaty.

ART XXII The present treaty shall be ratified by the contracting parties in thirty days, or sooner if possible, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in due form at Paris.

In witness whereof, we, the underwritten plenipotentiaries, have signed with our hands, and in virtue of our respective full powers, the present defini-

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tive treaty and have caused our respective seals to be affixed thereto.

Done at Amiens the 27th day of March 1802 the 6th Germinal, year ten of the French Republic.

(L. S.) CORNWALLIS

(L. S.) JOSEPH BONAPARTE

(L. S.) J. NICHOLAS DE AZARA

(L. S.) R. J. SCHIMMELPENNINGK

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

It is agreed that the omission of some titles which may have taken place in the present treaty shall not be prejudicial to the powers or to the persons concerned.

It is further agreed that the English and French languages made use of in all the copies of the present treaty shall not form an example which may be alleged or quoted as precedent or in any manner prejudice the contracting powers whose languages have not been used and that for the future what has been observed,

and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of powers who are in the practice and possession of giving and receiving copies of like treaties in any other language shall be conformed with the present treaty having nevertheless the same force and virtue as if the aforesaid practice had been therein observed.

In witness whereof we the undersigned plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty of the French Republic and of his Catholic majesty and of the Batavian republic, have signed the present separate article and have caused our respective seals to be affixed thereto.

Done at Amiens the 27th day of March 1802 the 6th Germinal, year ten of the French Republic.

(L. S.) CORNWALLIS

(L. S.) JOSEPH BONAPARTE

(L. S.) NICHOLAS DE AZARA

(L. S.) R. J. SCHIMMELPENNINGK.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT

RELATIVE TO THE

AFFAIRS OF INDIA,

DURING

THE SECOND SESSION OF THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED
KINGDOMS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

November 25, 1801

IN pursuance of a notice which he had given, Sir WILLIAM PULTENY rose to make his motion relative to the Trade to India. He began by observing, that he had yesterday given notice of his intention to move this day for several additional papers. As he understood, however, that the committee would have full power to call for persons, papers, and records, he should proceed at once to the subject to which he wished to draw the attention of the house. A great variety of documents had last session been laid upon the table with regard to the trade between England and India, and his object was, that these should now be fully considered. The grand question which arose out of them was, whether British merchants were to receive such facilities as to enable them to enter into a competition with foreigners in a vast branch of commerce? The question always appeared to him of the first magnitude, and it rose in importance upon him the more he considered it. Many objections had been made to the proposed regulations: these he

had carefully weighed, and the effect they had taken upon him was to impress upon his mind a more lively sense of the necessity of calling for the interference of the legislature. In the year 1703, when the charter of the Company was renewed, various clauses were introduced into the act, in favour of private trade. From the manoeuvres of the directors, however, these were productive of no good effect, and the intentions of the legislature were completely frustrated from the increased difficulties thus experienced by individual traders, many representations were made, and at last a committee was appointed to take the whole subject fully into consideration. A report was by and by published, approving without qualification of the conduct of the directors. By a court of proprietors this report was afterwards confirmed. It was for an account of these proceedings that he had moved last session of parliament. It was then too late to discuss them, but he had given notice of his intention to bring the subject before the house as soon as parliament should again be assembled. That notice he had renewed, and it was not his fault that

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he had been so long in fulfilling his promise. He was told that a compromise was likely to take place, and he thought it right to see whether justice could be done without an act of the legislature. He understood that terms had been offered by the court of directors, but these were so unreasonable, so inadequate to gain the end proposed, that he considered it his duty to remain silent no longer. Whatever might be the opinion of others, to this compromise he could not agree, with any regard to the interests, or even the safety of the country.

When the East India Company was first established, at the end of the seventeenth century, the object of the legislature was two-fold. 1. By the sale of the monopoly to raise a sum of money, the grant of exclusive privileges in trade being in those days an expedient for filling the treasury, often resorted to by the crown. 2. A second consideration was, that a trade so distant could not be carried on by individuals, but only by a joint stock company. It was therefore thought that the wants of government might at once be supplied, and a benefit conferred on the commerce of the Company. In the reign of queen Anne the monopoly was again sold, and a second company was formed. As they did not go on very well separately, a union between them was proposed and effected, and for this reason the present Company was styled the *United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies*. The monopoly was long preserved with great rigour. It is scarcely possible for individuals to trade thither by themselves, but every British subject was prohibited, under severe penalties, from having any concern with a foreign commercial company trading to the

East. For a little while our East India Company went on very well, but then they were only merchants. Become soon after victors and sovereigns, their affairs went to ruin. In fifteen years after their first territorial acquisition, their profits had not only entirely ceased, but their losses were so great, that, for a rupee worth 2s they could get no more than 1s 3d. This fact they themselves acknowledged. Indeed (said Sir William) it was not at all matter of surprise. The character of traders and sovereigns are inconsistent; and their union has never failed to prove ruinous to the mercantile concerns of these counting-house kings, and to make their unhappy subjects suffer under all the evils of oppression and misrule. On the ground of the complete incapacity of the court of directors, a bill was brought into parliament in the year 1783, to take all power and management out of their hands. I opposed this bill, because I considered it dangerous and unconstitutional. It went to establish a board, with vast authority and influence, independent of the Crown, to erect *imperium in imperio*. After it had passed this house, and had been read once or twice in the house of Lords, it was happily thrown out. Another corrective was then resorted to, and a board of commissioners was appointed, which in various ways was to check and control the court of directors. No dispatches were allowed to be sent to any of the presidencies till they had first been communicated to the board, and the commissioners received great power over the territorial revenue and the political concerns of the dominions in India. To interfere with matters of trade they received no power, any further than to see that the mercantile schemes of the directors,

directors did not interfere with the well-being of the Indian empire. Things continued in this situation till 1793, when the charter was to be renewed. Before this, it had been perceived that the revenues must fail if native industry were not more encouraged. Foreigners were therefore allowed to trade on the same terms with the Company themselves. The jealousy of British merchants, however, still remained. Those who had made fortunes in India, having thus no means of remitting them to England, took the benefit of the trade allowed to the French, the Danes, the Swedes, and the Americans. Immense profits were thus made by foreigners, and they, from thus being sure of a cargo home, were enabled to export to India with great advantage, and in many instances to undersell the Company. In 1793 the bad policy of this system began to be perceived, and many clauses were introduced to give facility to the private trade. Whoever reads the act must perceive the extreme jealousy which the legislature entertained of the designs of the directors. It was well known that the directors would use their utmost endeavours to obstruct this trade, but sufficient guards, it was thought, were introduced to protect it in its new immunities. The directors, nevertheless, have obstructed it materially, and, in as far as in them lay, frustrated the intentions of parliament. The governors of India uniformly complained of their conduct, and recommended a more liberal system. Sir John Shore, Mr Hastings, Lord Cornwallis; in short, there is not a single exception. To these remonstrances the directors obstinately refused to listen, and still declared war against private trade, unless it was carried

on in a way which prevented all competition with foreigners. In 1798 marquis Wellesley found it absolutely necessary to send home the produce of India in India built ships. The number that arrived was very great, yet it never once was pretended that the smallest injury had ensued. The directors did not hint even at a bad consequence, but sent express orders that this might never be done again. The next year, therefore, the governor general refused permission for the sailing of any home-built ship; but the year after he again found it necessary to employ a considerable number. A strong letter was in consequence wrote out to his lordship. By way of compliance with his representations, they propose some advantages to the private trade; but these concessions were insidious, and would have left them at liberty to hamper it at pleasure. I think it is now time to expose their evasions, and to bring the question fairly to issue before a competent tribunal.

"The trade of the East India Company, consisting of two branches, that to China, where they are mere merchants, and that to India, where they are sovereigns. The first is a profitable, the second a losing trade. The sales are therefore always confounded. In 1800 they amounted together to above seven millions. Of that there was re-exported 4,700,000*l*. and of the latter sum there was 2,300,000*l*. from private trade, one-half of the whole re-exported. It is allowed that the foreign trade to India amounts to 1,500,000*l*. I believe it to be a great deal more. Ships, supposed under ballast, have been discovered to be richly laden, and various expedients are used to disguise the amount of it. Of what consequence then, sir, is the ques-

tion that we are discussing? To this trade no bounds can be set a few years back, indigo was not known as an article of commerce between the two countries and in 1800, we imported indigo to the value of a million sterling. The importation of cotton and various other commodities has likewise been wonderfully increased, and it is never to be forgotten, that these are raw materials to exercise our own ingenuity and employ our own industry. The advantages to be derived from this trade are great to a degree, though not yet understood; and shall they all be forfeited, from the caprice or illiberality of the directors? We do not seek to deal in one article in which they deal themselves! It is, indeed, strange that such a question should ever have been stirred. All this art is used to prevent us from coming into competition, not with the Company, but with Foreigners — They say, you must be under our control, you must employ the ships we send out to you, you must submit to many manifest disadvantages, not for the good of the common wealth, but lest you should endanger the mercantile gains of France and America.

“It is said, however, that the Company’s sales abroad might be injured. But how can this ever be the case when individual traders never expose the same articles to sale? The Company’s sales will be injured, to be sure, by thus labouring to enable Foreigners to import the same articles with every advantage. But British subjects constitute the only objects of their jealousy. — Rather than allow India built ships to come home, they will be at a great expense and send out ships from England. To pretend that they thus place the private trader

on an equally fair footing, is puerile. According to this plan, the cargo must be provided long before; the time of the ship’s arrival is uncertain, when she may be allowed to be loaded is uncertain, and it is still more uncertain when she may be dispatched — Every thing is cramped by arbitrary regulations. But India shipping may be had cheaper! Whether cheaper or not appears to me of little consequence — it has so many advantages in other respects. The goods are provided when the ship is ready — they are immediately put on board, and the ship sets sail with them the moment she is fully loaded. Do consider, sir, what the Company propose to do. How can they know what goods are to be sent home? How can they proportion the supply of shipping to the demand? Have they not, to their utmost wish, the power of cramping the speculations of the merchants? Let them consider the danger they run, of losing the trade of India altogether. It is a well known fact, that in 1798 there were sold in L’Orient alone India goods to the value of 1,200,000l sterling — How great is the trade of France alone, then! and how great must be the total of the trade of Foreigners, when the extent of the dealings with India are considered of — Lisbon, America, and the states in the North! I am by no means of opinion that Foreigners should be excluded. By these means alone the revenues can be kept up. All I ask is, that these advantages should not be granted to Foreigners exclusively.

“That a proposition so clear should be received like this must indeed confound a stranger. Not only the twenty-four directors who joined in the report were decidedly hostile

hostile to the plan proposed, but, upon a change of the direction, they were supported by the six new members who came in, making in all an unanimous body of the thirty perfor at the head of affairs. The proprietors approved of the report by a large majority, and a ballot served only to shew more unequivocally the ascendancy of the directors. Although there was no secret history in all this, it could by no mean be decisive. I have authority to quote against authority. On my side of the question besides all the governors general for the last twenty years, I have the late president of the board of control. Have these illustrious characters had no opportunity to inquire into the affairs of India? or have they laid down a resolution to overset the Company, and to dissolve our empire in the East? I dare say the directors think they are in the right, but I will now show how they come to think themselves in the right. When the Company was first established, like the Bank of England, and other joint stock companies, the directors were chosen by those who held a small sum of stock, and the election was annual. The qualification to vote was then only 500l. It was thought that the proprietors interfered too much, and the sum was raised to 1000l. A bill was then brought in to change the annual elections, and it was enacted that six should go out in rotation yearly, so that, when once elected, a member remained in office for four years, and had great facilities in naming his successor. The indiscreet interference of the proprietors was prevented, to be sure; but it often happens that, in attempting to mend one evil, you occasion others of equal consequence. It is clear, that ever since the directors have been self created,

there is but one solitary influence of a gentleman being brought into the direction who was not on the house-list. They are now a permanent fixed body, and never talk but of going out or coming in by *rotation*. The constitution is completely altered, there is now an aristocracy, a very powerful, and in my mind a very dangerous aristocracy. How is it supported? I do not blame these gentlemen. The love of power is natural, and no one who has tasted its sweets will willingly descend into a private station. The blame lies with those who allow them to gratify this thirst for domination, and that they are allowed, is indeed much to be regretted. Of all governments, aristocracy is the most tyrannical, oppressive, and odious. I abhor it still more than democracy. I asked how these men kept themselves in power? They have the management of an immense revenue, they have an immense patronage, and ought to have it. I opposed bestowing it on a board of commissioners, and I think it could not be possessed safely by the crown. But this is not all. They have the buying of an immense quantity of goods for India, they have the hiring of vessels to transport them, so that their influence is considerable over the manufacturing, and unbounded over the shipping interest. All who furnish ships stores they can favour. When a man's ship is taken up, they tell him, you will take your ropes from such a person, your sails from another whom we point out, and your anchors from a third. As a proof of all this, I ask, whether many who hear me have not heard it said, "Oh, he is a great man, he is sure to do well, *he has a vote at the India board*." The directors do tell the truth when they say that, by the encouragement of

private trade, the present constitution of the Company would be overturned, and when they state this, they state the true and sole ground of their opposition. The private traders would get rich, their influence would increase, the dependence of the proprietors on the directors would be greatly diminished, and the aristocracy would tumble to the ground. Here is a very good ground for the opposition of the court of directors, but here is nothing which in any degree affects the question itself.

"I have stated the reason which actuates the breasts of the directors. I shall now state the reasons which they assign to others. I shall refer to the report, which was drawn up by a very honourable and upright man. I never did read a paper drawn up with more address, or that shewed a greater talent at making the worse appear the better reason. While one reads, all appears right, and we unequivocally approve the conduct of the directors, but the moment we lay down the book, and ask ourselves what arguments have been urged against allowing us the full benefit of our Indian possessions, we are obliged to confess, none, but that you would thus endanger the power of the court of directors. 1. The first ostensible argument is, that if these privileges were granted, British capital would leave the country. But the Company themselves are about to raise two millions, and if there is any danger from that sum being exported, it is folly as great when it is exported by the Company. Sir, I deny that any danger exists. When capital leaves the country and is lost, it is a bad thing; but if it returns with a profit, this is the best way it could be employed. The money sent to In-

dia will not be given in presents to the Hindus. It will be employed buying raw materials to be brought to England, and will thus encourage industry at home and abroad, and add to the strength of the empire. These gentlemen tell us, this capital might have been employed more profitably. So they think they can judge better of this matter than the owners of this capital. They are to be thanked for their friendly solicitude, but they will probably find that their own affairs will demand all their attention. 2. We have next set before us the terrors of colonization. Upon this point they dwell at great length, and with great complacency. But in telling us that the ruin of the country would be the inevitable consequence of any relaxation, they surely forget the nature of the Indian government. At present no one can go to India without the consent of the aristocracy, and when he is there, the aristocracy can put him on board a ship and send him home as soon as they have a mind. Without leave of the government, no one can go beyond a few miles from Calcutta. By a fundamental law, no European is capable of holding lands in any part of the Company's possessions. Between India and America no analogy can be drawn, although the separation of that country had been necessary, instead of occasioned by mismanagement. In America the climate resembled that of England, and the constitution of government was almost exactly the same. Above all, America was uninhabited, and boundless tracts of fertile land were presented to the industry of the planter. India is one of the most populous countries on the globe, and every inch of ground

is appropriated. The climate is so fatal, that it is almost impossible for a European to remain in it alive a few years, the form of government must be arbitrary, and may be tyrannical. And this is the spot, which, after having become a flourishing colony by draining the mother country of men and money, will at length break off all connection with us, and become a formidable rival! 3 But great numbers of lascars would be brought to London, and, being here corrupted, would on their return corrupt their countrymen. They would thus carry a bad report of us to Hindustan, the English character would be degraded, and the English empire in the East shaken to its foundations. All this is really urged with gravity. Would it not be possible to prevent the lascars from ever entering London? We trade to China, but our men are not allowed an unrestrained intercourse with the Chinese. It would be an easy matter, at a small expense, to superintend the lascars when on shore, and, though the expense should be considerable, the profits of the trade would be amply able to bear it. It is a curious fact, sir, that the Company are daily in the practice of bringing home lascars, and if I am rightly informed, those whom they do bring home are allowed to wander about the streets and to die for want, while those brought home by the private traders live on shore in a kind of barracks prepared for them, and are watched over with the greatest care. 4. The shipping interest would suffer. Sir, if I am rightly informed, the shipping interest are by no means adverse to the plan. The price of timber in this country is now so enormous, that there is scarcely any profit to be made by building ships,

while there is a great deal to be made by repairing them. If trade increases, and the number of ships entering our ports is increased, they therefore justly think they would ultimately be gainers — 5 An argument still more formidable is, that the British sailors would be injured. In all cases where they are to be found, the merchants are willing to employ British sailors in preference. It is their interest to do so. Seven British sailors are supposed to be equal to twelve lascars, and, though some give a different proportion, all agree in making the difference prodigious. Thus the loss of tonnage, when lascars are employed, more than counterbalances the cheapness of their wages. The merchants are willing that a clause should be introduced, enacting that, when they are to be found, a part or the whole of the crew shall be English, and that certificates of the impossibility of finding them shall be given by the court of directors, or the council of the presidencies in India. If this trade is placed under proper regulations, it will afford encouragement to a prodigious number of our mariners, it will greatly increase their number, and, in case of a new war, will add materially to our maritime strength. Upon the commencement of hostilities, lascars can be employed as substitutes; and, without any interruption to our commerce, an immense number of hands can be given to the navy. This is an advantage not to be derived from the trade to the West Indies, or any other colonial trade on the globe.

“The admission of Indian-built ships cannot be objected to, if it were for no other reason than the present scarcity in this country of timber for the navy. The deficiency begins to be felt to a most alarming

alarming degree. But the wood of which these ships are built is preferable to the best oak, and it can be imported for all purposes, free of expense, in the form of a ship. In the opinion of the court of directors, a grand national object like this is to be sacrificed, because it would interfere with selfish views! (*A land ry of Hear' bear' from all parts of the house*.) During the war the trade of foreigners to India has had to struggle with considerable difficulties. Now that peace has arrived, we shall not only have our former rivals, but France and Holland, and there will be few obstacles to their being assisted by British capital, if, through the unhappy influence of a few merchants in Leadenhall street, it is not allowed to be employed at home. France has all her colonies restored to her. There is no clause in the treaty to say that she shall not trade in the Indian seas. There could be none, and the only way in which we can prevent our commerce being wrested from us, is to free it from every unreasonable restraint. If foreigners are once allowed to get possession of it, we may discover our error only in time to find it irretrievable. Now we may secure to ourselves this inexhaustible fund of wealth, but if we unprecedently allow it to slip from us, it is gone for ever—Whenever our commerce is ruined, we shall have no other consolation than that we have preserved the sacred band of thirty directors. It likewise ought never to be forgotten, that all that leaves our scale falls into the scale of France, so that the loss acts doubly against us.

“I could say much more, but I think I have said enough to prove the propriety of my motion. I do not wish the house to come to a de-

cision now. Let the whole business be submitted to a committee, and sifted to the bottom. I wish that an opportunity should be given to contradict my inferences. It will then be seen, whether we are not unnecessarily weakening ourselves and aggrandising our enemies, whether we are not doing every thing to discourage manufactures and to cramp trade, whether we are not wantonly shutting up sources of revenue and maritime strength, and whether, if these manœuvres prevail, the sales in Leadenhall street themselves will not soon be unattended? Sir, I am sure that this subject will force itself upon parliament, and that though this motion be rejected, it will not determine the fate of the measure. The sentiments of the people in this country are not to be resisted, they are a people not to be kept in the dark, and who, when facts are submitted to them, seldom fail to come to a right conclusion. I have not a doubt, therefore, that the necessity of this measure will soon be universally felt, and that the legislature will be compelled to adopt it.” Sir William concluded by moving, “That a committee be appointed to take into consideration the papers laid upon the table last session of parliament, relating to the proceedings with regard to the trade between England and the East Indies, and to report their opinion thereon to the house.”

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER rose, and began by protesting that no member of the house could possibly attach greater importance than he did to the subject now under discussion. He was ready, too, to admit in the most unequivocal terms, that the honourable baronet who had brought forward the motion was actuated by the purest and most disinterested sense of duty, while he allowed with plea-

fore that he had conducted the discussion of a subject so extremely interesting with that candour and good sense which could not fail to have excited universal approbation. The honourable baronet had traced with great accuracy the history of the East India Company, from the earliest period of its establishment, down to the present moment, and he had nothing on this point to object to the correctness of his details. It was unnecessary for him to reply to a variety of the arguments which the honourable baronet had used, both because they did not materially differ from the sentiments he himself entertained, and because they were not immediately connected with the subject before the house. He should therefore confine himself wholly to this subject, and in doing so, he should first of all advert to the provisions adopted in 1793, when the house renewed the charter of the East India Company. The private trade, it was to be recollected, had not been publicly acknowledged previous to that period, and it was in 1793, for the first time, that it became the subject of legislative enactment, that it was formerly recognized, and that special provisions were made for giving new facilities to its extension. At this time the Company were bound to furnish 3000 tons for the importation of the articles embarked in that trade into this country. This allowance had happily been found to be far from being equal to the purpose in view, but those who had framed this act, foreseeing that such an allowance would be inadequate, had lodged in the hand of commissioners the power of enlarging it to that amount which circumstances should require. The framers of this bill had indeed dis-

covered, throughout the whole conduct of the business, that knowledge, that wisdom, that enlargement of mind, by which they were so eminently distinguished, and in the provisions they adopted, they had endeavoured to give this private trade all those facilities which might at once be perfectly consistent with the interests of the Company, while they afforded every reasonable degree of encouragement to the efforts of private speculation. If, therefore, it could be made to appear, that the court of directors had not given this trade all the facilities which parliament had wished and intended, a fair ground of parliamentary interference would be opened, and he would be the last man in the house to oppose such an interference. He had no bias whatever in favour of either of the parties, and all that he wished was, a fair, candid, and impartial consideration of the subject. Agreeing most cordially with the honourable baronet in the expediency of giving every possible degree of facility to the private trade, he trusted that if, from what had been stated, he should be enabled to draw an opposite conclusion, the house would be disposed to come to a corresponding decision, and thus trust, he was sure, he did not indulge in vainglory. Having said so much in the way of preliminary observation, he now proceeded more directly to the discussion before the house. The honourable gentleman had said, that every governor in India, without exception, was in favour of the private trade conducted on the principles which he had laid down, but whence he had been able to collect this, he professed himself unable to discover. Unquestionably it was true, that his noble friend, marquis Wellesley, had,

had, by the exercise of his discretionary power, and by using extraordinary exertions, employed several ships in 1798 for bringing to Europe the articles connected with the private trade. An order from the court of directors was sent out by the next fleet, prohibiting the importation of any more goods in this way, and in 1799 the practice was discontinued. Since that time it was renewed, and he had now the satisfaction of stating, that the court of directors had agreed to shipping for the purposes of the ensuing season. They had even gone farther, and had consented that the shipping employed in the Red Sea should be appropriated to the conveyance of the private trade for 1803. Thus they had not only agreed to confirm the determination of marquis Wellesley, but had expressed their willingness to employ a large proportion of shipping exclusively for the benefit of the private trade, and were even engaged to furnish additional shipping, if the trade of 1803 should require a larger proportion than that which they had assigned. From this statement, therefore, the house would perceive, that the private trader would experience no inconvenience, no loss, no disadvantage whatever, till 1804, even if no new regulations were to be adopted, while sufficient time was allowed to form every regulation which might seem to be demanded by an impartial contemplation of the whole of the circumstances connected with so interesting a subject. Thus he now mentioned to the house, both with a wish that the intentions of the court of directors might be distinctly understood, and that, after going through the statements which he should be under the necessity of doing, he might found upon it an argument

in support of the motion with which he meant to conclude, a motion for the previous question. An inquiry into a subject so intricate and so extensive as that now before them, the house would not wish unnecessarily to enter upon, it was not his wish to institute it, but from the fullest conviction that it was imperiously called for by circumstances. A good deal of stress had been laid on the opinion of a person, for whose opinion on this subject he certainly did entertain the highest respect, and whose opinion could not fail to have a very powerful influence both in that house and the country. It was, however, only that morning that he had read the letter of the right honourable gentleman, in which he not only did not entirely coincide with the opinions expressed by the honourable baronet, but expressly asserted, that the opinions of the two opposite parties were founded in extremes, and recommended a middle course, with which, with one exception, he most heartily concurred. He asserted, that the opinion of the court of directors was erroneous, but it did not appear from the letter, that he was prepared to adopt, in all the latitude, the opinions which the honourable gentleman had adopted. Laying aside, however, the consideration of authority from opinions, however respectable, the first question now before the house was, Whether the court of directors had given those facilities which, by the decision of parliament, they were required to extend to the private trade? He had already declared his opinion on this point, and had stated that they had not given the facilities required. The next subject of consideration was, Whether or not there existed a just expectation that these facilities would

would be extended in future? In directing the attention of the house to these points, he wished that the nature of the trade in question might be fully understood by the house. The capital employed in the trade, it would be recollected, was not drawn from this country, but was a capital composed of the surplus of the salaries enjoyed by the different servants of the Company in India. This surplus was either vested in the treasury of the Company, and bills to the amount drawn on England, or it was vested in goods, which constituted the trade which the house was at present considering. The amount of the surplus had gradually increased, and the investments in the private trade had experienced a proportional increase. In carrying on this trade, the honourable gentleman had contended, that British subjects were not allowed those advantages which were given to the foreign trader. On examination, however, he was convinced that this assertion would be found to be groundless. To ascertain this, it was only necessary to attend a little to the manner in which the trade was conducted. No persons were, it is true, allowed to engage in it who were not licensed by the Company's servants; and they were prevented from buying goods formed of the choicest materials, and manufactured in the richest manner. Saltpetre too found an exception to the articles which they were not permitted in the first instance to purchase. But the house would consider that this exclusion with regard to fine goods referred only to the period prior to the supply of the ships of the Company with these articles. After this supply was obtained, the market was open to the private traders, and

the previous exclusion ceased to operate. They might then purchase, not merely the rough part of the goods, but had free access to those of the richest materials, and the most costly manufacture. With the exceptions he had specified, every other branch of manufactures, and every other article of produce, were within the range of their purchase. Such was the situation in which the private traders were placed, and he knew no difference with respect to foreigners, except that it was not necessary for them to be licensed previous to their engaging in the private trade. They enjoyed no other privilege which was not participated by British subjects, and therefore he was at a loss to conceive what those advantages were which the honourable baronet had described to be in the possession of foreigners. But here the honourable baronet had stated an object to be gained by the private trade, and a most important national object it was, an object no less than that of facilitating, by means of ships built in India, the supply of timber for the commercial and royal navy of this country. The honourable baronet had dwelt very strongly on this point, and had been extremely anxious to shew that there was no other means of so effectually promoting this great object. It was his duty, in answer to this, to state, that the court of directors had expressed, in the strongest terms, their anxiety to give every possible facility to any measure calculated for the advantage of the royal navy; they were even willing to engage, and to bind themselves to, the fulfilment of their engagements, to use every effort to cheapen the price of timber, by loading particular ships with

with goods for their own use, so as to reduce the freight to a more moderate rate. The price of ship timber within a few years had increased in a most extraordinary manner, and every plan for effecting a reduction was deserving of the most serious attention. With respect to the use of ships built in India for the private trade, he had to remark, that this was one of the cases in which the opinions on the subject proceeded to extremes. It was the opinion of his noble friend the governor general of India, and of a right honourable gentleman whose sentiments he had already alluded to, that ships built in India should only be employed in the trade, and this was the point in which he had the misfortune to differ from them, while the court of directors up to that day had as strenuously maintained, that the trade should be exclusively confined to British ships. He had now, however, a high degree of pleasure in being enabled to state to the house, that the directors had, on a full and serious consideration of the subject, agreed that either British ships or those built in India, if attended with equal convenience, should be employed, their only objection being with regard to the price. In calculating the comparative expense of British and India built ships, the honourable gentleman had founded his calculations on a state of war, but, was it fair to assume, that during a period of peace this expense would not be diminished?—It certainly was not, and this was another reason, in his mind, for opposing the motion of the honourable baronet, that time might be allowed to try the experiment for three years, for which the provision already made afforded a favourable opportunity. By recommending delay, he trusted that

he should not be thought indifferent to the importance of the question before the house. The trade was unquestionably of very high consequence. While the trade opened a channel for the importation of the branches of Indian manufactures, and the articles of Indian produce, which the Company had not the means of introducing on their own account; and while it enabled those of the Company's servants, who had a certain portion of capital to dispose of, to dispose of it in an advantageous manner, it on the other hand presented new openings for the commerce, and new encouragements to the manufactures of the mother country. It was a trade not only attended with great advantages, but accompanied with little risk. It was a trade which took little capital from the country, yet in its consequences was calculated to make London the *emporium* of the trade of India. At present, indeed, London might be considered in this light, but by the new facilities which the trade would give to commerce, it would render London almost the sole mart of the Indian commerce. He felt unwilling to follow the honourable baronet through all the strictures that he had made on the report of the court of directors, but he thought it necessary to advert to a few of the points discussed in the report itself. What was said on the consequences which would flow from the employment of lascars in the navigation of ships coming from India, appeared in his mind extremely feeble and inconclusive. That foreign seamen might, without the smallest impropriety, occasionally come in aid of British sailors, could not possibly be denied; but that there was any reasonable fear of the Foreigners supplanting the British subjects, was a proposition

proposition to which he could not possibly accede. It was impossible with the least regard to reason and experience to imagine, that, known as the ~~firm~~ ^{firm} or skill and intrepidity of British seamen were, their services would be refused for the services of another description of men, whose qualifications were confessedly in every thing connected with their profession. On the subject of colonization he was not prepared to agree with the honourable gentleman but, though perhaps he did not view the danger from this source in a light so strong as that exhibited in the report, yet he was ready to confess, that it struck him as a matter of no light consideration. He thought it an object of high importance, to prevent an increase of settlements in India, and to discourage every plan which was designed to increase or consolidate such settlements. He admitted, that the cases of America and our settlements in India were not parallel, but at the same time he thought that our experience in America ought at least to have the effect of teaching us caution. On the contemplation of the whole question, he did not think that the honourable gentleman had made out such a case as could be considered by the house as a full and fair ground for instituting an inquiry. He had, he could with truth assure the house no bias in his mind which would lead him to oppose such an inquiry, if it really appeared to him to be necessary, and till the court of directors had shewn a disposition to grant what was due to the interest of the private trade, he felt a strong disposition to give his support to the motion. By saying that he was inclined to support the motion, he did not mean to refer to the specific motion of the honourable gentleman, but he was ready to support

any ~~fast~~ ^{fast} proposition for compelling the court of directors to comply with the wishes of parliament, as expressed in 1793, to grant to the private trade every necessary degree of facility. But, seeing a disposition existing in the court of directors to come to an amicable arrangement, seeing the great inconveniences which might attend the investigation of a subject so extremely complicated and extensive, the end of which too it was quite impossible to ascertain, and seeing that from the provisions adopted for the next two years, no inconvenience could arise to the private merchants from a short delay, he felt it his duty to move the previous question.

Mr JOHNSTONE said, that if there ever had been discovered any disposition on the part of the court of directors to agree to an amicable arrangement of the dispute with the private merchants, the present motion would have been unnecessary, and would never have been brought forward for the consideration of the house. The object of the motion was, merely to put to fair trial the plan which the marquis Wellesley had sanctioned, and acted upon in his conduct of the private trade. But if, as the right honourable gentleman had stated, this plan was to be fully and fairly put to the test for two years, this was all that was asked for, and the private merchants would be perfectly satisfied with such a proposal. Was, however, any such disposition apparent on the face of the papers on the table? It certainly was not, and hence had originated the necessity for the motion. The right honourable gentleman, when mentioning the subject of the concession offered by the court of directors, did not seem to him perfectly to understand

understand the nature of the concession to be granted. He had thought that the ships in the Red Sea would be amply sufficient for every purpose of the private trade in 1862, but, for his part, he could not help being of a different opinion, and he would state to the house on what his opinion was founded. The house would recollect, that 20,000 tons of shipping had been originally employed in conveying the division of the Indian army up the Red Sea. Of these 20,000 tons had already returned to different ports in India, and of the other half that remained a number of ships were disabled, while others were discharged, and would come home in the ensuing season. So that, taking this view of the subject, he was afraid that out of the 20,000 tons which were appropriated for the use of the private trade, there would not be a number of disposable ships sufficient to bring home the property vested in the private trade. He wished to know then, if such a deficiency should exist, and if the ships destined for this special service were inadequate, whether individuals would be permitted to send home their property in other ships?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, in explanation, stated, that the court of directors wished to have it distinctly understood, that if, contrary to every reasonable expectation, the shipping employed in the Red Sea should not be sufficient to bring home all the private property for the year 1862, they would instruct their agents in India to provide whatever additional shipping might be wanted. He added, that the provision in favour of the private trade was for two, not three seasons.

MR. JONES, who professed himself obliged to the right honourable gentleman for his explanation, but would not help expressing his opinion, that, instead of the stipulation in behalf of the private merchants was only for two seasons. There seemed to be a wish, among the members of the regulations in favour of the private trade, to represent the plan now so strongly resisted by the court of directors as altogether new; but he was anxious to press on the house, that the plan was not new, but had been pursued in the several seasons since 1859, when the governor-general of India had acted upon it, by sending home private property in ships built in the country. After the trial it had already undergone, he desired any one of its most violent opponents to point out a single inconvenience that had arisen from it, or was likely to arise from its further continuance. It had received the support of every one of the Company's servants in India, who not merely saw no bad effects resulting from it, but had seen and acknowledged the beneficial effects that it was calculated to produce. This had been the decided opinion of Mr. Udney, who, for his eminent services, was raised to be a member of the supreme council. Mr. Myers had viewed it in the same light, who had received the honour of a vote of thanks for his good conduct from the court of directors. The right honourable gentleman, in remarking on Mr. Dandies's letter, had insisted a good deal on the supposed opinion of that right honourable gentleman, that the sentiments of both parties were in extremity, and that he was desirous of following a middle course in the arrangement of the dispute. But, if the right honourable

honourable gentleman would take the trouble to examine the letter more attentively, he would find that Mr Dundas was there not alluding to the question before the house, but to the opinions of two parties, one of whom wished the trade to be wholly laid open, and the other that it should be subjected to still closer restraints. These were the opinions which he had declared to be in extremes and he was for a middle course, which was neither more nor less than the plan contended for by the private traders. His approbation of the plan he had fully expressed, and he had never varied in the smallest degree from his original opinion. There was another point in the right honourable gentleman's speech, to which he begged leave to advert. The right honourable gentleman seemed to think that the private trade was solely a trade of remittance, and that the capital was made up of the savings of the salaries of the different servants of the Company in India. This was, however, an exceedingly erroneous idea of the nature and extent of this important branch of trade. He believed that his statement would not be greatly deficient in accuracy, if he estimated the whole amount of these savings to be a million and a half yearly. Now it was known, that the Company had bills drawn on Europe to this amount, and thus the whole of the sum which was to form the capital of the private trade was completely absorbed. The truth was, that the facilities of navigation had opened a variety of new channels, and the East Indies would have to receive, at no remote period, a balance in specie. The private trade, independent of all the concerns of the Company, could not now be estimated at less than an annual sum of from four millions and

a half to five millions sterling. It had been asked by the right honourable gentleman, what were the advantages which Foreigners possessed in carrying on this trade, above British subjects? Undoubtedly, if the plan of marquis Wellesley was to be acted upon, and if the private property of British traders was to be sent home in ships of the country instead of ships sent out by the Company, Foreigners would possess no advantage. But, on the other hand, if the plan was given up, if the Company were to send out ships to bring home private property, and if they were to be allowed to assort and manage the cargoes as heretofore, these checks went certainly to put the British merchant in a far worse situation than that in which the Foreigner was placed. On the subject of colonization he had only a few words to offer, and, though it might seem to contradict the sentiments he had been endeavouring to support, he had no hesitation in saying that he was decidedly hostile to any system which would attempt to colonize our eastern possessions. America had been mentioned, and our loss of it had been hunted at as a lesson upon the subject of colonization—America was a long while, indeed, before she was severed from this country. He would not say how long we could expect to retain our dominions in India, but he was a bold and sanguine man, indeed, who could expect our empire there to continue for 200 years. It appeared to him to be an empire of opinion, chiefly inspired by the awe of our first conquest, and it was our interest, not to pursue a plan that might lead the natives to reflect upon their own strength for which reason he thought there was no sound policy in having a great many Europeans settled

settled there, but rather that the plan of European settlers should be discouraged, because this must have the effect of teaching the natives in time the force of their own natural strength. He concluded with observing, that there was one point which was important to be ascertained, and upon which at present he felt a good deal of alarm. It was not stated by the chancellor of the exchequer, what system was to be followed when the two years which were to be devoted to this experiment were expired.

Mr CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER rose to explain, he said, that he ought before to have stated the terms which the East India Company had declared themselves willing to accede to. He then read a paper, containing the whole of those terms, and concluded with saying, that it was the desire of the East-India Company to afford every convenience to the private trade, that was not inconsistent with their undoubted rights and their most essential interests.

Mr JOHNSTONE said, he was obliged to the right honourable gentleman for the explanation he had given, but he still was of opinion, that if any advantage was allowed to foreign flags, it would eventually deprive the port of London of that part of the trade. It was far from his wish to infringe upon the rights, or to injure the interests, of the East India Company; but he did not consider the present motion as having any such tendency.

Mr CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, the present was not a final arrangement, but only the basis of a plan that might or might not hereafter be adopted.

Mr WALLACE said, the statement of his right honourable friend

(the chancellor of the exchequer) had reduced the question to a very narrow point. The proposition of the honourable baronet was evidently calculated, through the medium of a committee, pointing to examine merely the claims of private traders—to introduce a discussion relative to every part of our Indian affairs, which should be guarded against with the strongest jealousy at this time, particularly when men's minds were warmed—when so many wild notions were entertained—when the most extravagant speculations were indulged respecting the India Company, which struck at the root of that establishment. The principle upon which he should vote in opposition to the honourable baronet's proposal was, that he held it to be a direct attack upon the charter of the India Company, without any plea of justice or necessity. This might render him liable to the charge of inconsistency, in consequence of his conduct at the board of control; but he wished to explain the nature of that conduct. That board had taken up the subject of private trade to India, but scarcely had they entered into the investigation, when the honourable baronet moved for the papers on the table, which induced the board to suspend their proceedings, (preventing, from that motion, that it was intended to introduce the question to parliament,) in order that it might come free and unfettered before the house. The right of the board of control to interfere in this question, he understood, had been doubted, on the ground that it was a commercial question, but, from the act of 1793, it was manifested, that the board of control was invested with powers sufficient to justify their interference in the arrangements of a subject of

to much national importance as that before the house, though it excluded them from meddling with the commercial concerns of the India Company. The opinion of Mr Dundas, who upon all occasions was entitled to respect and reverence, was confidently quoted in this discussion, but, in his judgement, the opinion of that right honourable gentleman went to an extent which no reason was advanced, or he believed could be advanced, to warrant. He for one was not prepared to go so far though he admitted, in a great degree, the claims of the English merchants resident in India. From the papers on the table, he drew his principal argument against the motion of the honourable baronet, for it appeared, that the India Company could not be found to allow the private trading at all beyond the amount of that settled by the act of 1793, unless it was intended glaringly to entrap their charter. In fact, however the motion might be disguised, or dressed up, it would tend to put the spirit of the act of 1793 in opposition to its express letter, and to introduce a question between public faith and public expediency. The principles upon which that act was founded, he stated to be, to proceed to the merchandise and manufactures of the British empire exclusively the market of India—to maintain the influence and power of the India Company, as interwoven with the power of the country, by securing to them alone the communication between India and Europe. At that time a private trade did exist, under the patronage of the Company, but in a crippled state. It was enlarged, and wisely, for many reasons. Among others, from the state of timber in India, and the demand here, it was desirable that

India-built ships might be allowed to import into Great Britain. It was also desirable, as the marquis of Wellesley had so laudably endeavoured to exclude foreign influence, to prevent the effects of foreign intrigue, and the aggrandisement of foreign power in India. That was the policy which saved India from the machinations of France. Now that by the treaty of peace the French establishments were restored, it was more necessary than ever to persevere in that system, and, by giving facility to the trade of India with this country, we should make the foreign factories scarcely worth maintaining. With respect to the danger apprehended from colonization in India, it was the most chimerical and absurd that could be imagined. Was it reasonable to entertain any such apprehensions, in a country under the direction of a government so powerful, and supported by an immense army? He shewed that the extension of the private trade would be for the advantage of the India Company, by stating that in 1798 the profit of per centage to the India Company on goods belonging to private merchants was 2½ 6s 9d whereas in 1800 it amounted to 351. As to the representation, that the report which the lascars might give in India of their British connexions in Wapping, tending to subvert the British dominions in India, or to reduce the British character, it was too ridiculous to deserve a serious answer. He was not inclined to join with those who supposed that these lascars would ever be preferred to British seamen, for one obvious reason, that they were not so cheap to the merchant, and, it was necessary to add, they were less skilful. Indeed it was not by any means probable that British merchants would prefer

prefer any foreign seaman to that of their own country—would gratefully refuse employment to him who had exposed himself to all the toils and dangers of war to give peace to his country.—If, however, it should so happen, it would be for the legislature to interfere, and to take care that every necessity for our sailors should be preferred. That the manners of foreigners should not be advanced by British capital—Antwerp, a port so much raised of as likely to partake of the trade to India, should not receive that wealth which might hereafter be employed against us by that power which God and Nature had to a certain degree made our enemy, [*Army of Heaven's host!*] and enable them to contest with us the sovereignty of the seas. We applauded the disposition manifested by the India Company to adjust the dispute with the private traders, and hoped the plan proposed for the two ensuing years would prove a satisfactory experiment, and serve as the basis of some future arrangement; calculated to call forth all the energy of commerce in that department, and to advantage the country. If the honourable gentleman who supported the motion of the honourable baronet, had examined the state of our Indian trade, he would have found, that the shipping in the Red Sea, consisting of 344,000 tons, was likely to be more than sufficient for the proposed importation of the Indian produce in private trade in 1868—when it was recollected, that the whole tonnage of Bengal during the last season did not exceed 7000 tons; and yet the marquis of Wolsley will be authorized, if necessary, to employ more shipping; therefore, all the suggestions which had been thrown out as to the probability of foreigners partaking of our Indian

commerce, from want of shipping of our own, to import the surplus of Indian productions, were entirely groundless. With these views of the subject, he would ever give his most decided opposition to any proposition tending to the establishment of the India Company; convinced that its existence, through the medium of a well regulated monopoly, was essential to the security of the state, and that the transfer of the authority which it possessed to the government, would give it a degree of overawing power, that would render the existence of the constitution itself extremely precarious.

Sir FRANCIS BARKER rose, he said, very reluctantly to obtrude himself upon the attention of the house, on a question which seemed already to have been so ably discussed by the right honourable gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer,) and the honourable member who spoke last. Still upon a subject of so much importance, and in which he was personally and officially interested, he hoped the house would indulge him in a few short observations. The honourable baronet who introduced this question, called it a commercial one, generally involving the trading rights of this country, but he would beg leave to term it a question in support of the claims of an illegitimate description of traders, against the interest and chartered rights of a legal and legitimate body, whose interests and whose objects must of necessity participate in those of the empire; for, in fact, under the former description only could he estimate those men in India from whom originated the question. They were children rising against their parents—servants labouring to subvert the interests of their masters—creatures who owed every thing

thing that they possessed to the patronage, protection, and support of that very Company whose legal authority and legitimate interest they now sought so subvert, under the pretence of vindicating the commercial rights of British subjects, but in reality with a view to convert this country into a colony, and India into a mother country, and so lay the foundation of future subversion to the institution of the India Company, which the legislature of this country had so long cherished and supported, on the full and complete conviction of its importance to the strength, wealth and prosperity of the British empire. For who, he would ask, were these respectable authorities, from whom the honourable baronet, who introduced this motion, derived his authority on this subject, but the servants of the Company in India, (who owed every thing they possessed to that Company,) and their correspondents in this country, conspiring with them to wrest, if possible, all the advantage of India commerce out of the hands of its legal possessors. The honourable baronet had termed the court of directors a court of aristocracy, whose authority was dangerous to the true interests of the Company, as it was to those of this country, in relation to the possession of India. But he begged leave to vindicate the directors from such a charge.—As one of that respectable body, instead of assuming so high and mighty an authority as the honourable baronet was pleased to attribute, he felt induced a very humble sense of his situation, and regarded it only as one in which he participated the duty of making over the interests and commercial rights of traders to India residents in this country, and in the exercise of which duty he and his colleagues

were bound by the sanction of an act of parliament.—Upon the introduction of the act of 1793, for renewing the charter of the India Company, a principal object avowed by parliament was the protection of interest to the manufacturers of Great Britain and Ireland; and on the part of the Company, it was earnestly desired that the parties interested would come forward and state what they wanted—and even what they wished, in order that every claim might be complied with to their satisfaction. The consequence of which was, that a stipulation was brought forward by the right honourable gentleman who introduced that bill, (Mr Dundas,) a man than whom none was more fully competent to frame a bill upon that particular subject, which required that 8000 tons of shipping should be taken by the Company for the purpose of carrying the private trade to India, and bringing back produce in return. To this the directors fully agreed, and even declared their own indifference as to the nation of which such ship should be, whether British or English. But if any description of ships was to be proposed, subversive of the principle which was to make the river Thames the medium of reception, or on board of which British seamen were not to be the navigators, the directors were prepared decidedly to reject it. Any departure from this principle would have been injurious to the interests of the British Navy. But if this stipulation was not made, the persons in India, from whom the pressure question originated, would have decidedly rejected British ships, have preferred their own teak vessels, and, instead of confining their commerce to the Thames for promoting the interests of British manufactures,

manufactures, would have made use of them to carry on a trade with all the ports in Europe. Such was the conduct in the servants of the Company in India, who have made their fortunes under the protection of the Company. But what was the presence of those persons for carrying India built vessels instead of British? That they could supply the demand for the produce of India at a much cheaper rate than the European market. This was a proof on the contrary. Mr. Pelher, a British merchant, offered them very low prices to pay a price for their commodities on the spot adequate to 10 per cent. over and above the invoice price, and to convey them to Europe in French bottoms. How then could any individual in the private trade pretend that he could supply France with India commodities cheaper than the India Company?

With respect to the nature of the homeward India trade, it was, he said, divided under three distinct heads, viz.

First—The foreign trade

Secondly—The private trade to the river Thames

Thirdly—The Company's own trade

By the last returns at the India House, it appeared that the private trade had increased, within the last two years, 2 or 300,000*l.*, the foreign in a still greater proportion but it was uniformly found, that the trade of the Company decreased, as that of the private traders advanced, and, consequently, the commercial interests were injured, not by foreigners, but by their own servants. The foreign trade, in fact, had increased of late years more than ever—but with this difference, that not a single article of foreign manufacture was consumed

in our India settlements, silver only being the article in exchange for the commodities of the country, while British manufactures were the only articles of European consumption, and taken in exchange for the produce brought home to England. With respect to shipping, he begged leave to state the reason why the growth of ship timber in this country was not greater, it was, because there was not a competition sufficient for its encouragement. The navy board held out no adequate inducement for country gentlemen to grow their timber to an extraordinary size, and therefore they cut it down only at that size when, by competition between the navy and the private ship-builders, they were sure of a good price, but he was convinced that the proposed importation of large ships from India, to supply our navy, was to place the English country gentleman in a still worse state than before, with regard to the growth of timber.—With respect to the employment of lascars in preference to British seamen, such an idea he believed was too ridiculous to require refutation, but with respect to that description of seamen brought to this country by the homeward bound ships from India, the difference was this—The India Company alone had provided for them an establishment affording them maintenance and protection, and insured their return to their native country, whereas it was the interest, and seemingly the object of the private trader, to induce them to desert, and then abandon them to their fate. The directors of the India Company acted on the whole of this business, not from any impulse of private interest, but from a sense of public duty on that ground, they bowed to no man, however high his rank or station, and

and therefore he could not admit the charge imputed to them by the honourable baronet, of having acted from principles of self interest upon self elected authority. But the persons from whom the representations of the honourable baronet originated—though they were viewed by the discernment of lord Cornwallis in a just point of view, as individuals whose private interests were opposed to those of the Company, to whom they owed every thing, and as such kept at a distance by that noble lord, were, on the contrary, taken to the arms of marqu Wellesley, favoured by his confidence, and by him supported, in direct opposition to the interests of the Company. And what was the conduct of those very men in the last year? Why, that, acting as private traders their investments being on board private ships, which sailed long before they reached India long before the Company's fleet, which was obliged to await the completion of all their cargoes, and sail in company with convoy by which means the private ships had not only forestalled the markets there before their arrival, but bought up new freights of country goods for remittance to England, to forestall them there also. Furnished with such privileges as these, the private traders enjoyed greater advantages and indulgence than the Company under their charter, for they, in fact, enjoyed all the advantages of trade, without paying any thing for the political expenses of maintaining it. But, not contented with a participation even on such terms, they now made a demand, which, if acceded to, nothing more was left to grant, and a foundation would be thereby laid for the speedy subversion of the Company. But, however specious the pretences of those men,

with respect to the cheapness of freights on board of India built ships he was convinced they would be rendered completely nugatory by the events of peace. The project was taken up in a period of war, and in the full contemplation of its continuance and it was consequently followed up for the present but it would be found, that, the consequent abatements in the rate of freight on board British vessels, the cessation of all risks from war, and the expense of convoy would so reduce the expenses of freight in British bottoms, and still more in other vessels of Europe, as completely to do away every claim of preference to India-built vessels. But, even supposing a preference was still due on account of cheapness to India-built vessels, he begged to know why the India Company should be precluded from the advantage, under a charter for which it so dearly paid?—or why a preference should be given to their servants—or, if the spirit of the British Navigation Act was to be rigidly maintained in respect to the former, upon what ground of justice or expediency was it to be relaxed in favour of the latter? Sir Francis concluded his arguments, by expressing his opinion that no ground had been laid before the house to warrant the motion of the honourable baronet, and by giving to that motion his decided negative.

Mr METCALFE, after the full and able discussion which the subject had already undergone, felt it necessary to apologize to the house for trespassing on their attention. He should, however, trouble them as shortly as possible, and confine his observations principally to two points.—The first was, the source from which the motion now before the house originated. It was from

† Q. a combination,

a combination, long, insidiously and clandestinely carried on by persons in India, who had been the servants of the Company, and who owed the means they possessed solely to the auspices and protection of that Company — These men, aided by accomplices in England, men of no inconsiderable property, and amongst whom were men of no mean talents, had for a long time set up an interest, and for many years past carried on a trade, directly opposite and violatory to the interests of their masters, and thus fully illustrated the description given by the honourable baronet opposite to him, (Sir Francis Baring,) of children rising against their parents, but, not content with availing themselves of the privilege of tonnage, which they enjoyed under the last act for renewing the charter of the India Company, they availed themselves of the flags of foreign nations, and supplied all the countries of Europe with the produce of India, to the great injury of the British East India Company; and to such a pitch was this clandestine trade carried, that at one time they actually had 80,000 tons of shipping at Calcutta, under foreign flags, ready to carry their commodities to every port in Europe, and their settlements elsewhere but the spirited conduct of the governor of St Helena soon checked their progress, by seizing several of those ships, and sending them for the investigation of a court of admiralty, many of which were condemned as lawful prizes; and the rest saved, as many a felon frequently is, by dint of suborned perjury, but leaving in the minds of the court the fullest conviction of the moral injustice of their acquittal. Having thus lost their interest in

the conveyance by neutral bottoms, they now came forward with a proposition, of carrying on their trade with England in their own teak ships, and they had found means to interest in their cause, under the speciousness of their pretences, several men of respectability and character, such as the honourable baronet, and particularly the marquis Wellesley, who had not been above fourteen days in India when he completely adopted the system recommended, and sent home his earnest recommendation to the court of directors for the adoption of that system which formed the topic of this night's discussion. For the talents and character of that noble lord he wished to express the highest respect, it was natural enough for a great man of his description, on assuming the government of a great and extensive country, to endeavour, in the first instance, to inform himself, from the best authorities on the spot, of the nature and situation of the country in certain leading points. He would naturally be led to consult military men as to its actual strength, and commercial men as to the existing situation of its trade, but how he should come to consult a set of private traders in the country upon the interests of the India Company, who were directly opposed to those interests, and suddenly take those men to his confidence, was a matter for which he owned himself at a loss to account. The object of the honourable baronet was, to convey home from India the surplus produce purchased by the fortunes of the Company's servants, but the mode he proposed very considerably outstripped that of Mr. Dundas, and aimed at nothing less than the opening of the privileges of the charter to those private traders.

ders who were the objects of his advocacy—the consequence of which would be, that memorials would come from every community of traders in Great Britain and Ireland to participate in the privilege; and, he doubted not, such were at this moment ready to be presented, if the motion of the baronet should have its desired success. The right honourable member who framed the last India bill, and to whose talents he paid the highest acknowledgements, did, as was his duty as a minister, make the best bargain in his power for his country, and obtained the highest price that he could for renewing the monopoly. But it ought surely to be recollected, that the legislature, in passing that act, had pledged its faith to the Company and to the Country: and he trusted that faith would not now be violated, upon the motion of any individual, or set of men, without the fullest proof of justice and necessity. The question was not, whether this private company, or that set of individuals, had the smallest or the largest share of advantage, upon which the affairs of a great nation were to be governed. Such a conduct would be in direct violation of the policy of every great statesman since the reign of queen Anne. And if the charters of the India Company were to be violated on such grounds, contrary to national faith, where, he would ask, was the security for those of the Bank of England, of the city of London, or the many other great charters with which the liberty, the prosperity, and security of the nation were so materially connected?—So deep was the scheme of those men who had chosen the worthy baronet for their champion, that he had the fullest proof of many of the documents which

found ~~their~~ way to England, on resolutions passed in India in support of the honourable baronet's project, being actually fabricated in England, and sent out to India, in order to find their way back again in an authentic shape. He concluded by cautioning the house maturely to pause, and not lightly to adopt any project so fraught with injury to that Company, which, if once ruined, the sun of the British empire must set, to rise no more.

Mr WILLIAM DUNDAS was as unwilling to violate the chartered rights of the India Company, as settled by law, as any man could be; but, when the Company had avowed their willingness to concede in favour of private trade, he felt it his duty to close with them, and to accept their concession on the part of the public.—An honourable baronet opposite to him had said, that 3,000 tons of shipping, appointed by the India Company, was sufficient for the conveyance of the private trade between England and India; but he would ask, how this could possibly answer for a trade so very much increased since the settlement of this regulation? The honourable baronet had also asserted, that such was the state of opposition between the private traders and the Company's interest, or the home trade with India, that, in proportion as the former increased, the latter always decreased. Unfortunately for this assertion, there were such things as figures, which could not err, and from the last authentic statements on this subject, he would read to the honourable baronet the refutation of this assertion:—

In the year 1794-5 the	£.
Sales of the India Com-	
pany amounted to	5,521,000
The private sales	1,033,000,
	From

From this period they continued in progressive increase till the year 1801-2

When the Company's sales were 7,600,000
The private sales 2,382,000

A proof thus of the rapid increase in both. He commended the conduct of *margot Wellesley*, and declared that his procedure with regard to the permission of adopting India-built ships, was to prevent the preference to foreign flags then floating in Bengal river, and with respect to the argument of the honourable baronet, that the importation of India-built ships would be deemed injurious to the interest of English country gentlemen, at a time when the scarcity and high price of ship timber at home might be so amply obviated by the produce of Indian forests, inextinguishable to human labour, he expressed his astonishment that such an argument should be offered in a country so highly indebted for her greatness to the superiority of her navy.

Sir FRANCIS BARING in explanation, observed, that the directors were willing to agree as far as respected ships of war, but wished to stop when they came to commercial ships.

Mr W DUMBAS also spoke in explanation.

Mr METCALFE, in explanation, adverted to what had been said of the indulgences proper to be granted to the private trader and expressed his opinion, that in the present circumstances of the country, it would be neither wise nor politic entirely to exclude foreign traders, more especially at a period when such important arrangements were about to be made with our late adversaries, the attempt, he said, would involve us in disputes with every commercial power in America

and in Europe, and most probably tend to shorten the duration of the blessings of peace.

Mr JONES observed, that did he deem himself in the least warranted to consider the proposition of the honourable baronet in the light which gentlemen opposite seemed to view it, he should be very sorry to be one of its supporters. He denied that, if granted, it would sacrifice the foreign trade of India, or, that it might be used as an engine for the destruction of the Company's charter. To him the arguments of his honourable friend for going into a committee appeared strong and irretrievable even the sturdy fact advanced by an honourable baronet who argued against the motion, was in his mind a strong additional inducement to the motion. He thought the affairs of India, from the situation of the Company, and the consideration of their debts, called for an inquiry. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, if he understood him, had said that the directors had given every practicable facility to the encouragement of the private trade, in his opinion, however, the directors had not given due encouragement to that description of traders under the act of 1793. He entertained none of those fears which some gentlemen seemed to cherish with respect to the adoption of the proposition, nor did he think that by it we should lose the sovereignty of the seas. The application was, not for an attack upon the charter, but only for an inquiry into a grievance, the existence of which was acknowledged by government, the board of control, the directors themselves, and a great number of proprietors. The object of the supporters of the motion was fair and laudable and its adoption would tend to the salvation

tion of the India Company, the general prosperity of the nation, and, above all, to the extension of her trade.

Mr TIERNEY apologised for troubling the house on a question already so fully discussed and observed, that his principal reason for saying any thing on the subject was merely to avoid giving a silent vote on the subject. The first ground on which he should oppose the motion, was the charter of the India Company, which vested in the court of directors the sole control in this affair; and, without violating that charter, and with it the faith of the nation on which it stood supported, it was impossible to comply with the motion of the worthy baronet. If he conceived there was any thing in that charter contrary to the public welfare, or that the motion before the house was calculated to remove any such principle in the privileges of the India Company, there was no man in the house less disposed than he was to be deterred by such *causes* as the phrase of "Chartered Rights, from according to the inquiry proposed. But neither proof nor argument had been adduced this night to convince him that any necessity for such inquiry existed. The bill for renewing the charter of the India Company had been drawn by an able hand, and by this bill a line was drawn, by which the limits of private and public trade with India were amicably adjusted by parliament. A regulation was in reality exacted from the Company in favour of private traders, by which three thousand ton of shipping was exclusively appointed for the convenience of the private trade, and discretionary powers vested in the court of directors to extend that quantity if occasion should require.

But now an attempt was made for opening that bill again to consideration, in his mind impolitic and unnecessary. Not a single petition came forward from any community or individual for the purpose, not one single remonstrance or proof was adduced, of any injury to any party, or necessity for amendment or redress. Where, then, were the assertions of the honourable baronet supported? Not by the public voice, for in all England there did not appear to be 500 persons in support of his opinion. At a court of proprietors, indeed, about 240 signatures were procured, and at other opportunities about 40 or 50 more. But was this a ground sufficient to warrant the house in bringing forward the inquiry proposed? A board of control had been appointed under the act, and the rates of freight settled at 15l per ton outward, and 11l home, subject to further revisions as occasion might require. But did it ever enter into the contemplation of any man, could the honourable baronet say, that India built shipping was intended by the act, or that, if such an idea had been offered at the time of passing the act, it would not have been decidedly rejected? Indeed, without the sanction of an act of parliament he thought it would be wholly inadmissible to treat of the subject. He remembered a proposition of the sort being brought forward by the India Company some years ago, and he well recollected the general alarm it created on both sides of the river. What was the claim set up by the men who now demanded such a privilege? Why no pretence of right, but a pretty plain menace, that if you refused them the privilege, they were ready to do the worst thing they possibly could—to employ the ships of 11-

valuations, a menace which in his mind did not go to entitle them to much indulgence from that house. The worthy baronet had sanctioned his proposal under the name and example of the marquis Wellesley. To that nobleman, high in character and learning, no man was more ready to pay respectful deference than he was, and, had the question been one of classical research, no man would have more cheerfully bowed submission to the judgement of the noble lord. But, upon the subject of the policy and regulation for the government of India, in which his lordship's experience was so extremely short at the time alluded to by the worthy baronet, he was not quite so ready to surrender his own judgement.—He had heard opinions with respect to that country asserted by honourable and right honourable members in that house, who assumed the profoundest knowledge of India affairs, which he had seen as frequently contradicted by events. The house had been told by a right honourable gentleman who introduced the East India charter, that this country would very shortly derive an aid of half a million a year from the India Company, in the rapidly rising prosperity of their affairs. He should have no objection to see the money brought forward; but, unfortunately for the prophet, his prediction was yet unfulfilled. He expressed his sincere regret that this question had ever been brought forward in parliament; but that rather, if concessions were to be made, they had not come cordially and spontaneously from the directors themselves, rather than seem to be the result of an appeal to parliament. Because in India, where every thing depends so much on opinion, it was an idea went forth, that the

servants of the Company were able to triumph over their masters in an appeal to parliament, there was no calculating the mischiefs that might ensue—for if once any subordinate power was allowed to make head against the court of directors, their authority would be at an end. If the use of India shipping was such a tower of strength to the servants of the Company, why not equally advantageous to the Company themselves? But, if once granted to the servants, he had the most serious fears for the extent of colonization in India. For, allowing that the agents were to obtain what they wished, would their claims end there? Would such claimants be content with what they now pretend is the full measure of their desires? If the charter of the Company were once attacked and laid open, what security would there remain for any exclusive privilege or regulation which now exists? It cheapens the conduct of the trade be the grand argument of the agents, consider to what it might go.—it might be found out that the trade was not carried on most advantageously to the port of London, it might be said that greater facilities, that cheaper warehouses, &c. could be obtained at Liverpool, at Glasgow or any other port of Great Britain or Ireland. New applications would be made; memorials and complaints would pour in on every side against the obstacles raised by the Company, and demanding new facilities, till the whole system of the India Company, and the present connexion of this country with India, was destroyed. These claimants would have the popular side of the question; they would hold out the captivating language of bringing all the trade of India to the port of London it would

would be said, that we might easily exclude foreigners from participating our advantages. London, they would say, would be rendered the emporium of all the world; and there would not be wanting those who would be charmed with those brilliant prospects. But in fact it was doubtful whether, if practicable, it was advantageous that foreigners should be deprived of their share in the trade. He saw no advantage in producing that envy and disgust among other nations which would render peace insecure. But, in fact, it was not possible to exclude foreigners. It was proved, that, though the private trade had increased, the trade of foreign nations with British India had increased likewise. Complaints had been made that the act of 1793 had not succeeded in its objects, and that now it was necessary to carry its spirit into effect. This, indeed, appeared a strange conclusion. For his part, on the face of it, there appeared to be ground to think that it had succeeded, and that in the very point of the private trade. It appeared that, in the year previous to the passing of that act, the private trade had amounted in value to about 800,000*l*. and now it had advanced to 2,300,000*l*. The danger of colonization, the increase of trade had an obvious tendency to render greater. The Company would naturally, therefore, be more careful in granting licenses for residence in their territories. But would it not be required that, with the increase of trade, a greater number of merchants should be fit India to carry it on? What bounds then could be set to the increase of resident merchants in India? It was true, that the circumstances of India and America were very unlike. In America every thing was wild

and uncultivated. In India every thing is made. Besides other establishments there was an army and, though the fidelity and merit of that army were indisputable, it ought not to be forgotten, that such were the habits of the Company's servants, that the military, among others, expected to profit by any new facilities of trade. Houses would be established, and become hereditary in India, with immense wealth. It was said that capital would find its way to England, it would go to the mother country. He did not doubt that it would seek the mother country, but in a new state of things, and new hereditary commercial establishments, it was not so easy to determine which was the mother country. — The real mother country is that where a man resides, that where he enjoys his advantages, and surely this view of the case would be most natural to those who profess to be guided merely by views of cheapness and superior gain. What certainty would there be of all Asiatic commerce centering in England, when those who now are so patriotically desirous of bringing it exclusively to the port of London, profess themselves ready, if they are disappointed in their aims, to carry that trade to other ports, for the temptation of the additional gain of 4 or 5 per cent. ? But in a more large and national point of view, was it nothing that English ship building was to be transferred to India? It was pretended, that the ship-builders in the Thames would be equally benefited by the repair of India-built ships coming to the river. Thus, however, was not well founded. He saw, on looking over a document on the case, that out of 200,000*l*. expended one year on ships of this descrip-

tion, not 20,000) was expended in articles that really belonged to ship-building. It was a very serious matter that the work of the ship-builders at home should be transferred to any other quarter. He had devoted considerable attention to the whole of this subject, and he had been informed, on good authority, that before the American war, the Company, in consequence of embarrassments, suspended their usual contracts for ships, in consequence of which there was an alarming emigration among the ship-builders, till at last the Company, with great liberality, agreed to lay down several ships for which they had no occasion, merely to prevent such a national calamity. Was it proper then to hazard a similar effect, by giving so much encouragement to India-built ships in the import of Indian produce? Nothing could justify it unless there was an absolute scarcity of English ship-timber, which he did not believe was much to be feared. Or, if this was the case, he had no objection that such wood, as timber, should be brought to this country in aid of our own growth. He could not consent, however, that India-built vessels should be set up in rivalry to our own shipping. But, though it was not likely that we should depend on foreign countries for navy timber, he did not see that there was so much to be dreaded from the scarcity of timber at home, as some might think. At present there were many things essential to the outfit of ships, which was as necessary as the hull for which we were obliged to depend upon foreign nations. Certainly, however, after the services of our dock yards at home, those concerned in them, as proprietors or workmen, might

have reason to complain if advantages against them were given to India-built ships, and it ought to be remembered how useful, on many occasions, the dock yards appropriated chiefly to East India shipping had been. It was known, that but very lately, during the alarm of invasion, 10 gun vessels had been built in some of those yards with extraordinary rapidity. But with respect even to the cheapness of India-built ships, he was not convinced. In the price of the timber alone could that cheapness consist, as most of the articles of outfit were sent out from this country. But granting that they might be cheaper, the India Company had offered to supply British tonnage even at a loss. But the agents contended, that the Company would ruin itself by such a proceeding, and were too generous to accept the offer! In his opinion, however, even if the Company lost a little, it would be more than compensated by the advantages accruing to British shipping. Upon the whole, when he considered the offers made by the Company, he thought the directors did not see too much, and too little. Every thing in India depended upon the opinion entertained of the Company's vigour and firmness. Their terms, he feared, would consider this already as a victory over them. The court of directors were accused of throwing difficulties in the way of the free trade, but he rather thought that their readiness to grant facilities produced unreasonable demands. If they were to shew that the agents should not triumph over them, he was strongly inclined to think that many of the difficulties now so loudly complained of, and exaggerated by their runners in all quarters, would vanish. Then English ships

ships and English tonnage would be found to have much fewer inconveniences, and India-built ships fewer of those superior advantages for which they were recommended. Having considered it his duty to pay a good deal of attention to this important subject, he had thus stated his sentiments on a few points, and should have commented on several others had they not already been so ably argued. On the whole he was decidedly against the motion.

LORD GLENBERRIE differed from his honourable friend who had just sat down, respecting the agitation of the present question. He was of opinion, that the notice of the motion had no doubt contributed to suggest that liberality on the part of the Company to meet the wishes of the merchants, which had been announced from high authority. Nay, the departure of the court of directors from the strict letter of the act of 1793, proved that they were not of the sentiment, that by the strict rigour of that law they were to be governed, especially when advantages could be extended to private trade, without injuring their own exclusive rights, and the public interest. — The argument of his honourable friend against the authority of the late president of the board of control in this affair, appeared by no means conclusive. Was it a proof that the object of that right honourable gentleman, the framer of the act of 1793, had failed, because experience had shown that after a lapse of eight years the quantity of tonnage allowed, and the mode of carrying on the private trade recognised, were not sufficient for the fair demands of that trade, demands which the propositions now submitted by the Company showed to be, in a certain degree, reasonable?

With respect to India built ships, he must in the first place remark, that he could not see that in point of law those ships were not entitled to all the privilege of British built ships: and if a clause had been introduced in a particular act, by which they were declared capable of bringing home India produce, any doubt on the subject arose from the want, in India, of those officers whose certificate of registry was necessary, under the act called Lord Hawkbury's act, to secure the privilege of ships built in the British settlements, the right he conceived, could not be disputed, and it had long since been found, by legal decision, that a ship built at Surat was on the footing of British-built vessels. He might perhaps differ from his honourable friend likewise as to the cheapness of teak ships, but, in all events, from the opinion of the best judges, the admiralty, and a commission appointed to report on the subject, there was too much reason to apprehend a scarcity of ship timber, the growth of this country, and therefore it was politic to save it as much as possible. It was ascertained, too, that teak ships were in many respects superior to oak, particularly as they were lighter in the water, and more durable, so that they might be considered as cheaper. His lordship then alluded to the paragraphs in the dispatches of the court of directors to the governor general, which the board of control had been of opinion should not be sent out. He had concurred in that opinion, and the agitation of the question in discussion was the reason why he thought they should not be sent out last session. It appeared to his mind still, that since the correspondence of the board of commissioners with the court of directors, and particularly since

Since the first notice of this motion given by the honourable baronet, enough had been made out, enough had been admitted by the Company, to shew that a parliamentary inquiry might be necessary. An inquiry, however, he always thought was a thing to be avoided, if possible, as there was no saying to what lengths it might go, but now he conceived that the reasons for inquiry had ceased. The propositions made by the court of directors agreed that the trade should for two years be allowed to be brought home in tonnage now in India. This permission given to the private trade would evince what would be proper to be done in future. It would try the effect of the peace. He hoped that it was reasonable to look forward to two years of peace, and though, doubtless, the possibility of future war between this country and France was not to be placed out of view, he thought it unpleasant to anticipate war at a near period, and to view the peace as altogether unsafe. It on trial it was found that the indulgence granted by the Company did not injure its interests, a system of regulations, to continue during the existence of the charter, might then be adopted. For the present, however, all ground for inquiry was removed, not only by this offer, but by that other one by which the merchants were to be at liberty to offer tenders to the Company for India shipping. This, however, was not a condition of the other proposition, for allowing the private trade to be brought home for two years, the merchants were at liberty to accept the one without availing themselves of the other. Upon the whole, therefore, he should vote for the present question.

Mr. R. Tulkington-remarked

upon the terms in which the honourable baronet had spoken of the directors, calling them an *aristocracy*, &c. He said, that the directors were all men who acted from no improper motives of advantage or patronage that they had a laborious duty to perform, and they performed it with conscientiousness. It surely was a presumption that they were convinced of the justice, policy, and rectitude of their proceedings, when thirty gentlemen, in no conspiracy against the public interest, concurred in their views. He contended, that the regulated monopoly of the Company was the only way of rendering the British empire in India beneficial to the state. He remarked also, that it was very singular that, though the merchants complained of want of facilities, they had in no one year occupied the quantity of 8000 tons allotted to them, and it was a proof of the liberality of the directors, that they did not insist upon the strict letter of the act of 1793, but were ready to give any indulgences to private trade not incompatible with the interest of the great body for whom they were trustees.

Sir JAMES MURRAY PULTENEY declared, that his views in promoting the extension of the private trade, as well as those of his honourable relation, were chiefly to prevent the injury which the country must sustain from too great encouragement being given to foreign trade in India, and the only way to prevent that, would be to afford a greater facility to the British capitalist to carry on private trade in India-built ships. The interest of the Company, as well as that of individuals, would be promoted by such a plan. It was said, that the court of directors were ready to per-

mit this private trade, but it was also in their power to prevent it, and that was the grievance chiefly complained of.

Sir WM. POLTENEY, in reply, admitted that the propositions which had been read by the Chancellor of the exchequer contained in appearance considerable concessions; but, when examined, they would be found to fall greatly short. Permission was to be given for the merchants in India to send home for two years their produce in India ships, but the first year it was already known that the ships were coming home with produce, and for the second year it was known that for a great part of the shipping in the Red Sea, to which the indulgence was extended, *marquis Wellesley* had actually stipulated this permission, on account of their services in the expedition, and it would no doubt have appeared invidious, if more tonnage than that in the Red Sea should be wanted, that the governor-general should refuse his permission for employing an additional quantity. The next point was, what was to be done after those two years? On this head he did not see that the propositions came up to the just demands of the case. The merchants were allowed to make *transit* here of shipping to be sent home from India, but as so much time must elapse in the correspondence with India on the subject, and the quantities of tonnage required might so vary in the interval, much inconvenience might arise. Besides, although for the first two years the merchants were allowed to load and average their own cargoes, in future their goods were to go through the Company's warehouses, and be shipped by their servants — inconveniences which would be extremely felt, and which

greatly diminished the value of the indulgence, and, in fact, by this reservation the Company might throw those obstacles in the way of the private trade, which there was too much reason to believe it was their wish to do. With respect to the tenders of India tonnage to be made here to the court of directors, he conceived the number of eight years, for which the ships were to be engaged, was a disadvantage. To a fixed public company such a condition might be advantageous, but it could not be so to the private merchant, whose views, interests, and speculations might so greatly vary during that period. Indeed he could not help thinking the propositions of the directors illusory, and as showing a determined disposition to withhold every facility from the private trade. So much was this his opinion, that he saw no prospect of an arrangement on the present footing, but confidently believed that the matter must again come before parliament for its intervention. The chancellor of the exchequer himself thought, that if no satisfaction had been given by the court of directors, parliament might have interferred to carry into effect the act of 1793. For his own part, he not only thought it competent to parliament to interfere, but that it was called on to give efficiency to the spirit and intent of its own act. It was a different case from that of a judge interpreting law, parliament had a right to take means to carry into execution what clearly were its own views. That the spirit of the act was such as he contended for, Sir William showed, by reading a letter from Mr. Dundas to Mr. Henchman, in which the right honourable gentleman says, that if the present dispute *did not* all come under

consideration, it would have formed the subject of an express clause in the act of 1793. So far the intention of the legislature was clear, from the opinion of the author of the measure. It was absurd, therefore, to talk of throwing the trade open, and predicting so many dangerous consequences from what was clearly the policy of the act renewing the Company's charter. With respect to the quantity of tonnage provided by the act of 1793, not being made use of by the merchants, the reason was obvious. The rate of freight was so high, that it would have been ruinous for the merchants to ship. From an authentic paper he showed, that, in 1798, the freight charged by the Company was 52l while foreign bottoms could at the same time be procured in the port of Calcutta at the rate of 16l per ton.—Upon the whole of the case, he was clearly of opinion, that it was necessary that the subject should again come to parliament before the lapse of the two years. It was necessary for the merchants to know what they had to look to, that they might be enabled to adopt arrangements accordingly. They could not trust to the uncertainties under which things were now left, and they must be obliged to come to parliament for a permanent and more equitable regulation, if it was not to be obtained from the policy and justice of the Company.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, he was anxious that the sentiment ascribed to him by the honourable baronet should not be misunderstood. He would not have resisted the intervention of parliament if there had appeared any disinclination on the part of the directors to carry into effect the true intent and meaning of the act of 1793, though he believed he dis-

fered materially from the honourable baronet as to what that extent and meaning was.

The previous question was carried without a division.

DECEMBER 9

The report of the committee upon the regulations for India judicature was brought up. Mr ALEXANDER presented the report, which contained the lists of the members elected by ballot to constitute the first judicature. After stating, that the names of all persons holding any civil office under the crown, or the office of a commissioner for the affairs of India, or holding any appointment in the service of the East India Company, had been struck out pursuant to the orders of parliament,

The following names were then read, of the members elected

Lord visc. Castlereagh, Francis Annesley, esq., Wm Baker esq., lord visc. Clifden, sir J. Parkhill bart, hon W H Bouverie, I W Brampton, esq., John Calcraft esq., W R Cartwright esq., William Curran esq., lord visc. Sudley, sir W Ellord bart, sir J Frederick, bart, sir Law Parsons, bart, Thomas Stanley esq., sir W Geary bart, sir F C Hartopp bart, sir E. Knatchbull, bart, hon H Lascelles, lord visc. Marham Wm Miford esq., W Montagu Pitt, esq., sir W Pulteney bart, hon. Richard Ryder, J H Strutt, esq., Charles Adams, esq., Hon W A Townsend, lord visc. Cole, hon J S Wortley, Edward Lee, esq., sir J Stuart, bart, William Plumer, esq.

HOUSE OF LORDS

FEBRUARY 26

Lord MORRIS brought forward the subject of the recent transaction at Madras, relative to the nominated successor of the late nabob of the Carnatic, OMDUT UL OMRAH His lordship said, that, previous to their lordships

lordships proceeding to the order of the day, he begged leave to put a question to his majesty's minister, relative to a subject which had very much interested himself, and he believed great numbers of the public also. He had no doubt, from the well known politeness of the noble lord opposite to him, that he would readily answer any questions that he might put to him on that head in private, but he felt it his duty, on the present occasion, to put the question publicly, because he was convinced, that the answer being equally public, might tend to remove from the minds of many persons very uneasy sensations. He meant to allude, his lordship said, to a very important measure which had taken place in the East Indies, the deposition of the son of the nabob of Arcot, this step was certainly an infringement of two existing treaties between his father and this country, and, as the faith of this country was a pledge of the highest consequence, was, in his opinion, a subject of the most serious consideration. His lordship begged it to be understood, that he did not mean to cast the slightest or most distant imputation on his majesty's ministers, that nothing had on this subject as yet transpired from them, it was equally far from his intention to throw any embarrassment in the way of ministers, nor would he press any thing on it at present, he only begged the noble lord would inform the house, whether the subject was under the consideration of his majesty's ministers, and whether any thing would be brought forward on it?

LORD HOWART said, that he could have no objection to giving the noble lord every information in his power, to the extent his lordship had required. He coincided

in opinion with the noble lord, that the subject was of the highest importance, and he could assure the noble lord and the house, that no determination would be come to upon it, but on the most serious and mature deliberation and investigation. He could not, however, sit down without observing to the noble lord and the house, that the most serious part of that consideration would be due to the point mentioned by the noble lord, as to the measure being an infringement of any of the treaties existing with this country. For his own part, he differed altogether with the noble lord on this point, and thought it no infraction of any treaty whatever.

EARL MOIRA professed himself satisfied with what had been stated by the noble lord.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MARCH 4

The Reduction of the Establishment at BENCOCLEN to a Factory, and to transfer its Servants of that Presidency to MADRAS.

MR WILLIAM DUNDAS moved the order of the day for the second reading of the bill for enabling the East India Company to transfer their servants at Fort Marlborough, in Bencoolen, from thence to Madras.

On the question for reading the bill a second time,

MR WILLIAM DUNDAS said, that in consequence of what had fallen from an honourable gentleman (Mr Johnstone) on a preceding evening, he wished to state to the house, in a few words, the nature and object of the bill, and he was convinced, that when the house was fully informed upon the subject, they would at once see the propriety of the bill. He would

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first, however, observe, that he had no private affection for the bill, but that it had come to him in consequence of the unanimous resolution of the court of directors of the East India Company. The expense of the establishment in Bencoolen had been from 100,000*l* to 120,000*l* without any adequate return for this expenditure, the object therefore was, to reduce this establishment to a factory, whereby a saving would be made of 80,000*l*. The court of directors certainly might themselves have done this without coming to parliament, but in that case the servants at this establishment must have been left without any provision. It surely would not be contended, that those men, who had passed their days in the service of the Company, were at last to be discharged without any provision whatever. The question was, therefore, to what place they were to be transferred? The honourable gentleman had suggested, that they might be transferred to Prince of Wales's Island, or to Ceylon, but in both of those places there were the greatest objection. The honourable member had, however, contended, that to transfer them to Madras would be a breach of national faith, because it would unjustly deteriorate the situation of those of the Company's servants who were already stationed at Madras. It should be recollected that since the year 1798, the East India Company had made large acquisitions of territory in Mysore, from which their servants at Madras had derived the greatest advantages, which they had no right previously to expect, and he could not see what objection there could now be to the transfer of a few additional servants to that presidency. The revenues of the presidency of Madras

had very materially increased since the year 1793, at which period the number of servants there was 178, the number at present was 207, but if they were increased in proportion to the increase of the revenues, the number ought to be 287, where then could be the objection to transfer a few additional servants thither? The servants who were to be transferred were to lose five years rank on being sent to Madras, and he could not conceive how their transfer could injure the rights or the just expectations of the Company's servants at Madras. He wished to press upon the house, that the object of this bill was to save 80,000*l* to the East India Company, which was now expended on a superfluous establishment.

Mr JOHNSTONE said, if the house was really reduced to the alternative of either passing this bill, or that of the Company losing 80,000*l* he would not hesitate a moment in giving it his support. The house would recollect that they had formerly a very flourishing statement of the affairs of the East India Company given them, which turned out to be fallacious, as they could not go on without solid and substantial reforms. He admitted in this case, that the expenses of Bencoolen were 120,000*l* but of this 60,000*l* was appropriated to military expenses, 20,000*l* to certain charge relative to the fortifications, and only the remaining 40,000*l* was applied to the civil establishment. Of this sum of 40,000*l* only 15,000*l* was appropriated to the payment of salaries. In the proposed establishment of a factory, there was to be a resident with a salary of 3000*l* and five assistants, at an expense of 2000*l* amounting together to 3000*l*, the saving, therefore, would not be 80,000*l*.

80,000l but only 10,000l. He could not agree, that, for the sake of saving 10,000l the house ought to pass a bill which went to violate the public faith pledged to the Company's servants at Madras. By the India bill several regulations had been established relative to the Company's servants, among the rest, that they should rise by seniority, and should only be allowed to enter the service at an early period of life in order that they might devote their whole time to the Company's service, and that those experienced in the affairs of the Company might be appointed to high situations. The public faith was therefore pledged to the Company's servants at each establishment for the fulfilment of their fair expectations, and he could not consent, for the sake of saving so small a sum, to violate that faith. The honourable gentleman had said, that the number of the Company's servants at Madras was smaller than it ought to be in proportion to the revenue of that presidency, but if it was in contemplation to increase it, a junction should take place between the presidencies of Bombay and Madras, and there could be no doubt that the number of servants would then be amply sufficient, as there would be at least four hundred. He saw no reason why the servants who were the objects of the bill might not be transferred to the Prince of Wales's Island, or to Ceylon, instead of Madras. For all these reasons he was hostile to the bill, though he should not oppose its going into a committee, where he should propose certain clauses to meet his ideas upon the subject. If, however, the honourable gentleman could clearly shew that 80,000l would be saved

by passing the present bill, he would not any longer object to it.

Mr WALLACE said, as the honourable gentleman did not oppose the bill's going to a committee, he should trouble the house with only a few words on the subject. The object of the bill was, to save to the East India Company a considerable expense. The honourable gentleman had, however, denied that the sum stated by the honourable gentleman who brought forward the bill, could be saved by its operation. The honourable gentleman (Mr Johnstone) had confined his argument on this head, to the civil expenditure of Bencoolen, denying that any saving would accrue under this bill in the military expenses, but, surely, it must be evident that the military expenses must be in proportion to the establishment kept up and if, as it was intended, Fort Marlborough was to be reduced to a factory, there would necessarily be a considerable saving in the military expenditure. He would agree with the honourable gentleman so far, that the saving would not be so great as had been said, but, at the same time, it was considerably larger than it had been stated by the honourable gentleman. He would take it, during a period of peace, at 28,000l and in war at 66,000l. The average of which, taking one year of war and another of peace, would be 62,000l. He could not conceive how this bill could affect the rights or just expectations of the Company's servants at Madras. The honourable gentleman had stated, that, by the act of parliament on that subject, the Company's servants must rise by seniority, but it should be recollected, that seniority gave no absolute claim, the Company were at

full liberty to make a choice, wherever they found merit or experience to justify that choice. These men, whom it was proposed to transfer, were to be deprived of five years rank, they were very few in number, and how the addition of so small a number, under such circumstances, to the numerous body of the Company's servants at Madras, would seriously affect the rights or interests of that body, he was at a loss to imagine. It had been said, that they might be sent to the Prince of Wales's island, but he could not understand how they could be established there, unless as servants of the Crown, amenable to the Company, which would be absurd. But it was urged, they might be sent to Ceylon, in that island, however, no servant of the Company could stay without seriously injuring those prospects which he had a right to entertain. It was not because the establishment of Bencoolen was subverted, that therefore the just claims of the servants were not to be attended to, and he considered the object of this bill to be perfectly consistent with propriety and justice.

Mr METCALF said, that he had no doubt the honourable gentleman (Mr Johnstone) was only actuated by a desire to preserve the rights of the establishment of Madras, but he trusted the house would readily believe that the executive body of the East India Company were equally attentive to those rights, that nothing might be wanting to the justice due to those rights, the court of directors had sent notice to the establishment at Madras, that they intended to apply to parliament to remove these servants who were the objects of the present bill. It was impossible that the act alluded

to by the honourable gentleman (Mr Johnstone) could apply to the present case, as it could not have in contemplation such a circumstance. It was true, the East India Company had received a great accession of territory, and the court of directors might, if they had pleased, have made Mytore a new presidency, but they rather chose to give up the patronage which such an act would have conferred upon them, and to apply to parliament in the manner in which they had now done. The honourable gentleman had said, that these men might be sent to Ceylon if the honourable gentleman could prevail on the Crown to give up Ceylon to the East India Company, it might indeed be done, but it surely would not be decorous, in the present instance, to propose to send them to an island belonging to the Crown. The Prince of Wales's island, which had been mentioned, was a residency under the presidency of Bengal. These servants were, as it had been said, to be transferred with the loss of five years rank, and those members of the establishment of Madras, who looked at these men with the most jealous eye, must be aware that they were not likely, for a considerable time, to obtain any lucrative office. As to the senior and junior merchants of Bencoolen, they were more likely to come to England than to go to a new settlement. The honourable gentleman had said, he would support the bill, if it could be proved that it would save 80,000*l* to the Company, but not if it would only save 10,000*l*, he (Mr Metcalf) could not see any difference in the principle, whether the sum to be saved was 80,000*l* or 10,000*l*.

Mr D SCOTT said, that the ground upon which this bill was formed,

formed, was, that the Company had found that the expense of the settlement of Bencoolen very far exceeded any advantage that could be derived from it. He was sure, when the house came to consider the justice of the case, they would think that it would be very hard to turn off meritorious servants of the Company without any provision whatever. As to sending them to Ceylon, that had been shewn to be impossible; besides, if it were not, the salaries in that island were so small, that the Company's servants could not go there. The highest salary there was only 800*l*. a year, but in the Company's service, a man, according to the number of years he had been employed, had from three to eight thousand a year. It had been suggested that Government had all the patronage of Ceylon, and that the East India Company defrayed the expense of the establishment; but this was not correct, as the island was solely in the hands of government.

Mr TIERNEY was far from attributing to the East India Company, upon this occasion, any thing like a job, as had been insinuated, but he could not omit this opportunity of congratulating the right honourable gentleman opposite to him (Mr W Dundas) upon the sudden gleam of economy which he had displayed, and could only lament, that, during the seventeen years that the right honourable gentleman had been in office, he had not before displayed a similar disposition, for it appeared from the statements which had been made, that there would have been ample room for it. He could not, however, avoid asking what were the causes which rendered this sudden display of patriotism necessary? So long ago as 1780, plans had been adopted for

reducing the expense of this establishment, but, instead of a reduction, the expense amounted in the year 1796 to 60,000*l*. a-year, and he should be glad to know, how it happened that since that time the expense had nearly doubled. He, therefore, could not congratulate the right honourable gentleman upon his present plans of economy, without censuring him for his past conduct, for he was of opinion that the past expense was most scandalous. He was of opinion, that the Company's servants in Bencoolen were hardly dealt by in this bill, for at least they ought to have the alternative of accepting a pension to the amount of their present salaries, or of going to Madras. He was undoubtedly a friend to economy, but he thought the best economy in such a case was to take away all grounds of jealousy and uneasiness from the Company's servants. Now, by adopting this measure, he was not sure that it would not create a great alarm among the persons employed in India, because they might be removed at pleasure. He was aware of the difficulty of sending those persons to Ceylon, but he thought that difficulty might have been obviated by a proper understanding between the Company and his majesty's ministers; and therefore he was the more justified in thinking that the right honourable gentleman's plan of economy came rather late, for it did not come until all the offices in that island were disposed of.

Mr W DUNDAS said, there could be no objection, that he was aware of, to allowing the Company's servants at Bencoolen to retire, if they preferred it, upon pensions. With regard to the other parts of the honourable gentleman's speech, he begged to say one word

in explanation, in perfect good temper. The honourable gentleman had said, that he (Mr Dundas) had held his present office for seventeen years, whereas, in point of fact, he had only been in that situation for four years, therefore it was rather hard to make him responsible for that which happened before he came into office.

Mr METCALF rose, merely to explain something that fell from an honourable friend of his opposite to him (Mr D Scott), respecting the salaries of the Company's servants in India. The house might be led to suppose, from what had fallen from his honourable friend, that after a certain number of years service in India, the Company's servants were entitled to the salaries he had mentioned, whereas, in fact, they must have been a certain number of years in India before they were *entitled to hold places*, but they might be many years there without being fortunate enough to *obtain them*.

The bill was then read a second time, and was ordered to be committed on Monday.

MARCH 5

The house then went into a committee upon the bill empowering the East India Company to transfer their servants from Bencoolen to Madras, &c.

Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY objected to that part of the bill by which the servants of the Company, and the senior and junior merchants, transferred from Bencoolen, were to lose five years rank, because, he said, it might happen that those servants, and the senior and junior merchants, might thereby take rank above a number of others of the same description at Madras. The law had established, that the Com-

pany's servants at Madras should rise by seniority, such a provision as the present would tend to alter that law, and therefore he could not consent to it. It was his opinion, that the Company's servants, and the senior and junior merchants who were to be transferred from Bencoolen, should be placed at the bottom of the respective lists for 1801 at Madras, and that they should have an option either to go to Madras upon that condition, or retire upon full pay.

Mr WALLACE thought that the bill, as it stood, would answer the object of the honourable baronet better than the amendment, as by the former a senior merchant, losing five years rank, might in consequence of that become junior merchant at Madras, but by the amendment he would be still a senior merchant, and take place of all the junior merchants.

Colonel WOOD thought it was a peculiar hardship upon the Company's servants at Bencoolen to be transferred to Madras, and to be deprived in consequence of five or six years rank. He thought that it had better be left to the court of directors to make such regulations relative to this subject as they should deem expedient, and that it did not require the interference of parliament.

Mr JOHNSON said, he could not see any injustice arising out of the present measure towards the Company's servants at Bencoolen, but a hardship on those at Madras. The law had provided against supercession among the Company's servants at Madras; but this bill went to alter that law, and to interfere with those prospects which they were justly entitled to entertain. He would not, however, say more upon that subject at the present moment,

as he did not wish to interrupt the business of the committee, and as a future stage of the business of the bill would be the proper time to discuss its principle.

Mr WILLIAM DUNDAS said, it could not be contended that the Company's servants at Bencoolen were, after all their exertions, to be left without provision. It was contended, that by transferring them to Madras the prospects of the Company's servants there would be injured, as the number of candidates would be increased, but it should be recollected that only twelve persons were to be transferred, and that an accession of territory much greater in proportion had been acquired by the East India Company, from which their servants at Madras had derived great advantage. add to this, that the court of directors had notified their intention of bringing this measure before parliament, to their servants at Madras, twelve months ago.

Colonel Wood again adverted to the hardship which he conceived would result to the Company's servants at Bencoolen.

Mr JOHNSTONE said, that in answer to what had been urged by the right honourable gentleman (Mr William Dundas) relative to the accession of territory acquired by the Company, he thought it necessary to observe, that it had been in contemplation to unite the presidencies of Bombay and Madras in which case territory would be by no means disproportioned to the number of the Company's servants who would then be upon the lists of those united presidencies. As to the advantages derived by the Company's servants from this accession of territory, he thought

they ought to be fairly balanced against the disadvantages they had formerly suffered, particularly when Hydr Ali ravaged the Carnatic.

Mr WALLACE thought there could be no possible objection, on the part of the Company's servants at Madras, to the present measure, even though the presidencies of Bombay and Madras were united, nor could any injustice result to them. As to the Company's servants at Bencoolen, there could be no hardship to them, as they had their option, either to retire and receive their pay, or to go to Madras upon the proposed condition.

Colonel Wood said, he only adverted to the hardships of the servants at Bencoolen in case they were to be compelled to go to Madras and to lose five years rank.

Mr WALLACE explained.

Sir WILLIAM PULTNEY then moved an amendment, according to the opinion he had before delivered, which was agreed to.

MARCH 11.

The order of the day being read for going into a committee on the Bencoolen settlement bill,

Mr JONES said, he approved of this bill, because he understood it was but the commencement of a much larger plan of reform, and he hoped it was so, because he was sure, in the present situation of the East India Company, they ought to use every plan of reform and economy. He had on a former occasion stated the debts of the Company at twenty millions sterling, and he now had reason to think they amounted to twenty two millions. he was therefore glad that the right honourable gentleman had brought forward the measure, and he hoped he

he would not stop here, but bring in two or three other bills of a similar tendency.

The house then went into the committee.

Colonel Wood objected to the clause which enacted that the Company's servants transferred from Bencoolen to Madras should not rise above a certain rank.

Mr W DUNDAS supported the clause, which was agreed to.

Mr W DUNDAS proposed a clause for allowing the Company's present servants at Bencoolen the alternative either of accepting the amount of their present salaries, or of going to Madras.

Mr METCALF objected to this clause, he said it would be better to leave it to the court of directors, and he was apprehensive that this might be converted into a precedent.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, the object of this clause was, to prevent the East India Company's servants at Bencoolen from sustaining an injury in consequence of the regulations which were about to take place. The effect of giving them this alternative would bring the question to the test. If they thought it more for their advantage to go to Madras, undoubtedly they would go there, and not accept the other alternative, if they were of opinion that going to Madras would be injurious to them, it certainly would be hard to deprive them of their present situations, without any misconduct on their part, without allowing them some indemnity.

Mr GOLDBRING said, the Company's servants had different kinds of salaries, the one attached to their rank, which was trifling, the other attached to their office, which was very considerable.

Mr R THORNTON was of opinion, that this clause would not, as had been stated, bring the point to the test, because many of the Company's servants at Bencoolen might choose to retire and by this means they would obtain pensions, which they would not otherwise be entitled to.

Mr METCALF again objected to this regulation being made the subject of a legislative provision, because, he said, it might, upon other occasions, be drawn into a precedent.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, there could be no danger of this being drawn into a precedent, because this was a parliamentary proceeding. The court of directors would not, upon other occasions, be bound to act upon it as a precedent, an appeal must be made to parliament for that purpose. It had been said, that this point ought to be left to the liberality of the court of directors. He had as high an opinion of the court of directors as any man could have, but when no complaint had been made against the conduct of those servants at Bencoolen, he thought that parliament ought not to leave them to the discretion of any body of men whatever.

After a few words from Mr Hobhouse, the clause was agreed to, and the bill went through the committee, and was ordered to be engrossed.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

APRIL 8

The Earl of Moira recalled to the recollection of their lordships a notice that he had some time before given, of an intended motion for inquiring into the causes which lately induced the deposition of the young

young nabob of Arcot by the East India Company, in at least apparent violation of the faith of two solemn and subsisting treaties. Considering the impression which this occurrence had made upon the public mind, he thought it a subject, the discussion of which ought not, without good reason, to be any longer delayed, but understanding that important dispatches relating to that business were shortly expected, he would defer his motion till such time as they might be received.

LORD GREENVILLE declared, that as he prided himself on being the friend and admirer of the two noble lords principally concerned in this transaction, (the Marquis of Wellesley and Lord Clive) and having had an opportunity of being acquainted with most of the circumstances which led to it, he, as well as others, would be found always ready to defend the grounds of the conduct of those very meritorious noblemen, whose services had already deserved and obtained their thanks and gratitude.

The Earl of MORA replied, that had the noble lord been present at the time when the matter was first brought under the consideration of the house, he would not have criminated him with the suspicion of throwing any imputation on either the character or conduct of the noble persons alluded to, with whom he had also the honour of being personally acquainted, and equally respected both in their public and their private lives. He supposed the noble lord's information was confined to some loose report of a newspaper, but had he been at the trouble of making inquiry of any of those peers who were present, he might have known that he had not indulged in any such insinuations: so far from doing so, he had rather

taken it for granted, that their proceedings on the occasion had been dictated by necessity, and indispensable to the public convenience and advantage. This, however, was no reason why the public uneasiness should not be set at rest. "If (said he) your lordships yourselves, who must be supposed to possess superior information respecting those objects, have yet no satisfactory acquaintance with it, how much more unintelligible must it be to the crowd and mass of the public in general? I am led, from the misunderstanding of the noble lord who spoke last, to say a little more upon the subject than I at first intended. We are all apprized, that there were two treaties with the late nabob of Arcot, by which he became the ally of the East India Company. At his death, the young prince, next in propinquity, and having his title further sanctioned by the will of his father, succeeded to the sovereignty. The East-India Company itself recognized his right of succession, which it admitted in the demand by which it called upon him to resign into the hands of others the collection of his revenues, and all jurisdiction within his territories. Thus the young prince declined to comply with, as derogating from his authority, and inconsistent with his duty to his people. The consequence was, that the prince was deposed by that very Company which recognized his right, and replaced by another person more remote in point of consanguinity. This is all the information that has hitherto reached us on the subject, and its aspect alone is not call for an inquiry. I do not say that the proceeding may not be justified by the necessity of circumstances, and the interests as well as the convenience of our affairs in that quarter; but I am certain

certain that this house has a right to entertain the inquiry, and that the public mind should be satisfied in regard to it. At the same time, however, I must require, and insist on not being represented as attaching, from any information yet before us, any blame whatever to the conduct of two noblemen whom I esteem as much as the noble lord that preceded me, or any other person whatever.

LORD GRENVILLE, in answer, expressed his satisfaction in admitting the fairness of what had been stated by the noble earl. He hoped the example of moderation which he set would be imitated by others, and that the measures adopted in regard to the Indian prince alluded to, would not be condemned or censured before the arrival of those public documents, which he made no doubt would fully and completely justify them.

Here the conversation ended.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

MAY 12

DR LAURENCE rose and said, that, having given way for some days past, to public and private business, he was happy to find himself at length at liberty to make the motion of which he had given notice. Nothing had passed on any other day, or on this, (notwithstanding the flattering picture that had been given of the state of public credit in the sister kingdom,) that could induce him to abandon the opinion he entertained, that the treaty of peace lately signed was, in many respects, most fatal to the interest of the country. Let any person consider of what importance to this country were its possessions in the East, and let him at the same time consider how the security and

well being of these possessions were endangered by the non renewal of the treaties by which they were heretofore protected. Let it be considered what advantages were given to the enemy by this neglect, or omission, or by whatever other name it was to be called, advantages which the enemy himself already exaggerated. He would content himself with a confined and limited consideration of the dangers to which our possessions in the East were exposed, though perhaps the whole were involved. He moved for information, not so much for himself as for the House, he required explanation, that the house might accept it where it should appear satisfactory, and he entered into discussion, that the facts might be fairly ascertained, so that when the house should come to debate on another day the most extensive and important subject that had ever been before it, Gentlemen might not be involved in assertions, contradictions, and errors. If, in his attempt to explain this subject to the house, he should fall short, he was happy that there were persons present who, from the share that they had taken in the transactions of India, were fully adequate to make up any deficiency on his part. He saw a noble lord (Hawkesbury) smile, but if he had any conception of the magnitude of the interests which he had bartered away, he must be satisfied that such gaiety but ill became him. The treaties between this country and France, and Holland, relative to India, were few and short, but as the countries* to which they related were so distant, it was hardly possible that gentlemen could be so clear as to the necessity and effect of their particular provisions, as of those of the treaties affecting the contiguous countries

tries of Europe. When we were but simple merchants trading to the East, as all the nations of Europe had been previous to the conquests made by this country, a barren rock on the coast of Newfoundland was held to be an object of more importance then, than the settlement of Madras, the most valuable of the part of India where it was situated. From simple merchants we had advanced to the exercise of a delegated authority under the people of the country, in time our authority became paramount, and a people which was found capable of instructing the Greeks, when the Greeks conquered it, became nothing in their own country. Wherever the rights of others had been invaded, he should not hesitate to condemn that invader. The authority of this country was substituted for that of the Great Mogul. He hoped that when he was forced to give an opinion on that substitution, he should give a sincere and honest opinion, but till called upon he should give no opinion. There was a question to come shortly before the house, in the discussion of which this matter might be somewhat elucidated, for the present, he should only disclaim the necessity of being the advocate of every thing that this country might have chosen to do. It was now necessary to see what rights had been asserted, though for his part he acknowledged no rights, to see what claims had been set up by France and Holland, and how those claims had been urged, to see what the triumphant treaty of 1763 had done for the adjustment of these claims. First, as to what related to Coromandel. France in that treaty renounced all the acquisitions she had made on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa since 1749. It had been

said, that papers were unnecessary in debating a subject like this, but that the history was sufficient. With pleasure and delight he appealed to a history so honourable as that of the period of which he now spoke. We were then unassuming merchants, trading to the East, but perhaps more firmly established than now, when the people of the country were disgusted with our ambitious encroachments. We were then satisfied with a neutrality, but the French, whose power was become more dangerous as it was more extended, were not so moderate. Dupleix, the first European governor who assumed the style of an eastern prince, invaded our rights, and roused exertions which succeeded in repelling him. In Bengal, at the same period, in consequence of a similar aggression, we had made a like exertion to vindicate ourselves, and by that exertion had acquired power. The French had acquired some power in Coromandel, and the five northern circuits of which we afterwards obtained a grant from the Mogul. By this grant our title was superior to theirs. They had, by subsequent treaties, formerly renounced their claim, but, by the present treaty, that renunciation was done away, and a door opened for future contention. He came now to Bengal. The French king had consented to keep no troops, and to erect no fortifications on that coast, there was now nothing to hinder the French from doing so. There was no natural reason why they should not fortify themselves, and endeavour to render their establishments as secure as possible. It was true, the sovereign of the country might object if these fortifications were carried to any improper length, [*cry of Hear! hear! from the ministerial bench.*] but would

would the attempt to fortify be deemed a sufficient cause for war? There was no prohibition from fortifying in the present treaty. By former treaties the French had acknowledged Mahommed Ali as sovereign of the Carnatic, and consequently had subscribed to our authority possibly even from that family some persons might now be found whose title could be set up in opposition to ours. The stipulation in 1763, that no fortifications should be erected on the coast of Bengal, was so scrupulously adhered to in the negotiation of 1783, that when a stipulation was made for a ditch to carry off the water from the fort of Chandernagore, a jealousy arose, and it was not without a critical explanation, and a full security that nothing further would be attempted, that permission was given, and the delay arising from the arrangement of this matter was the excuse stated by the secretary of state for not bringing the definitive treaty to a more speedy conclusion. The jurisdiction of the factories may, on the ground of application for the surrender of persons taking refuge in them, again produce contention. The convention of 1787 granted a general exemption to all factories, and a general jurisdiction over all persons within certain limits. The omission of any regulation to this effect in the present treaty, might renew the ancient jealousies. Independent of this, there were many claims and pretensions arising out of the trade itself. The French, even when they were admitted to trade under our protection, refused to allow us to regulate their trade, and insisted on carrying it on in their own way, so that no advantage could be derived from it to the revenue of the Company, which, when the collection was at-

tempted to be enforced, they often resisted with force. A perpetual correspondence was carried on, on the subject of these aggressions, so numerous, and filled with facts so numerous, that a whole session would not be sufficient for the detail. The first objection to the treaty was in 1765, when Chandernagore was given up. Mr Law objected against the strict enforcement of the treaty, and required permission to make lodgements for the protection of those engaged in the trade which, together with his other demands, was made the subject of a letter from Lord Clive. The complaints of foreigners would grow louder, unless the Company entered into an agreement to supply them with cargoes to a certain amount out of the private trade of its servants. When Mr Francis proposed to add a paragraph to the dispatches, saying that the nabob of Arcot was a legal sovereign, Mr Hastings was unwilling to do so. The Dutch and Danes applied to this country as the sovereign power, and, under the name of a protection, were granted an indulgence, but they soon refused to submit to the payment of the duties, and we were compelled to exact them by force, and so far did their contumacy extend, that in time of scarcity they exported corn, which they knew their colours would protect, though a general embargo was laid. Nor could it be said that the knowledge of the embarrassment of this country in consequence of the American war was the cause of this spirit of resistance, for it manifested itself in the year 1775, when the disturbances in America had only commenced, and the knowledge of them could not yet have reached India. By the treaty of 1783, his Britannic majesty is to take such means as are

in his power (not even then avowing the direct sovereignty) to procure certain facilities to the French trade but two years had not elapsed when disputes arose which soon came to a question of force, and ended in the firing of a vessel, a transaction which Sir John Macpherson thought necessary to make the subject of a particular negotiation. Dr Laurence then adverted to the treaty of 1787, which caused a board of justice to be holden, and in which the French brought forward their claims to the trade in India, particularly in the articles of salt, salt-petre, and opium, and which claims were only settled by a convention entered into with the government of this country, in which they were allowed to traffic with our East-India Company on certain stipulations and fixed prices, in which it had been contended that our East-India Company sustained a loss, but which, he asserted, was only a moderated gain. He then begged to call the attention of the house to the Dutch claims. By the definitive treaty in 1784, their carrying trade was allowed, even to that of naval stores, and the freedom of navigation in the Indian seas. At all times the Dutch were jealous of our obtaining any settlement between our possessions in India and China, which might enable us to send the commodities of Bengal to that vast empire, instead of carrying on our trade with it through the medium of dollars and bullion from England. They were then jealous, he said, even in those periods when they were in alliance and connection with us by the alliance formed between France and Holland in 1793, they had become alienated from this country, and might now bring forward claims which before they would not have thought of

They had now become closely connected with that nation, which did not like any other logic than the *ultima ratio regum*, what was called the last reason of kings, but was now become the first of the republic, and if these claims should be advanced, we should have not only France to contend with, but Holland also, with a recruited navy. He then adverted to the Cape of Good Hope, which he stated to be of essential consequence to this country, both in time of peace and war. It might be urged, he said, in defence of the non revival of former treaties, that we did not give up our rights, but were prepared to defend them to the utmost. But, though they had not been revived generally, it was surely worth while to revive specifically that part which protected our commerce in the East Indies. "Thus, said he, "I have stated what was stipulated in our favour by former treaties, and is now relinquished, without giving my opinion whether the concession was voluntary, or extorted by force. It is not however in India, but here, that these affairs must be settled either by negotiation or force. We must now say, that in proportion to the magnitude of the concessions we have made, we are prepared to defend what remains to the last." He concluded by moving—"That there be laid before this house an account of the acquisitions made or pretended to be made by his most Christian majesty on the coast of Coromandel and Orissa, between the years 1748 and 1763."

Mr DUNDAS said, that, whether our situation was to be decided by negotiation or by the sword, in India or elsewhere, as the learned gentleman had stated, he would dare say, that there was no difference of opinion

opinion between them upon this point, ~~namely~~, that it was essential to the interests of this country, wherever our claims were to be supported, and where our rights were clear and indisputable, not to do any thing ourselves to bring these rights into doubt. He stated it as a general maxim, on which he apprehended there was no difference of opinion in that house, or elsewhere; and yet, notwithstanding no doubt was entertained of the truth of this general maxim, he was afraid that, if motions like these were persevered in, much difference of opinion would arise upon the application of that principle, his proposition was such as he held to be clear as the sun at noon-day, namely, that no doubt could be entertained on the relative situation of this country and of France in India. No doubt had been expressed upon that subject till lately in that house, nor would any doubt be entertained elsewhere, but by bringing forward speculations of our own in that house, and making that doubtful in debate which was long acknowledged to be clear in principle. He then entered into an historical detail of the rise and progress of the British power in India, the contests which had taken place from the earliest periods, and the share taken therein by the French, in order to oppose our progress in India, down to the period in which Lord Clive had so distinguished himself, to whom, for his valour as a soldier, and wisdom as a statesman, he paid the highest compliments, the result of whole measures he stated to have consummated the British power in India, and settled our sovereignty there by right of conquest, which right he reconciled to the inhabitants by the wise respect he paid to their prejudices.

Having gone through a complete history of these events, and having given a compendious account of the progress of the Mogul empire, and of its revolutions for eight centuries, he proceeded to state the conclusion which he drew from all these premises, which conclusion was this, "That though we may feel it just and expedient to make such allowances to the prejudices of the inhabitants, and to make such regulations in our territories as we may please, or think advisable, yet with regard to European powers, to whom we say freely and distinctly, we have gained this country by our arm, and by our arms we will keep it. For upon all the grounds which he had already stated, it was manifest that the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, Orissa, &c. had come to Great Britain by conquest, as much as any country ever came into the hands of another, and from the period when it became to under the government of Lord Clive to the present day, the French never had, directly or indirectly, from the treaty of 1703, any right whatever to interfere with the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, &c., but that they were by right of conquest subject to the sovereignty of the king of Great Britain to all intents and purposes, which sovereignty was to be exercised through the medium of the India Company, and through the different organs established for the preservation of our provinces, as much as any other part of his majesty's dominions. He need not dwell upon these points, the facts were clear and well authenticated in the history of those dominions, and therefore, he laid it down as a clear and indisputable proposition, that what we had gained thus by conquest, was to be considered with reference to any other European power,

power, as totally subject to our sovereignty, without any interference of theirs, that we were actually the sovereigns of India, and no European power had any right whatever to dispute our title to this power, which we possess *de facto*. Such was the state of the British power in India: the situation of France was extremely different, without one inch of territory, except what they might claim by the definitive treaty under consideration. He would beg the house to pause for a moment, and then ask itself this question, Was there a man within hearing of his voice who had any doubt whatever as to these facts at this moment? Certainly none.

Was there any one man within the hearing of his voice who thought, that if these facts, and the right arising out of them, were to be called in question, this country would not go the length of risking its last stake to support those rights, and refuse giving up one iota of them? He had no reason to be satisfied in any point of curiosity, by asking why it was expedient in the present moment to avoid reference to ancient treaties in the present definitive treaty of peace. It was a subject upon which he did not think it necessary to dwell at present, it was sufficient for him to say, that there was no diminution thereby of our power in India, no foundation whatever for any other to dispute our sovereignty there, nor any thing which entitled others to contest with us the rights upon which that sovereignty was founded, nor was that all, he would go farther and say, he mistook greatly if any doubt was now entertained, that with regard to Great Britain her sovereignty in India stood at that moment upon a better footing than if the former

treaties had been renewed by it. — By the treaty of 1788, which was unquestionably the very worst treaty this country ever entered into on the subject of Indian affairs, it was the business of his majesty's government, and a very laborious one it was, in the convention of 1787, to do away the evil created by the treaty of 1788. By that of 1788, our sovereignty in India was rendered disputable by the convention of 1787 our sovereignty was re-established. Having expatiated at considerable length upon the merits of the convention of 1787, and the demerits of the treaty of 1788, he proceeded to say, that had the treaty now upon the table renewed any former treaty, it would have been impossible to refer to the convention of 1787, without also renewing the contests which were brought forward in 1788. It would have been impossible to have introduced the one, without also calling for an explanation of the other, and therefore the affairs of that country were much better, considering all the circumstances of the relative situation of this country and of France, in suffering all treaties whatever to be passed over in silence. We might, perhaps, by renewing some of the declarations and admissions of our sovereignty in India, as settled by the convention of 1787, have employed some antidote against the evil of which we had too much reason to complain, but it was manifest to him that we could not have such antidote without having also a certain portion of the poison, by the renewal of any discussion whatever upon the subject of treaties, and therefore he had no difficulty whatever in saying, that upon a review of the whole condition of our affairs, considered with relation to those of

France, we were infinitely better in passing the subject over in silence, than we should have been in endeavouring to renew any of them. He confessed, he said, that when the rumour reached him, that the provisions of the convention of 1787 were left out of the present treaty, he shrunk under an apprehension that our power in India would be destroyed, and he was the more alarmed when he heard it said, that this was brought about in consequence of the views of France to undermine, and finally to overturn, our sovereignty in India. This led him to turn the subject very seriously in his mind, and to look at all the antient documents, to consider the whole matter deliberately, and the result was, that it was infinitely better for us to have no reference whatever to any treaty, as he had already stated. But the learned gentleman asked, if the house could really think that we could be secure in India against the ambitious claims of France, as they had appeared in 1789, and which were done away in 1787? Did he really think we were safe now, without having removed by the present treaty, the provisions of the convention of 1787? This he would answer, by putting to the learned gentleman this question. Did he really think, that if the French should be disposed to renew the pretensions of 1789, or any other period, that they would be prevented from so doing by a few scraps of paper being laid on the table of that house, a species of artillery that would not be equal to the operation of a single field piece for half a minute? But the learned gentleman would say, that the treaty of 1789 would establish the disposition of the French at that time to dispute our sovereignty in

India, it would, indeed, establish that which there was no need of establishing, because the thing was well known, the French did on that occasion, as they would do on every occasion, provided they thought they could succeed in the attempt of it, namely, endeavour to diminish the greatness of this country, and enlarge its own, but, in proportion as they were disposed to be hostile to our interest, or querulous while we enjoyed our advantages he had no difficulty in saying it was the wisdom of this country, in the same proportion, to wait until these claims were made which gentlemen spoke of with so much apprehension, and in the mean time to stand upon our right—our paramount right of sovereignty. What course the French would take to enlarge their commercial interest in India was not for us to anticipate. It was enough for us, that if they endeavoured to do so by the exertions of individuals, or otherwise, they could never do so without being liable to be interrupted by this country. If they were to try to erect commercial factories, or to do any thing that interfered with our sovereignty in India, we should be fully warranted, and what was better, we were in possession of means, to resist such an attempt. But those means would not be increased by a few papers being laid before the house, such documents would not help us to any arguments which we had not already, for the propriety of resisting such attempts, thank God we had never wanted arguments to resist the encroachments of the French on our sovereign power in India, nor had we wanted strength for that purpose. From all this it was perfectly clear, that before the French could exercise any trade in India,

India, they must come to us in the character of supplicants, for nothing that they had yet obtained would enable them to carry on trade in India without our leave. He had stated the difference between the treaty of 1788 and the convention of 1787, already. He had to observe, that we were not now in a situation similar to that in which we stood in 1787. There was now no treaty in existence between us and France, nor any regulation on the subject of India, except the single clause in the convention now upon the table of the house. And with regard to the trade of France in India, if any they were to have, they could have it only through the indulgence of the British power in India, and therefore he said again, we were better off as the case stood upon the present treaty of peace, than if we had renewed any of the former treaties. Whatever matter of complaint was to be urged, or rather of lamentation, upon this subject, it could only be, that his majesty's government did not settle the whole of the provisions of all former treaties, by taking notice of them all, and finally adjusting them all — This, however in the abstract it might appear desirable, ought not to have been attempted in the present case, because it would have been impossible to accomplish it, without protracting the negotiation to a length that would have been inconsistent with the interests of the states of Europe. The articles in all these treaties must have been all gone over, if any of them were noticed, in the course of which a thousand explanations would become necessary, and which might have made the negotiation in many respects appear to some idle and ridiculous. But there were other considerations which, he hoped, would operate on

the conduct of those who may have the future conduct of the affairs of India and they related to other powers, as well as to the French and ourselves in India, we were not to consider merely our own concerns and those of France in India. He stated it as a solid ground of consideration for the East India Company, to regulate, not only the trade of the French, but to look to the regulation of other subjects, to have an eye upon other commercial connexions. But it might be said, Why not stipulate these things in negotiation, and finally determine them by treaty? To which he would answer, it is much better as it is, for at present we have the sovereignty of India; and he would ask, if it appeared to any member of that house to be a wise course to exclude the government of this country from all discretionary power to regulate the trade of India? If the French, or any other power, should claim the right of carrying their goods up the Ganges, or to do any other act, was it not sufficient that we had the power to prevent them? The French trade in India, the Dutch trade in India, and the trade of other powers in India, might go hand in hand, so that it was not detrimental to us, but if detrimental to us, we had the power to stop it, and that was enough for our present purpose at least. He wanted this subject to be considered upon a large and comprehensive scale, and not confined merely to ourselves and France. He did not mean to pretend, or to insinuate, that he was in possession of the reasons which actuated his majesty's servants upon this occasion, when they came to the conclusion which was now before the public, but he felt himself entitled to state, that if

they had done that which some gentlemen blamed them for not doing, they would have put it out of their own power to do their country much service, which they will now be enabled to render by consulting those who are best qualified to advise them, and that more especially on the affairs of India. But when he heard it said that France was hostile in its disposition towards the trade of this country, and was endeavouring to prevail on Holland, Spain, and other countries to do all they could to discourage our trade, and to prohibit some of it in their dominions, he would ask, are they so? And if they be, is this the precise period in which you would make them a voluntary gift of commerce to India, when you are doubtful in what relation they choose to stand with you with regard to other commercial connexions? "I own, said he, "this is a subject on which I feel deeply, I have it much at heart and when I say that I am sure there is not one man in this house who would feel more sorrow than I should, if I conceived it possible for you to surrender any one of the rights, of which I have been speaking, at the same time that I feel these reasons I have been stating, I desire not to be misrepresented, I am one of the last men in the world (my conduct, I think, proves it,) who would wish to plead for the system of this country narrowing the trade of foreigners in India, ever since I thought I understood any thing of the affairs of India, my maxim has been to enlarge that trade, and that we might as well attempt to prohibit any foreigners from buying our manufactures of Yorkshire or of Birmingham, or any other manufacture of this country, as prohibit foreigners from trading with our territories in In-

dia. But I should guard against misconception of this opinion of mine. When I say we should not prevent the French, or any other nation, from trading with our territorial provinces in India, I mean to say, that I am not afraid of them as merchants, I am not unwilling to give them a boon as merchants, with a chance of reciprocity, and I ask no more, but I think I am not going too far, when I desire this country to guard against that which I know the French have endeavoured to make, and will endeavour to make, if they see any probability of its success—I mean an encroachment on your sovereignty in India. This they have done, and if an opportunity offers, this they will do, under the pretence of pursuing trade. They will ask you civilly, (for in no other way can they ask it,) to allow them to do a number of things for the purpose of carrying on trade, when their object will be to encroach upon your sovereignty. It was in this way that they formerly endeavoured to encroach upon your sovereignty in 1787, when they told us they could not recover their debts without certain enlargement of power in India: we resisted that directly, and I hope this will be the conduct of this country in future. The very first article insisted upon by Lord Auckland in 1787 was, that nothing in the most distant degree touching our sovereignty in India would, on any terms or conditions whatever, be assented to on the part of this country. I hope it is not presumptuous in me to say, that I trust his majesty's government will adopt the same principle, and stand upon the same ground as we did then, and if we do so, I will venture to say there will be no danger, depart

depart from that principle, and your sovereignty will be first undetermined, then attacked, and, perhaps, finally overthrown. As to what may be attempted by France, even with all your caution, I cannot say you will have no difficulty, for I am not going to be guarantee for the moderation of the French, but what I contend for is, that you have now better means than you would have had by the renewal of any treaty, better means than you ever had, of preventing encroachments upon your sovereignty in India. — But we have not before us any proof, nor is it insinuated, that the French nation themselves are bringing forward any such claim as we hear stated on their behalf will it not be time enough, when they do bring forward those claims, for government to resist them? But surely when we agree that their claims are dangerous and cannot be admitted, it is singular to pursue this as a subject of declamation in the houses of parliament. I say, this ought not to be done, for we all know, that what passes in this house, or in the other house of parliament, transpires to the people of this country, and I cannot concur with those who wish to make the people of this country think the peace a bad one. I am certainly one of those who cannot give an approbation of all the articles of peace, but is it doing good to this country to keep this question up, and to endeavour to make the people dislike it? Gentlemen complain of the pride and arrogance of France. Is this the way to make her less proud or arrogant? Certainly not? — and therefore I cannot see the wisdom of stating these claims, which we all know and feel cannot be admitted, and which nobody asserts to have been made." Mr Dundas

refuted the observations of Dr Laurence, on the subject of the danger to us in the Eastern seas, and on the apprehension he expressed concerning the claims of the Dutch, and then concluded—" I have stated what appeared to me to be the true substantial rights and interests of this country on the subject of Indian affairs, upon these rights and principles I desire to stand, and I have stated what course I think this country ought to pursue, to preserve those rights entire. I am aware that by so stating them, and by so recommending the course to be pursued, I impose on the shoulders of his majesty's government an awful and tremendous responsibility, for it you depast *acta* from your sovereignty in India, and allow others to encroach on you, or any way to diminish the force of that paramount sovereignty, you will lay the foundation of the overthrow of your power in India. It, being possessed of that mighty empire, and of the means to assert and vindicate your right, you allow others to injure it by any act of executive government, I shall not receive any apology for the ministers who shall suffer that to be done under any pretence that the French had claimed these things before, or under any other pretence whatsoever, because you are now more than ever possessed of means to prevent it. I apprehend the learned gentleman who brought this subject forward is of the same opinion, and I hope he will concur with me in saying, that ministers, if they allow our sovereignty in India to be touched, will be without an apology, and that therefore he will now be so good as put his motion in his pocket. It is my solemn conviction, that if we were now to give way to these hypo-

theoretical cases which are stated, and entertain these motions, instead of strengthening we should weaken the rights of the British empire."

M^r. F. GREENVILLE said, there must have been a broad line of misconception between the view of the subject taken by the right honourable gentleman (Mr Dundas) and his, before the right honourable gentleman could have stated it in the manner he had done. The right honourable gentleman had stated doubts as to the propriety of this motion, because, whether our claims were to be decided by negotiation or by the sword, surely, said the right honourable gentleman, it was not wise to bring forward doubts relative to our own claims, which were perfectly clear. He agreed with the right honourable gentleman in this point, but how did the argument apply to France? The right honourable gentleman had asserted, that this country possessed a clear right of sovereignty in the East Indies, but having stated this, what did the latter part of his speech refer to, that the claim which England has asserted, has been and is disputed, how, therefore, did the argument of the right honourable gentleman apply? He did not state doubts, but said, that at all periods France had disputed our claims in India. Of what consequence to the question were the victories and conquests of Lord Clive, or the sovereignty we obtained in India? That sovereignty, as well as whatever rights we claimed were still disputed by France. He did not mean to say that this country and France were in a continual state of war, but the latter never abandoned her claims, and this state of things produced the convention of 1767, which was a compromise of claims. His right honourable

friend (Mr Dundas) had stated, that the non-renewal of the treaty of 1783, and the convention of 1787, was more advantageous to this country than the renewal of them would have been. This was the first time, he believed, that his right honourable friend had sat in judgment on the treaty of 1783. He desired to know, however, whether, in many situations, it was not more advisable to possess a limited right by convention, than to rest upon a general, but unacknowledged right, because, by obtaining a limited right by convention, we obtained at the same time a recognition of the original right? His right honourable friend had asked, what advantage was to be derived from laying a few scraps of paper on the table? This put him in mind of a question formerly asked on a subject relative to the East India Company? What was a charter? A scroll of parchment with a piece of wax at the end of it. This mode of argument, however, could not do away that consideration to which important documents were entitled. The object of his honourable friend (Dr Laurence) was to throw what France might claim against this country. With respect to the navigation of the eastern seas, his right honourable friend (Mr Dundas) had treated this subject with considerable levity, he could not consider it as a matter which ought to be treated with levity. It was not the claims of the Dutch republic, as settled by treaty, that formed the object of consideration, but his honourable friend (Dr Laurence) had stated the dangers which might result from the claims of the Dutch republic in its present state of servitude, when it could only be considered as a member of the French Republic, and as identified with France. He expected

expected that some objection would have been made to the production of the papers moved for by his honourable friend; but, instead of this, he could hear nothing but a laugh against it, and an advice to his honourable friend to put the motion into his pocket. To such a sweeping kind of argument, it was scarcely possible to give any answer. The house would recollect, that no doubt was thrown upon the claims upon this country; he admitted that they were clear, but were they clear and undisputed? This was the point. The right honourable gentleman had spoken as to the prudence of stating the claims which France might make relative to our possessions in the East Indies; but as to the cession of the Cape and Cochin, his right honourable friend had not said a single word. Was it a light matter, that the Cape and Cochin should be put into the hands of France, before we knew the disposition of the enemy with respect to India, and that France should assert her claims with the Cape and Cochin in her possession? If this was thought a matter fit to be discussed, now was the moment for discussion. These observations were not made for the purpose of querulously objecting to the treaty of peace; no such thing: he wished to call the attention of the house to the danger hanging over the country, how was it to be relieved, and by what suggestion of human prudence? Was it wished to ask the enemy, if he agreed to our right of sovereignty in India, and would they give him the Cape and Cochin to know whether he agreed to it or not, and if he did not, were they in as good a situation as before? When all former obligations were done away, was it not neces-

sary to resort to new conventions? None were now offered in the place of those abrogated, and did the house feel secure in this situation? Was it not necessary to know the intentions of France with respect to India? It was not likely that twelve months would pass before either France would make claims in that country which we could not agree to, or this country would exercise rights there which France would resist: was it then prudent in this country, before she knew the disposition of France with respect to this subject, to give out of her hands the Cape and Cochin? No argument whatever had been adduced against the motion, which he should certainly support.

Lord HAWKEBURY—"I am glad to hear the honourable gentleman say, that neither he, or, in his opinion, any man in this house, or the country, entertains any doubt of our right of sovereignty in the East Indies. He says however, that the French entertain doubts, and therefore there should be an explanation. Now, in the present state of things, I contend there is no ground to suppose that the French do entertain any doubt upon the subject. The doubts of France were built upon the ancient Firmans, and the treaty of 1763. — Now, if these firmans and the treaty of 1763 be at an end, what ground is there to suppose that France does not recognise our right of sovereignty? All the Asiatic and European powers have acknowledged that right. In all negotiations, even in those with France, England has been styled *the government of India*. I admit that you come into that sovereignty subject to the engagements which were binding upon the powers you succeeded. These Firmans might

therefore be considered in force after the commencement of our sovereignty. It will not, however, be contended, that they grant more than indulgences, and I admit that there were disputes about which of them were to be considered good, and which bad. I admit also, that, as they were binding upon our predecessor the Mogul, so they were binding upon us. But the subsequent war destroys them, as it would any other treaties, and the peace of 1763, which acknowledges our sovereignty, does not renew them. Against this, it is said that France renewed these claims between 1763 and 1787, but upon what ground did she do so? why, upon the 13th article of the treaty of 1783. France says, by that article, you undertook to restore my ancient trade, and, of course, she brought forward these ancient Firmans, to shew what that trade was. Now this is put an end to by the treaty of 1787, for what does it say? Not that doubts are entertained of our sovereignty, but that its object is to explain the 13th article of the peace of 1763. Now if this statement be correct, it follows, that the claims of France might have been formerly well founded under the treaty of 1783, but that the treaty of 1787, and the ancient Firmans being now at an end, our right of sovereignty is clear. Now, sir, with respect to the non-renewal of the convention of 1787, the 13th article of the treaty of 1783 was loose, and therefore the convention was wisely intended to meet the difficulties arising from that article of 1783 at that time, but still the convention of 1787 left many points undecided that might be brought forward, and therefore it was proper to preclude that consequence. The con-

vention of 1787 recites the doubtful article of the peace of 1783, therefore, by renewing it, you would renew the article of 1783. Now if we are recognised as sovereigns of India, if France as to it has no other claim than any other country in Europe, how can our right be rendered more clear? It is objected, that we have no security but that a claim will be brought forward. I have shewn that it cannot be brought forward upon good grounds. That France may not do so, I cannot say, but I do say, that if there be any point which France is not likely to dispute, it would be this, (before the present discussion.) This I say from what passed in the course of the negotiation, in which, however conducted a man may be able to see the points which the party is likely to consider most important. As to my reason for refusing the paper, to some of them I have objections, others of them are, I admit, such as have been granted, but after the manner in which the question is started, I think we should stop here and negative them all.

Mr JONES said, the honourable and learned gentleman wished all our old treaties had been renewed. He knew very well why he wished that had been done. If these questions had been brought into discussion, the definitive treaty would not have been concluded for these eighteen months to come, and perhaps not at all. He hoped the house would resist all motions of this kind, he knew the nation would. He was happy to agree with the right honourable gentleman (Mr Dundas), in cautioning his majesty's ministers against giving too much indulgence to the French in India. It was well known, that if they got an inch, they would take an ell. The learned

learned gentleman had used a number of collateral arguments in support of his motion, and had even conjured up Mahomet in his favour, though unfortunately with very little effect. He had told the house that France gained a great deal by her logical weapons, but ~~at~~ they were no sharper than those employed by the learned gentleman, the house need not be much afraid of them. This motion was only another *driver* at the peace, and therefore he gave a most hearty vote against it.

Lord TEMPLE said a few words in support of the motion, which was then put, and negatived.

Dr LAURENCE observed, that from the manner in which his first motion had been treated, it would, perhaps, be thought proper that he should put the others in his pocket, as he had been advised to do by a right honourable gentleman. Motives of public duty, however, as well as of private friendship, induced him to submit them to the house. Their object was to shew, that the convention of 1787 was in itself a beneficial arrangement to the East India Company, independent of its putting an end to all claims of sovereignty on the part of the French. He then made a series of motions for the following papers, which met the same fate.

"An account of the customs of Bengal, distinguishing each year, since the acquisition of the Dewanny—The price of salt, as fixed by the Governor general at Calcutta in the year 1768—An account of the revenue on salt, from the acquisition of Dewanny to the present time—The quantity of salt, petre and opium sold to and by the Company's agents during the same time—All paragraphs in dispatches from Bengal touching the claims of

the French, from 1765 to 1787—A copy of the Governor general's minute at the secret consultation, on the 31st of July 1775—A statement of the claims of the Dutch to the navigation of the Indian seas, previous to the year 1784—and a copy of the treaty of alliance entered into between the French and Batavian Republics in the year 1795."

JUNE 11

Mr NICHOLLS moved, "That there should be laid before the house a copy of the orders and instructions given by the honourable the East India Company to lieutenant colonel McNeil when he marched his troops into the gardens of the nabob of the Carnatic, some days anterior to the demise of his highness, together with all other orders given him up to the time that he was relieved by colonel Bowser."

Mr WALLACE said, he did not risk to object to the motion, on the contrary, it was his most anxious wish that upon any discussion which might take place on so very important a subject as that which involved the events in the Carnatic, the house should be afforded every means which could enable it to come to a correct judgement. He felt very strongly the importance of the question, he was glad that the motion had been made, and he readily consented to the papers being produced and printed. He wished the house and the country should be fully informed, persuaded that, when the subject was perfectly understood, the facts themselves would be a sufficient vindication of the measures that had been adopted. A great many calumnies had been industriously circulated. He did no mean to state his opinion, but he was desirous it should not be misunderstood. He

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wished to state, in justification of those who had the conduct of the business in the Carnatic, that after having bestowed all the attention in his power on the papers relating to it, he had no hesitation in saying, that it met his entire approbation. There was no part of the transactions in the Carnatic that he did not approve, or that he was not ready to take all the responsibility of upon himself: for he considered the right of the Company as incontrovertible, and founded upon the most approved principles of the law of nations. He thought the means adopted were consistent with the humane consideration, and generosity which uniformly characterized the British arms—quitting, he was persuaded, what those who had the conduct of affairs in India never would violate.

Mr NICHOLLS next moved for copies of the letters, papers, and propositions to Lord Clive and Secretary Webber, upon the same subject: also the copy of the will of his highness the nabob, also a copy of the orders and instructions to Colonel Bowyer, upon his relieving lieutenant colonel M. Neil in the command of the gardens of the nabob. He thanked the honourable gentleman for the candid manner in which he had assented to his motions, and begged to be understood, that in bringing them forward he meant no kind of censure on any man. He had never made any observation reflecting in the least either on the marquis Wellesley or Lord Clive, but the subject was one of such magnitude that he could not consent to its being passed over in silence. He wished the proceedings in the Carnatic either to be avowed as just and necessary, or admitted as rash and inconsiderate. It was for these reasons that he had moved for the

papers. If they should be produced, it was his intention to submit a proposition grounded on them, if they should not be produced, he should nevertheless think himself bound to bring the subject forward.

Mr WALLACE said, he was persuaded that every diligence would be used to have the papers laid before the house, yet he feared, from the number of men, that it would be impossible to get them ready. He would therefore ask the honourable and learned gentleman what motion he could possibly bring forward without the papers? If his object was to enable the house to form a judgement upon the papers, it was necessary that they should be previously produced: if it was merely to draw from government an acknowledgment of the principle on which they acted, all he could say was, that the papers contained the fullest information upon that subject, and any motion would be superfluous. He sincerely hoped that no motion would be thought of till the papers were on the table.

Mr NICHOLLS said, if he was rightly informed, the papers might be produced immediately. He thought the session ought not to close without the subject being canvassed in some shape or other—the character of the country was implicated in it. If he could have the papers, he would make them the ground of his motion, if not, he would proceed without them on that day tonight.

Sir HENRY STRACHEY moved, that there be laid before the house a copy of the treaty of 1761, between the East India Company and the nabob of the Carnatic, commonly called Lord Cornwallis's Treaty, Agreed to. He also moved for a copy of a letter from the reputed son of the late nabob of the Carnatic to his

his agents, James Stewart Hall and Samuel Johnson

Mr WALLACE said, he could have no objection to the production of the letter, but he doubted how far the house had any right to order it

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER observed, that possibly the letter in question might be a private document which the house had no right to call for

Sir HENRY STRACHEY withdrew his motion

HOUSE OF LORDS

JUNE 21

LORD SUFFOLK called the attention of their lordships to a matter of great public importance, which, at an earlier period of the session, he had promised to bring forward, it was upon the subject on which a noble friend of his had also promised to bring forward another question (lord Moira), but was induced to postpone it till next session of Parliament, having been assured by a noble ex secretary of state (lord Grey ill.) that those official accounts indispensably necessary to elucidate his motion had not yet, nor were likely to arrive in England during the present session. The notion, however, which he had intended to submit to their lordships required no such delay, as it might be fully elucidated by accounts already within the reach of the house. He alluded to the amount of the debt, and the state of the finances of the East India Company, and, though the house was at present but thinly attended, he was ready this moment to go into the question, unless noble lords opposite to him wished to defer it till to-morrow, in order to await a fuller attendance, longer than to-

morrow, however, he could not consent to postpone a question of so much importance, so vitally interesting to this country, and upon which the fullest information was due to the public

LORD DARTMOUTH said, that, so far as concerned himself, he had no objection that the noble lord should bring forward the question now. He would, however, submit to the noble lord's discretion, whether it was decorous to bring forward, at so late an hour of the evening, at so very advanced a period of the session, and in so thin an assembly, a question of so much importance

LORD SUFFOLK did not wish to press the matter forward now, against the sense of the house. He had, however, no objection to state his views on the matter. Those papers which he believed had been laid on their lordships table, stated the debt of the India Company to be eighteen millions, but he would undertake to prove it far, indeed, beyond that sum, and therefore he thought it a subject of the most serious and alarming consideration, one upon which it became parliament to exert a timely and active vigilance and control, before it became complex beyond the possibility of correction. He had no blame to attribute to his majesty's present ministers on this subject, he considered the person who, in the late administration, had the chief direction of India affairs, to be the author of this debt. He could wish to see him in that house, in order to confront him with the charge, but, in whichever house he might be situated, he should not fail to bring it against him. The object of the motion that he meant to bring forward was, a return of the amount of the debt due by the India Company at the latest period

to which it could be made up, with the state of their finances applicable thereto

Lord HOWART observed there could be no objection to the motion proposed by the noble lord, or to his moving it now

Lord SUFFOLK declared that, for the present, as it would deprive him of the opportunity of making those observations by which he meant to preface his motion, he would bring it forward to-morrow

JUNE 22

Lord SUFFOLK rose and said, that, in consideration of the lateness of the hour, he wished his notice of a motion respecting the debts of the East India Company to stand over till the next day

Lord DARTMOUTH wished to know whether it was the noble lord's intention to confine himself to the specific object of his motion, or to go more at large into the affairs of India?

Lord HOLLAND and Lord SUFFOLK said that it would undoubtedly be held allowable to go at large into the affairs of India, as far as they were connected with the subject matter of the motion

HOUSE OF COMMONS

JUNE 22

Mr NICHOLLS rose, pursuant to notice, to draw the attention of the house to the proceedings which had lately taken place in the Carnatic. He was aware of only two courses that should or could be pursued. The measure should either be avowed and justified, or be immediately abandoned as a rash and unwarrantable proceeding. It was of a nature that could not be passed

over in silence, but before he should go into the detail, he would briefly explain the constitution of the East India Company. It was a corporation formed by charter, under an act of parliament, and was a subject of the king, vested with two distinct species of rights. Its rights of property, such as its rights in the exercise of its trade, were granted directly for its own benefit, but its political rights, such as the rights of making war and peace, &c. were granted in trust for the benefit of the public. The former, like private property, were sacred, and could not be taken away without compensation. The latter were to be exercised under the direction of parliament. Now it appeared from several parliamentary papers, particularly from a resolution of the house in 1782, that all schemes of conquest were repugnant to the policy which the Company ought to pursue in the East Indies. So little, however, had this policy been adhered to, that more conquests had been made in India since the commencement of the late revolution, than the wildest ambition of France had sought to achieve in Europe. Our conquests of the Mysore, and over the nizam, and nabob Oude, in that interval, he understood, amounted to a population of 20 millions. The Mysore, he knew, was generally considered in this country as a just conquest, but he also knew that in other countries of Europe there was a very different opinion. Into the detail of the wars with Hyder Ali, and Tippoo Sultan, he was unwilling to enter. Those princes had been the enemies of this country, so was the nizam at times, and also the nabob of Oude, but in the case of the Carnatic it was the reverse. From the very foundation of their power,

power, the reigning family were uniformly friendly to this country. They were never seen separated from the interests of England. They grew and prospered together.—Under these circumstances, the late nabob, who was recognised as such in the treaty called Lord Cornwallis's Treaty, died in 1801, since which his heir had been deposed, and another placed in his stead by the East India Company. This was the measure of which he complained. If it were just, it should be said so, and announced as such to Europe. A member of the board of control (Mr. Wallace) had lately declared, that it could be justified by the law of nations. On this point, then, he should make some observations, but, not having had an opportunity of examining the papers, he could only reason upon such facts as were of general notoriety. The first right, then, which he could conceive, was the *seizure* of the present nabob, who is not the son but only the nephew to the late nabob. He might also be told, that the son was not entitled to any thing by the Mahomedan law, as not having been mentioned in his father's will, but all these points must be laid aside, as the East India Company had recognised the title of the son, by treating him as the lawful heir in succession to his father.

The SPEAKER here suggested that the debate should be adjourned for a few minutes to afford time to receive a messenger from the lords, who, he understood, was waiting at the door.

Mr. NICHOLLS sat down, and the messenger being called in, the message was delivered, requesting a conference upon the subject of the last conference, (the amendments made by the lords in the English

militia bill.) The house having agreed to the conference.—

Lord GLENBERRY moved, that the manager of the late conference do manage the present one, which being agreed to, Lord Glenberry went to meet a deputation of the lords in conference and on his return, he reported that the lords had given up all the amendments to which the commons refused their assent, except one. He then moved, that the house should insist upon its disagreement with respect to that one, with a view to negative the motion. The motion was negatived accordingly, and Lord Glenberry was desired to inform the lords that the house had withdrawn its opposition to said amendment.

Mr. NICHOLLS then resumed, by observing, that when the speaker interrupted him, he was stating the various possible grounds of justification. The first was the *seizure* of the nephew but he conceived that the East India Company had precluded themselves from any such argument as they had previously acknowledged the right of the son. The next possible title that could be attempted to be set up, might be a claim on the ground of forfeiture. Mr. Nicholls was then proceeding to discuss this second point, when

Mr. SHERIDAN moved, that the house be counted, and, there being only 33 members present, an adjournment of course took place.

HOUSE OF LORDS

JUNE 23

Lord SUFFOLK brought forward his promised motion respecting the *affairs of the East India Company*. He said, that the non-arrival of certain official documents respecting some late transactions in that quar-
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ter of the world, which had been alleged by a noble lord, not now in his place (lord Grenville), which had restrained a noble friend of his (lord Moira) from bringing forward his promised inquiry on that subject, in the present session, and which he was sure that noble lord would do his duty by following it up early in the next session, could not operate on the question that he himself rose now to bring forward, as the documents upon which he should ground his arguments were now upon their lordships table. The noble lord then shortly adverted to the late seizure of the dominions of the nabob of Arcot by the troops of the East India Company, and expressed his own surprise at that transaction unaccountable as it stood at this moment more especially when he considered the nabob of Arcot as the hereditary friend and firm ally of the British power in India. To the grandfather of the young nabob, (whose dominion had been thus seized, who has himself been dethroned, and, with his family, cast into prison,) this country owed every possession and prosperity that she at this day held in India and the dying injunction of that grandfather to the successor to his throne was, to maintain towards the English that friendship, fidelity, and firm alliance, which he had always supported. This injunction he had always understood to have been most religiously kept by the young nabob, who, for some cause that he could not learn, was dethroned, and stripped at once of his dominions and his liberty. The next circumstance to which he should advert, was the seizure made by the Company's troops on one-third of the territories of the nabob of Oude, a transaction equally surprising and unaccountable. That

prince was in perfect friendship and alliance with the English in India, his territories formed a complete barrier between our Indian possessions and Persia on that side, and gave us, in fact, the security of an effectual defence on our frontiers. We had in the service of that prince a considerable body of troops, aiding in that defence, for which the nabob annually paid fifty lacks of rupees, a sum equal to 600,000 sterling. In consequence of a demand on our parts, that sum was afterward, increased to one hundred lacks. This tribute, he understood, was regularly paid and yet, while in apparent amity with him, we had seized upon one-third of his territories. This political part of the question he should dismiss with a short observation or two, not merely of his own, but coming from authorities much better acquainted with our East Indian interests. [Here the noble lord read a passage from a pamphlet written by Mr Dundas, containing some wholesome counsel to the East India Company, in which he tells them to avoid extending their conquests and enlarging their territories, as the best security for their possessions and permanent prosperity and another passage from the third report of the committee of India directors, which, after commending the wise and prudent conduct of lord Cornwallis in stopping short of his victorious career under the walls of Seringapatam, to have been followed by an advantageous peace, and a considerable advancement to the interests and prosperity of our affairs in India, while the brilliant extermination of a formidable rival in the same quarter was followed by nothing but insolvency and embarrassment.] The noble lord then proceeded to state the debt of the

Company,

Company, which he said he had collected from the authorities on their table, which however were too voluminous for him to have examined with minuteness. This debt, he said, had been in a constant state of increase ever since the year 1786, when it stood at only ten millions. That sum the late president of the board of control had protested to consider as most alarming, and he always appeared to be of opinion that the debt of the Company was the most formidable enemy to their property in India; but it had since increased to no less a sum than 22,000,000l. at the end of the last year, added to which, there was a balance due by them to the British government (out of four millions to be paid for the last renewal of their charter) of 9,500,000l. as they had never yet been able to pay more than 500,000l. of their contract, add to this the expense of the Indian expedition to Egypt, which would cost nearly four millions, and which would probably fall on the shoulders of our government at home to pay, although the Egyptian expedition was originally undertaken for the defence of India. He did not blame those ministers who sought the advantage of aid from the Indian army in their expedition against Egypt, in which, though we were ultimately and gloriously successful, we had no right to reckon on that success, if we considered the wide numerical disparity of our force, and that against which it was sent. Our army consisted of only 15,000 men, while that of the French settlers in the country, possessed of every strong hold, and inured to the climate, was 27,000. What ever, then, was the bravery of our troops, and no man more highly estimated that bravery than he did, he must still consider our success as

more owing to the ill conduct of the French, than to any thing which such a force was calculated to effect against obstacles so formidable. The achievement, however, was glorious, and he cheerfully gave it its full share of credit. If from the debt of the Company he looked to its resources, he saw only a declining commerce and declining revenues, that the Company, unable to remit the trade home by its own means, had taken off the best portion usually kept over their revenues, added to which, the restoration of France to her former possession in India, in a short time all the countries of Europe would be glutted with Indian produce, which we have been wont to supply. What must be the consequence of this but bankruptcy? The India Company would be obliged again, as they had been before, to appeal to parliament *forma pauperis*, and this must probably in the next session of parliament. Having commented on those circumstances, lord Suffolk concluded by expressing his regret that the right honourable gentleman, whom he considered the author of this debt, and all its consequent calamities, (Mr Dundas,) was not in the seat in that house, to which he understood he was about to be raised, that he might confront him with the charge. He understood a statue was to be raised to his right honourable colleague in office, and he hoped another would be raised to the right honourable gentleman to keep it in countenance. The latter might be very properly composed of *brass*, the former, if intended to be of *gold*, he feared would not find materials. Under both might be inscribed, *Indemnity for the past, Security for the future*, and to complete the

eloquence,

eulogium, *Corruption* should be emblazoned in the most striking characters. The noble lord concluded by moving an humble address to his majesty, "praying that there should be laid before the house, an account of the debts and assets of the India Company, to the latest period that the same could be made out."

The Earl of DARTMOUTH, in answer to what had fallen from the noble earl who had just sat down, first observed, that he saw no objection to the production of the account called for. He said, it would be unnecessary for him to take up the time of the house in following the noble earl, much of what he said being irrelevant to his main or regular subject of discussion, or intended for future discussion, in the course of which he doubted not the expected information would evince, that the noble lords entrusted with the government of India and whose measures on that occasion were arraigned by the noble earl, had acted upon principles of sound policy and justice. His lordship then entered into a detailed statement of some length, relative to the financial affairs of India, and which were drawn from official documents and extracts, that he regularly referred to as he proceeded, and the result of which he was confident must do away the unfavourable impressions received by the noble earl, and shew that the debts of India by no means amounted to what the noble earl had stated, or that its financial concerns were in such a state as he seemed to imagine. He stated the progressive increase of the debts of India from 1780 to 1801, and classified these under the different heads to which they appertained, of foreign bills, investments, assets, &c. and calculated that the

whole did not exceed 18,637,000*l*. as stated in the official documents before the house. He contended, that the debt was not incurred by the expence of the war in the degree the noble earl seemed to imagine. With respect to the increased charge for the troops to the government of Oude, they were stationed pursuant to the provisions of the treaty for the defence of that country, and circumstances requiring an increased number of troops in that quarter, a proportionate charge of course took place. He contended, that the state of India was of late very much improved, particularly on account of the introduction of the system of English jurisprudence, and the benign influence of our laws into that country. The resources of India were in a flourishing state, and her debts would be put into a train of expeditious liquidation, one ingredient in which undoubtedly was a strict economy, and also a reduction of the military establishments of India. A great deal in the way of liquidation would be effected, by transferring the debts of that country, through the medium of commerce, to Leadenhall-street. The noble earl concluded by repeating that he had no objection to the motion.

The Earl of SURREY said a few words in explanation, and adverted to the advantages the noble earl at the head of the board of control had in recurring to official documents, it was impossible for him to refer to papers which he had not seen, he had no doubt of the statements being correct, and he expressed his satisfaction at hearing that the military establishments of India were intended to be reduced.

The question was then put, and the accounts were ordered to be produced accordingly.

HOUSE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

JUNE 28

A person from the East India Company produced papers, which had been moved for by Mr WALLACE, relative to the recent transactions in the Carnatic. Upon their being ordered to be printed, Mr SHERIDAN rose and spoke nearly to the following effect:—"The discussion yesterday having been unfortunately interrupted in consequence of there not having been a sufficient number of members present to listen to the laborious and eloquent speech of an honourable and learned gentleman, whom I am happy that I now see in one of his places, (for the honourable gentleman shifts his seat so frequently, that there is no saying to which side of the house he belongs) I mean again to call the attention of the house to the recent transactions in India, which it was then unhappily prevented from hearing described in a much more ample and elegant manner than I can promise or undertake. I shall unfortunately pursue a very different course, by which the house will be deprived of the advantage of hearing the whole history of India detailed, from the period of the first establishment of European settlements in its territory. I wish to avoid entering into all detail, for it is necessary to pursue one or the other of two lines. It is necessary either to go into the whole question with *ex parte* evidence, with such evidence as would not only be insufficient to warrant me in calling for any decision of the house, but even to warrant me in saying, that my own opinion on the subject is made up, or, having pointed the attention of the house to the matter, to forbear bringing it under further discussion till the whole can be

fairly taken into view. I shall choose the latter mode, but before I proceed to say a few words on the papers before the house, I have to explain to the hon. gentleman the share that I had in the act which deprived the house of the pleasure of hearing him last night. It has not been my custom to enforce the strict rules of the house, still less to quit the house in the midst of a speech. Taking it upon myself, therefore, to account to the honourable gentleman for enforcing the strict rule last night, I leave others to excuse themselves to him, if they can, for leaving the house during a speech so interesting. I was directed by those who applied to me on this business, to address myself in the first instance to his majesty's ministers, and if a satisfactory explanation was received from them, no further proceeding was to take place, and here I must say, that in my communications with the right honourable gentleman opposite (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), I found a disposition to give every possible information that could be procured. I was given to understand, however, that fuller information was every day expected, and I thought it right to give time for its arrival, and even now I do not mean, on the partial evidence that is in my hands, to go into any sounding declamation, I think myself bound in candour and fairness to wait for the arrival of those documents without which a fair estimate cannot be formed. Acting on this principle, and waiting from day to day for the expected information, I was a little surprised to find that, during my absence, an honourable gentleman, struck with a new sensibility of which he had before shewed no symptom, had taken the young prince under

his protection, and stood forward a spontaneous guardian to demand the restitution of his rights. On my return, the honourable gentleman very kindly expressed a wish that I should bring the business forward, and declared that he himself would be content with a secondary speech. An honourable gentleman, for reasons which he mentioned privately to me, and which I found very satisfactory, wished the business to be put off from Tuesday to Wednesday, he signified his wish in the house with my consent, and applied to the hon. gentleman to put off the conditional notice which he had thought proper to give. — After all this, I was indeed much surprised to find, on coming down yesterday, that the hon. gentleman was determined to proceed, and the only reason I could hear for his having been so determined was, that he was apprehensive that the secretary of the treasury would prevent the house from meeting for business this day, in order to juggle him out of the opportunity of making his speech. I have mentioned this in order to account for the abrupt proceeding of yesterday. The honourable gentleman accounts for his having taken up the business by saying, that he feared from my negligence that I would abandon it. Now, with deference to the honourable gentleman, whatever negligence may be imputed to my conduct in other respects, I cannot be charged with having neglected to bring the errors of the governors in India before the public, and to enforce the necessity of punishing their crimes in an exemplary manner. He accuses my conduct of tending to occasion delay in an affair that requires instant consideration; but, in my opinion, his own conduct is more likely to produce

delay for what effect can a precipitate motion, founded on no documents, on no information, have, but to provoke opposition, and to prevent the voluntary efforts of his majesty's ministers to promote an inquiry? In the method of conducting inquiries into Indian affairs, at least, I may boast I have had some experience, and do not stand in need of the directions of the hon. and learned gentleman. With regard to the time, the occasion, the manner, in which it is proper for me to bring forward any motion, I hold myself bound to obey the dictates of no man. I shall act, in these respects, from my own motives, from the dictates of my own mind, and not be guided either by the whims or the feelings of others. On the present occasion, I have already stated, that there are only two ways of proceeding—either to discuss the whole of the Indian affairs with such imperfect lights as we have, or to defer the whole till we can procure more complete information. The motives that induce me to pursue the latter method, I have already stated, and I must again do the Chancellor of the Exchequer the justice to say, that he has, in this business, shewn himself extremely willing to produce every document in his power, and has, in no instance, shewn a disposition to keep back any information that has been required. He has even voluntarily moved for papers, without requiring reasons to be alleged by others for their production. When such was the Chancellor of the Exchequer's conduct, it was impossible that I could follow any other course than that which I have at present chosen. I should not think myself justified in endeavouring, either by an inflammatory or declamatory harangue, to pre-
judge

judge the question before the necessary information respecting it can be procured. After the willingness which he had shewn to promote an inquiry into this subject, I need not inform the present minister, who has not hitherto inter-meddled with Indian politics, and who is still unspotted by the crimes of that government—I need not inform him, that this subject requires his most serious consideration. It is unnecessary for me to enter into a train of argument to prove the rights of the Indian princes to their own dominions. Since the settlement made in the year 1703, we have ourselves uniformly recognised the title of the rights of the nabob of Arcot. Yet, in defiance of this right, the lineal heir of that dominion is now deposed by us on account of the alleged crimes of his grandfather and his father, on the ground of an unlawful correspondence with the late sultana of the Mysore. But I will ask who were the informers on this charge? the government of India who were the accusers? the government of India who were the witnesses? the government of India who were the judges? the government of India who were the receivers of the fines and forfeitures? the government of India. Upon these circumstances, on the consideration that the same persons who were informers, accusers, witnesses, and judges, who were also to enjoy the mulcts and beneficial interest arising from the conviction, there is reason to entertain doubts of the justice and equity of the proceeding. I am sure this short statement is sufficient to bring the business under the serious consideration of the house. I shall be happy, and I shall think it extremely fortunate for the character of the government

of India, and for the credit of the nation at large, if further information shall be found to justify what has been done, and if, instead of instituting any charge on the statement, I shall have reason to abandon it from conviction. I shall be satisfied if ministers will take up the matter in such a way as to bring it to a full and fair investigation, but if they do not, I pledge myself to take it up in such a way, that if the government of India has been guilty of the inordinate acts which are now charged upon them, at least the British nation shall be rescued from the suspicion of giving countenance to acts so flagrant and so atrocious, and the government itself will be shewn the evil policy of seeking its own aggrandizement, by trampling on those principles of justice and honour which can alone secure to them the attachment of the natives. At present I will make no motion, but content myself with requesting the house to take the papers into their serious consideration. In addition to these papers, I take the liberty to present the petition of the regents appointed to direct the young prince, by the will of his highness the late nabob. Some difficulties may be started as to the authenticity of the signature, but it is in this, as in the common cases of presenting petitions from the magistrates or inhabitants of country towns, though one cannot pledge himself for the authenticity of the signatures, it is presumed that they are authentic. I have one reason to urge why the house should more readily receive this petition. Appeals from India can be made only to parliament, and it is only by parliament that the wrongs of which the petition complains (if wrongs they really are)

can be redressed. The crown itself has no power to redress the wrongs of the sufferers." Mr Sheridan concluded by moving, "That the petition from the regents of the Carnatic, which he held in his hand, be received and lie on the table." "

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, he was sure the house would do him the honour to recollect, that on various occasions, when petitions were presented to the house, and when doubts had arisen in the minds of gentlemen, as to the propriety of receiving such petitions, he had always shewn a disposition to receive them, provided they contained nothing that was indecorous, and prayed for

such relief as the house could, with propriety, grant, for it had always been his wish to give to the house a facility of attention to complaints that were made, and to grant such relief as was in the power of the house to grant. But, with this disposition, and every desire to shew all possible favour to the petitioners, he entertained some doubt, whether the petition which had been opened by the honourable gentleman who had made the motion was of such a kind as could be received by the house. It seemed that the petitioners styled themselves regents and descendants of the late nabob of the Carnatic.

Mr SHERIDAN said, he proposed the petition as coming from subjects

subjects of the British power in India

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, that his doubt was removed as to this point. He should have thought, that had the petitioners been styled regents of the late nabob, &c. there might have been some difficulty about receiving it, lest it might be said that the house of Commons had recognised a title which might afterwards turn out to be unfounded. It might, therefore, be thought improper to recognise a title which was thereafter to be considered. He was, however, desirous of considering this petition in that point of view which was most favourable for its reception. It might be contended, that these persons now petitioning the house were not subjects of the British power in India, as they were now stated, but that was a point which he should not now discuss that might introduce a doubt how far the petition ought to be entertained, in as much as it did not come from the description of persons on whose behalf it was offered. He had no disposition to discuss such topics, it was enough for him to see that the petitioners stated a grievance which might be redressed by the British parliament, and, as they applied to the British parliament for relief, he, for one, was not disposed to resist the bringing up of the petition. He had very little more to say on this subject, because he concurred with the honourable gentleman who made the motion, in one general sentiment which he had expressed, that there was no alternative on this occasion, for that the house must either go minutely into the subject in all its parts, or abstain from the discussion of it altogether. Thus far he agreed with the honourable gentleman, but he

must be permitted to express a regret, that from one or two of the expressions of the honourable gentleman he appeared to have deviated from that sentiment. He had said, that if any judgement could be formed from the papers on the table, criminality would attach to those who were at the head of the government of Bengal, of this, however, the honourable gentleman admitted no decided opinion could be formed. Now, Mr Addington said, whatever his opinion had been of the conduct of the noble persons to whom this observation referred, it would not become him, in the present circumstances, (there being no official detail upon the subject,) to deliver that opinion to the house, for the house could not form a correct judgement as to the propriety of that opinion, because the house was not in possession of the necessary documents for that purpose. He would go further, and say, he could not even permit himself to form a conclusive opinion without all the documents, but while he said this, he should also add, that as no inference could be drawn from the documents before the house, his opinion was, that no criminality whatever did attach either to the governor-general or to the other high character alluded to on this occasion. He said this on a view of the papers as they stood at present, and appeared before the House. He firmly believed that no criminality whatever would be found to attach to these noble persons, further than this he was unwilling to go into this subject at present, being convinced that it would be thoroughly discussed in the next session of parliament. What would be the opinion of the house hereafter, it did not become him to foretell, but he was confident he

was not asking more than the house was disposed to grant, when he asked them to pause before they gave an opinion upon a subject so interesting to the British character in general, and that of those noble persons in particular who had been so long employed in, who had been so steadily attached to, the public service of this country, on whose conduct, either for want of exertion or breach of faith, no blame or suspicion had ever yet attached — He felt a satisfaction in reflecting, that the house would not entertain any sentiment coming from any quarter unfavourable to these noble persons, before the whole of the circumstances of the case came before them by authentic documents.

Mr NICHOLLS said, he had no wish to discuss the question in the present state of the evidence. He must say, however, that the non-arrival of the details formed a ground of accusation against the Marquis of Wellesley and Lord Clive. The transaction took place eleven months ago, and the delay in transmitting the details furnished a presumption against them. If, however, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would pledge himself that justice should be done in the case, he should abstain from making any motion. It was not of the act of injustice done to the real heir of the late nabob that he complained, but of its consequences, and the system developed, of which it formed only one point. It was now avowed that the East India Company are over spreading the country of India with conquests, and that their proceeding in the Carnatic has been followed by many other such acts. The only power now remaining able to resist them was the Marhattas, with whom the present conduct of the Company, if persevered

in, must provoke a war. He deprecated such a consequence with a power whose population amounted to twenty millions, and in the present state of the Company, who are twenty four millions in debt. In case of such an event, this country must be drained to support the war, for such was the state of the Company, that it was with difficulty they contrived to pass over the present session without coming to that house for assistance, and must certainly come with an application for that purpose in the next. Here Mr Nicholls was called to order by Mr Wallace.

The SPEAKER said, he conceived that the honourable member's observations were not strictly applicable to the motion, but he was always delicate in intertering upon such occasions, as it was difficult to know whether an honourable member might not conclude with something that would bring him within order.

Mr NICHOLLS acquiesced in the decision of the Chair. The motion which he intended to make, he said, was, for an address to his Majesty, praying that immediate justice might be done in the case, but as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had promised to that effect, he should not press it.

Mr WALLACE denied that the Chancellor of the Exchequer could have made any promise of the kind, as such a promise would be to prejudge the cause.

Mr NICHOLLS answered, that if that were the case, he must persevere in moving the address. He then proceeded to state the various possible grounds upon which the East India Company might attempt a justification of their conduct in the Carnatic. In addition to those which he stated on the preceding night,

night, he said, he understood it was alleged, that papers were found at the taking of Seringapatam, which involved the late nabob in treasonable practices with the late Tippoo Saib. Supposing the truth of this charge, there was no precedent of a case of the kind being brought forward after the death of the offending party, after a lapse of two years, and against an innocent defendant. He would not merely say that this country furnished no such case, but he would deny that any country of Europe could furnish one. Admitting that the father had in his life-time given cause of offence, it was surely unjust to visit it upon the son. If this doctrine be good, no prince in Europe could be safe, as for instance, France might charge the next successor of the king of Naples with an hostile correspondence against her, and depose him on that ground. If the title of the son of the late nabob were not good, why did the Company treat with him for the cession of his dominions? Another ground of justification he understood was, an alleged right in the East India Company, upon the death of the nabob, to appoint his successor. These were all the possible grounds upon which he could conceive that the advocates of the transaction could attempt its support. He charged it as a departure from the system laid down in that house in 1782, and confirmed by a resolution in 1784. He had been charged with the principles which he held at that period, particularly in the case of Mr Hastings. He was not ashamed of the sentiments which he then expressed, as his experience since had furnished additional reasons to admire the wisdom of the system recommended by him, of

confirming our East India conquests, and for which, instead of receiving remuneration, his country had paid him with a prosecution. A contrary conduct would certainly lead to a war with the Mahrattas, and eventually with France, for if we were to be two years at war with the Mahrattas, unless France should depart from her old maxims of policy, there could be no doubt but she would in that time interfere in the quarrel. The question was urgent, and could not bear delay. An example of redress should be held out to the princes of India, and the system of universal empire now pursued in that quarter should be abandoned. Entertaining these sentiments, he thought it his duty to bring the question forward, he should accordingly move his address, but whether any other person in the house was of the same way of thinking, he could not say, as the gentleman who had promised to second him had been obliged to leave town in the morning upon other business. Mr Nicholls then moved the following address:

"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, humbly requesting that he would be graciously pleased to direct such measures to be taken as in his wisdom he may deem expedient, for the immediate examination of the claim of the East India Company to the dominions of Omdut ul Omrah, late nabob of the Carnatic, and that justice may be done to his highness Tajeel ul Omrah, his only son, and the successor appointed by his will."

Nobody having risen to second the address, it could not be put from the chair consistently with the rule of the house, and of course the question fell to the ground.

ADDENDA

TO THE PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT IN 1801

MR DUNDAS'S SPEECH ON THE INDIA BUDGET

In our account of the debate which took place on this subject, on the 12th of June 1801, (see *Asiat. Reg. Vol. 3, Proceedings in Parliament, p. 141.*) we gave, as usual, the abstract of the India accounts presented to the house by the minister; but our report of Mr Dundas's speech on that occasion was not so full or accurate as we could have wished, owing to an unlucky circumstance, which it were now useless to explain. We have therefore much satisfaction in presenting our readers with a very copious abstract of what fell from Mr Dundas, in the comprehensive and luminous view which he took of the political state of Hindustan, and of the affairs of the British provinces in that country.

After his elaborate and perspicuous statement of the India accounts Mr Dundas proceeded in nearly the following words.

When I undertook the task of stating this year the situation of India concerns in the manner I have been accustomed to do when in office it was my original intention to have confined this statement to a dry recital in the shape of resolutions, of the result of the accounts and estimates on the table. My reasons for this were, first, that, with the opinion I entertain of the result of the administration of India for seventeen years past, under its present system, I could not well take a retrospective view of its past compared with its present situation without being liable to the imputation of an ostentatious display of occurrences, in which I may be supposed to have had a considerable share; and, secondly, if I was to indulge myself in too flattering a prospective view of future expectations, I might be accused of holding out sanguine predictions on future events respecting which I had no responsibility, and the fulfilment of which was to depend upon others, and not upon myself.

But, upon a nearer view of the subject, and considering the manner in which I concluded my statement of last year, I have persuaded myself, that it would be both unfairly and uncandid on my part, at this moment, if I was to conclude with barely recording resolutions stating the results arising out of the accounts which have been referred to the committee. I concluded my statement of last year in the following words.

'The final result of the whole is, the financial departments in India have experienced material deterioration, from the

united pressure of war expences, and provision of investments but not in a degree to afford ground of alarm. A large proportion of the increase of the debt has been the occasion of adding to the assets, from whence the home concern has been considerably enriched. It certainly is of the first importance to devise a method by which the present burthens on India may be relieved; and I am happy in being enabled to remark that the means for accomplishing this desirable object are to be found in various ways—in principles of economy, as to the future expenditure; and in a proper application of the increased resources abroad. An examination must likewise be made, by what mode the home treasury can contribute to the diminution of the foreign debt.

'From the circumstances of the war, the establishments have been considerably extended. It will be a point of my diligent and close attention, that every practicable reduction shall be carried into effect from which with the favourable prospect to be indulged from the stability and permanence of the resources, and the unexampled prosperity of the commerce, no apprehensions need be entertained on account of the magnitude of the present debt. I am prepared, indeed, to meet it at fourteen millions. My confidence in the means of retrieving the state of the finances abroad is further strengthened, by reference to the experience of former times. The situation of the Company, on the first establishment of the present system, is well known to have been such, that the full extent of their difficulties could not be ascertained till the year 1786. In the year 1797, I took occasion to offer to the committee a most flattering view of the surprising improvement brought

about

about in the course of ten years. The reduction of the debts, and the increase of the assets, were to an amount exceeding 11,100,000*l.* It is true that within that period money had been raised on additional capital to the amount of 3,740,000*l.* but it must likewise be taken into consideration, that the remainder may be termed a net improvement, under the events of an Indian war at one time threatening serious disasters though finally concluded highly to the advantage of the Company under the event likewise of the present European war during four years of the period, which caused enormous additions to the expence of freights, and of the provision of every article of equipment and occasioned also great expences by several expeditions, from which our rivals were deprived of their possessions in the East. But I have carried the comparison three years further which will take in a great part of the immense expenditure of the late war with Mysore, and find, that the improvement during these thirteen years on the same principle, is 11,880,000*l.* If it be enquired, what is the state of the concern between 1796-7 and the date of the present accounts, in which period the extraordinary pelfore has been mostly paid it is satisfactory to discover, that without any aid from increase of capital the improvement has still been 747,000*l.*

It is fair, then to infer that so far from apprehensions, the most sanguine hopes may be indulged from the present general aspect of the Company's affairs, whether considered politically or commercially that unless any thing unforeseen should occur, the debts may in a few years, be reduced to the amount at which it may be prudent to limit them and that the surplus produce of the revenues may be applied to the purposes intended, when the last arrangement took place.

These words have been given to the public; and therefore, both my successors, and the public at large have a right to expect from me, at the close of my Indian administration, that I should more distinctly explain the grounds of those expectations which I had thus held out.

Although in the discharge of this task which I impose on myself, I may be obliged to refer to past transactions I shall refrain from doing so, either ostentatiously or in great detail but if I am to state my expectations as to the future, it is impossible for me to do so, without stating the grounds on which my confidence rests.

The change of system, in consequence of the institution of the present mode of administration forming an era rather remarkable in the annals of the East India Company from the particular situation of their affairs, as well as from the clashing of interests and opinions occasioned thereby, it may not be altogether foreign to the present purpose, and particularly from the peculiar circumstances under which I have the honour to address the committee, if I take a view of some of the events which have since combined to the increase of our power and influence, and to their establishment on a basis not likely soon to be shaken.

Beginning with the state of affairs in India, both as it concerns our external relations and the internal situation of our own extensive and valuable possessions, it is with the most heartfelt satisfaction my mind contemplates the amazing change in our political relations in the East at the present time compared with what they were in 1784. A circumstantial detail of the many vicissitudes within the period, cannot be expected to be given in the narrow space of time allotted to this inquiry let it partly suffice to say that, by a happy combination of efforts both abroad and at home, efforts have been produced which could scarcely have entered the minds of the most sanguine.

In the year 1784 peace had been recently obtained from our inveterate and determined enemy, the late Tippoo Sultan as a boon in fact, essential to the preservation of our possessions on the peninsula of India, for the most part suffering from the ravages of war to a degree which peace and time alone could recover. The period following that peace, till the unprovoked hostility on the lines of our ally, the rajah of Travancore, was little more than an unceasing expectation of war. It then became necessary not only upon the faith of treaties but upon principles of self-defence to enter again upon a most arduous conflict with our enemy, in the plenitude of his power, the issue of which rested, at one time, upon a very precarious balance till the rare and singular talents of him whose name must ever be mentioned with gratitude and reverence were called forth. (The noble and respectable character to whom I allude is the Marquis Cornwallis.) Such, however was the nature of the contest, that two campaigns were requisite to bring it to an end; and truly glorious it was, affording at once a display of British prowess in arms, and moderation in victory.

tory. The act of affairs was then completely changed. Peace was our grant, when summary vengeance was at our command. Policy and prudence required that the enemy should be reduced in his power, and justice prescribed that our allies and ourselves should receive some reimbursements of the expenses we had respectively incurred. he was, therefore, not only annexed in a considerable lump but lost part of the half of his dominions.

The next interval of peace bore a near resemblance to the last, and it has been clearly ascertained, that the labours of the sword of our enemy was not only the recovery of his dominions, but also the accomplishment of our utter destruction. The day it might have arrived when forbearance could no longer be exercised with common attention to the safety of our own interests. A new war became essentially necessary, which by the most signal exertions of wisdom, energy, and courage, was soon brought to a termination in the death of him who provoked it, and in the entire conquest of his dominions. These great events, and the arrangements in consequence, are on the records of parliament, but I have adverted to them in order to display the secure and permanent foundation on which our possessions are at this time held in that part of India. The accounts before the house will show the pecuniary advantages derived from them, a reference to the map will discover that we are now possessed of an extended territory with a reduced frontier, and it further appears, that we are relieved from the head of a power which for a long series of years had, in connexion with our common enemy, been hitherto a possible, or our very expulsion from India. Such has been the extension of our power and influence in this part since the year 1784.

If we look to the state of our alliances with the several powers in India, on the same comparison the view is equally satisfactory.

First the Nizam, although allied by treaty during a long series of years, the advantages to the Company were frequently problematical from the fluctuating politics of his court, and although his highness furnished some assistance towards the object of the last war with Tippoo, and reaped his proportion of the advantages from the successful termination of it, very soon after an influence prevailed in his councils, threatening serious consequences. By the judicious and decisive conduct of the present govern-

ment, that influence has been destroyed, our common enemy deprived of any prospect of annoying us from that quarter, and this alliance rendered truly valuable. It was to this circumstance we were indebted for the useful co-operation of his highness's force in the late Mysore war, and to this circumstance may likewise be attributed the happy event of our connexion with Hyderabad being now more firmly cemented than ever. A new treaty has been lately entered into, stipulating for a considerable increased subsidiary force, and instead of leaving the payment of the subsidy to the uncertain receipts of his own treasury, he has assigned to the Company the whole of the territories acquired from the late Sultan of Mysore. By this measure, the possibility of dispute between the two powers, on the score of punctuality of payment, will be effectually removed, and the Company will receive ample reparation for the expense of the forces supplied by them.

The treaty with the rajah of Travencore, though not productive of advantage to so great an extent, may still be mentioned as an event within the period alluded to, tending to strengthen our influence.

Our most particular connexions on this side of India are the nabob of Arcot, the rajah of Tanjore, and the nabob of Buir.

The nabob of Arcot. The alliance with him is surely as well known to have been very ancient. The identity of interests between him and the Company is obvious. The treaty under which our present relation with him stands, was dated in 1732, and was entered into with his father on terms extremely favourable to him. I have several times mentioned to the house my wish, that that treaty might undergo several modifications, the interests of the Company and the welfare of the inhabitants of the districts under his highness's government, required it. That it has not yet taken place is no proof of any thing against our general influence, as no apprehension whatever is to be entertained of his power.

With the rajah of Tanjore we stand upon far better grounds. I have formerly intimated to the house the change introduced in this alliance, and the act of justice by which the present rajah was restored to his right. Districts were, in the first place, assigned to the Company for the payment of the subsidy; but as this occasioned a species of divided government,

Government and our system of management was far better calculated to restore this fruitful country to a state of prosperity, the young rajah very wisely chose to assign the whole to our direct management, a respectable stipend for the support of the splendour of his own household, and that of his family. A treaty was accordingly concluded to that effect in the year 1799.

The nabob of Oude might not perhaps, be thought of sufficient importance to introduce upon the occasion, but having adverted to the new arrangements with him in the examination of the Bombay account, it is proper to state that by the grant of a high exclusive management of this city and its dependencies was particularly visited in the Company. From that period however it was thought proper to have a joint direction with the reigning nabob till the last year when it was deemed prudent that the Company's original rights should be re-established and that the collection of the revenues, the civil government and the military defence should be placed with their servants. This was finally adjusted by a amiable compromise. A handsome stipend has been given to the nabob, and allowances granted to such of his dependents as appeared to have claims.

I have first noticed the several powers with whom we are in strict alliance on this side of India, as being nearest the more immediate and active scene of political operations and change, but the improvement of the connexion and influence with the nabob of Oude is of no less consequence to the interests of the Company. The occurrences, since the death of the late nabob have been formerly brought to the notice of the house, and the hope that was entertained, of the present nabob being induced to discharge his own duties and ill-disciplined army, and to employ an additional number of the Company's troops. This has been completely brought to effect, and at the same time that the Company derive substantial advantages, the real expence to the nabob will be diminished.

Thus we find every alliance at this moment most completely strengthened, a very large annual resource obtained, and while the friendship of the parties is effectually secured, the subsidiary force employed still forms an integral part of the defence of our own dominions.

If we turn our attention to other powers of the East, a view entirely satisfactory presents itself. From the present state of the Mahratta empire, I see no

cause for apprehending the interruption of tranquillity independent of its being the interest of its rulers to maintain the principles of harmony and peace. But if it were even that the growth of its power, and by which it effected its own greatness is at this time so far from tending to the ruin of our influence, the friendly disposition of the Burman empire is another proof of the great respect with which we are viewed by our neighbours.

I trust it will then be admitted even from this abstract view, that with regard to our interests in the East it is such as to gratify the wishes of the most sanguine. But a still further ground of satisfaction arises from the recollection that our former British and Persian rivals have not only been excluded from their own possessions, but also by the events now taking effect, actually deprived of the power of seriously endangering our interests.

I think it proper, how ever to observe, that while I give this flattering view of our political situation in India, it is not with any intention to lull our minds into any supine or dangerous security. It would be an unwarrantable indiscretion on my part if I was on such a subject, to enter into any detail. I say in general, that unremitting vigilance and watchfulness are as necessary as ever. Having got the better of old combinations and annihilated the force of ancient enemies, is no let us suppose that circumstances may not arise to produce new confederations, and a system of intrigue, not less dangerous though differently directed. Those who have given a comprehensive consideration to this subject will without further explanation understand me when I direct their vigilant attention to the state of Persia, to the northern frontier of Hindustan to the mouths of the Indus, and to the gulph of Persia and Arabia.

I shall now refer to the state of our own immediate dependencies, and the government of them.

Here a most flattering picture presents itself, inasmuch as we have the satisfaction of knowing that, at the same time the Company's resources have during the period alluded to been carried to the highest pitch of prosperity, the situation of the inhabitants of these extensive dominions has been considerably ameliorated, and every measure is adopted, thus, with the security of the established demand of the state, that who pay that demand shall likewise enjoy every security in their persons and interests. The advantageous terms of the permanent settlements, and the

the beneficial tendency of the judicial regulations in Bengal, need not now be mentioned, having been often before brought to the notice of the house, but merely as a display of the superior policy of the present system, under which, at the same time that every species of force or compulsion, further than what is prescribed by known and promulgated laws, is done away, the resources are fully realized, and the land rents carried to an almost unprecedented extent, as already observed.

From the experience of this system in Bengal, it has been thought fit to extend it, as far as practicable, to every province under the Company's government and orders have been issued to the presidencies of Madras and Bombay for that purpose.

The internal government of these presidencies improves every year. As to Bombay the revenues of the province of Malabar had, for the two last years, much increased in produce, as well as in facility of collection. One refractory tributary alone remained, who made the most ungrateful return for the clemency shown him. Little doubt need be entertained but he will soon be effectually subdued.

A material change has lately taken place on this side of India by the transfer of the Malabar province to the entire superintendence of the Madras government. The numerous tributaries under this government are now happily brought to that state of subjection as to furnish the hope that the frequent insurrections which I had the mortification to learn by the advices, will no more be heard of. Their expectation of support and indeed the main spring of every revolt being effectually removed by the death of Tippoo every hope may be entertained of the perfect establishment of the quiet of the country. This has in part been already obtained amongst some of the most refractory the southern poligars, who are now reported to be changed from an armed and lawless banditti to a peaceful and industrious peasantry.

The tranquillity of the northern circars has frequently been interrupted by the restless and turbulent disposition of some of the zemindars. Military aid has on many occasions, been requisite to establish the authority of government. A more favourable prospect presents itself with regard to these districts likewise, the vigorous exertions, very properly called forth, having convinced the rebellious of the inefficacy of their attempts. But the

time is fully arrived for the complete assumption of every power of government. The happiness of the numerous inhabitants of those parts renders it incumbent that they should receive the full benefits of a mild administration, in common with other classes of the subjects of the British dominions, and that their quiet, and in fact their lives, should no longer be exposed to the caprice of subordinate rulers. The orders for the general assimilation of the system of government, both revenue and judicial, are therefore, very properly issued. From the various habits and prejudices of the land-holders and inferior renters on this side of India, the full effects of this benevolent system may not so soon be proved as in Bengal. The jealousy of authority entertained by some of the zemindars may likewise occasion interruption, but no doubt exists, that steady and unshaken perseverance will eventually secure to the inhabitants all the benefits intended and to the Company the same advantages which they have reaped in the provinces of Bengal.

This favourable prospect is further strengthened by the prudent plans adopted, as far as practicable, that the minds of the people should be prepared for the change by their gradual introduction in some of the districts. In every case, however the due consideration paid to their prejudices cannot fail of producing the ready assent of all who are not influenced by motives of private interest in the perpetuity of the present divided mode of government.

The secure and easy collection of the rents of the country is certainly an inducement to the introduction of this plan into the whole of the dominions but it may likewise be safely averred, that the happiness and interest of the millions of industrious inhabitants is likewise one of the great and leading motives. The example of the Bengal provinces is sufficient to justify the intention, where the ready means of knowing the laws by their general promulgation with those of obtaining justice has produced the happiest effects and it is certainly desirable, while the attempt is laudable, to secure the demands of the state, without the recourse to military coercion which has unhappily been so frequently requisite in the districts under the Madras government.

If I had been the sole actor in those beneficial consequences which have resulted from the recent administration of India, I should not have felt it decorous on my part to have alluded to them, even
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in the general way I have done; but I owe it, in common justice to those who have either assisted with their judgement in the formation of plans, or their active exertions in carrying them into execution and it cannot fail affording high satisfaction to the committee to be informed that every measure, whether relating to revenue or police, has been undertaken, no less with the view to the comfort and welfare of the Indian subjects, than to the advantage of the state. Having distinctly explained, from year to year most of these measures, a further recapitulation is not now wanting.

I shall, therefore, proceed to state, that the improvement of the commercial system, generally has been equally an object of marked attention. The most liberal encouragement has been given that the productions of the fertile provinces under our dominion, should yield every advantage to the cultivators of the soil, to the manufacturers of goods, and to the adventure of the private merchant. Taxes discovered to be oppressive have been uniformly abolished and it may safely be averred, that a greater freedom of trade is enjoyed under our government, than in any other part of India. As to Bengal, by the official accounts, the general increase of the trade has been stated with great clearness and precision. Articles of export, as formerly remarked to the committee not known till late years, have been cultivated to an immense extent. That of indigo, particularly, has flourished in a most flattering degree produced both in quantity and quality fit to offer a formidable rivalry to those from whom it was supplied in other quarters of the world. It may be said, that disappointments have occurred in the speculations of some individuals engaged in the trade but it frequently happens, that a lucrative branch of commerce will so much engage the public attention as to be carried beyond the current demand. The level always, however, returns. But with regard to this article a most final and truly valuable end would have been gained, if it had only been discovered that the ability existed to supply our own manufactures, without having recourse, as formerly, to the assistance of foreign merchants. The probability of the demand being still further extended cannot fail of affording the highest gratification.

The increased produce of sugar and of cotton might likewise be mentioned, as

well as other articles, but it would carry me into a larger detail than might at this time be proper.

The trade of the districts under the presidencies of Madras and Bombay cannot be exactly ascertained, as at Bengal, from the want of similar official documents. But that of the Company, at the former presidency in particular, has increased, in a very great degree, and would have been carried to a further amount, but for the pressing demands upon the treasures in consequence of the war. The way in which it has happily terminated, affords the prospect of the Company being enabled to avail themselves of the industry of the whole of the peninsula, to their own advantage as that of the inhabitants both native and European, and no less so that of this country, from the increased demands which will arise for its manufactures. It will, therefore, be admitted that the commercial prosperity of India strongly corroborates what I have adduced with regard to the improvements in other respects.

Many objections have been from time to time raised to the policy of the restrictions imposed by the legislature on the trade of the East and to the exclusive privileges placed in the Company. My decided sentiments on this subject are well known, I will therefore only now advert to it by observing, that, at the renewal of the charter in 1793 the legislature shewed every disposition to adopt such arrangements as might secure to this country as large a share of the Indian trade as possible. If any of the arrangements then made have been found by experience inadequate to the objects in view the wisdom of the legislature and, I trust, a liberal and wise policy on the part of the East India Company, will concur in correcting former errors. The manner in which this shall be done, confide in with those regulations which parliament has thought proper to impose, has long been under serious consideration. Many indulgences have already been granted to individuals and I have no doubt that, ultimately such a plan will be determined upon, as shall be the means of affording all the satisfaction which in reason and justice, could be expected. In doing this I certainly do not mean to exclude every degree of proper caution, for I have no hesitation in expressing my thorough conviction of its being incumbent on those with whom the final arrangement of this very important branch

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shall rest, never to lose sight of those salutary maxims which have been prescribed by long experience and that they be strictly upon their guard that substantial and permanent benefits may not be sacrificed to casual, and perhaps illusory schemes of gain.

The trade with China is well known to be a most consequential part of our commercial interests, not only as it concerns the particular advantage of the Company but likewise as it concerns the empire in the demands for the manufactures, and in the material aid afforded to the revenue. It is therefore I have the greater satisfaction in being able to view its prosperous state in every point. The credit of the Company has always stood high in the opinion of the Chinese merchant for notwithstanding at one period the arrears to them was considerable, their confidence has not diminished, and no interruption has occurred if that was the case under such circumstances the situation of affairs in China, at this time, must be admitted to wear a very pleasing aspect. The balance owing at Canton in 1793, was 1,073,600*l*. by the accounts upon that table there was a balance in favour of the Company of not less than 1,226,091*l*. arising from cash in the treasury goods in warehouse or afloat homeward or advances for future investments making a difference in that period of not less than 2,299,686*l*. The consequence is highly propitious. The exchange upon India has materially benefited and an opportunity has been afforded the government of Bengal to make the attempt to turn this favourable circumstance to the utmost advantage in every possible respect. The effect has been already felt in the revival of the trade in opium the principal demand for which is in these seas. It has also been experienced in other branches of Indian produce. While every facility of export is given from our own provinces the Canton treasury is opened for bills on the several presidencies so that the consignee is assured of the return of the proceeds of his adventure. The bullion heretofore sent from Europe to China may go to India to the enrichment of our possessions there it will therefore appear that the benefits resulting from this trade will not be merely confined to this country but will be extended in a great degree, to every part of the dominions in the East.

The view of this trade, on a comparison with its amount in the year 1784,

is particularly favourable to my present object. The sales, in the year 1784-5, of which tea formed the principal part, amounted to 2,219,000*l*. In the year 1800-1, they were 3,616,000*l*.; the progressive increase since the passing the commutation act, was last year noticed to the committee.

If the attention is directed to the state of the affairs at home, on which I shall now offer a few remarks, every ground is afforded for the most satisfactory inference. Here is found the grand criterion from which to form a judgement of the advantage which the empire derives from this immense traffic. The discovery is of importance that notwithstanding the convulsions by which the commercial world has been long agitated the trade from the East to this country has flourished from year to year, and is still flourishing in an eminent degree, realizing every expectation held out on the establishment of the present system, and justifying the measures hitherto adopted for its extension. The progressive increase of the sales has been noticed at the proper times. The comparison of the sale in 1845 and by the last accounts, gives the most correct idea of the amazing improvement within that period. In 1845 the aggregate of the sales was 4,605,411*l*. in 1850-1 it was 10,334,521*l*. which is an increase of 5,729,110*l*. If it be objected that the comparison is made on a period peculiarly favourable I will take it on the average of the last three years. In this view the sales amount to 10,275,491*l*. exhibiting still an improvement of 5,669,664*l*. which in both cases, would have been yet more favourable, but for the operation of the act passed in 1799, respecting the customs, as already explained.

Having given a cursory view of the very flattering situation of the affairs of the Company both in their political and commercial relations, it yet remains to answer a question which must naturally arise—From whence it results that, in the midst of all this prosperity, the financial statements for the three last years have worn so unfavourable an aspect, with regard to India, as to disburdenment and to the accumulation of debt? The very precise explanations given in each year on these points will greatly lessen the difficulty of making the reply. I have, therefore, only to quote them in abstract. I must, however, take leave to offer one previous remark,—that the

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Company in their political capacity, a circumstance peculiarly circumstanced.

Possessed (as they truly are) of extensive dominions, enjoying likewise the advantage of beneficial alliances, yielding together immense resources, large and expensive establishments are required, not only for the administration of the government, but likewise for the collection of the revenues, and particularly for the protection of their territories, and the fulfilment of their engagements with their allies. Under these circumstances, even in time of peace, the outgoing must be great. Still a considerable surplus revenue would be left for remittance to this country, through the channel of investments for the purposes prescribed in the agreement with the public. But in the time of war, in India particularly, where the expenses attending military operations are beyond all proportion greater than in this country, every financial disposition for peaceable times must necessarily be completely deranged, the demands upon the treasury must increase with the pressure of the times, while there is no possibility of procuring extraordinary aids in any proportion to the exigencies of the government. Thus circumstanced no alternative remains but having recourse to loans, either to supply the deficiency or to prevent an interruption of the usual course of the investment. This measure, though affording relief for the moment, tends to add to the difficulties, from the demand for interest. From this remark it will be inferred that the war has been the chief cause of the present situation of the Company's finances in India.

This will be a kind of general answer to the question stated is likely to arise, but may not be quite sufficient. It is therefore necessary, to preserve an accordance with the comparative statement given of our advantages since the year 1784, to enter a little further into the particulars of the charges since that time which will likewise give some satisfaction on another query, which will follow, of course on the most essential parts of the financial system. If, after the general termination of hostilities, any hopes may be entertained that substantial benefits will accrue from our increased dominions and extended trade, so that the financial embarrassments may be done away, and the advantages held out to the public may be realised?

The expenses of the Indian establishments underwent a very narrow investigation immediately after the introduction

of the present system, and every practicable reduction was made. Upon the breaking out of the war with Tippoo, in the year 1792, and till the conclusion of the military charges were again greatly increased, but the sum received under the partition treaty and the revenues of the country ceded to the Company may be looked upon as affording some relief in that case. The establishments were then again reduced within limits as the circumstances of the time would admit.

I will, therefore, take my retrospect from the year 1792, when preparatory to the renewal of the charter every source of revenue, and every item of charge, underwent, once more a most narrow investigation, and an estimate was drawn up with every possible degree of accuracy in order to ascertain what might be a proper arrangement between the public and the Company in time of peace. It would occupy too much time to enter into the detail of that arrangement, or of the estimate. I will only make such references to the estimate as may be required for the explanation of the general heads of charge.

On the comparison of the estimate made in 1793 with that for the year 1800-1, now upon the table, the returns are found to differ in a material amount notwithstanding the resources in the latter period, from the increase of the old revenues, the additions of the ceded and conquered provinces, and the new subsidies exacted from the former in upwards of three millions sterling. From the explanation of the detail of the account the committee must be aware, that the disparity arises, difference arising from the enormous increase of the expenditure. This subject, in particular, has constantly occupied my most vigilant attention, and the court of directors have always enjoyed the satisfaction of always being enabled to do so. But from the very nature of the estimate of 1793 was felt that it has been the state of affairs that it cannot properly be taken as a criterion of expense. The war and the engagements with our allies have necessarily occasioned an immense addition to the military charges, which have likewise been greatly increased by the additional allowances to the officers, under the regulations of 1796, and by subsequent grants of increased pay to the private Europeans, and to the native officers and sepoy at Madras. In the civil branches of the administration great changes have also taken place. liberal allowances have been granted to officers of high trust and respon-

responsibility, the revenue and judicial departments have been entirely separated and it will appear on a minute investigation of the increased charge, that the part of it which may be looked upon as permanent, is to be attributed either to circumstances connected with the addition to the resources, or to the absolute prescriptions of policy and justice.

A very considerable part of the charge estimated for 1800-1 may be looked upon as temporary. The additional interest on the debts will cease as they shall be discharged, and I look with earnest hope to the reduction of the great expense of field operations, which may reasonably be expected, from the general tranquillity which, before this time, has probably taken place in every part of India. A further expectation may be entertained, that when peace shall generally take place, the necessity will no longer exist for military establishments so extensive as at present. Partial reductions have already been ordered, but when every practicable retrenchment shall be made in the expenditure abroad, and when that at home shall be relieved of the war contingencies, means will be found to recover the disorders in the financial system, and to put the Company in possession of every advantage commensurate with all the general improvements in other respects, which have been stated to the committee.

My sentiments on the propriety of furnishing investments by means of loans, have formerly been distinctly given; they are still the same. The measure was proper at the time, but by no means so for permanent practice. And although the same measure has been pursued in the last year I should hope the very considerable supplies which have now for several years been furnished from the treasury in England, and which it appears the intention of the court to continue, will prevent the further accumulation of the Indian debt.

The general state of the Company's affairs, notwithstanding the increase of the expenses, and the accumulation of the debts in India, may be found, upon calculation, to have greatly amended within the periods of comparison. I have, upon a former occasion, brought to the notice of the committee, that the improvement under the operation of the present system, to the period of account then under consideration, was found to exceed eleven millions sterling: the alteration since not having been to any great amount, the amelioration may, on the same principle,

be now taken as about the like sum. The additional capital snuff, as then noticed, be taken into the account, and some further adjustments will be required. If such has been the event, under the circumstances of two wars in India, in part of the period, under the circumstances, likewise, of a general European war, from the year 1793 the inference is highly favourable to the mode of administration—and the more so when the great additional revenue, and the complete conquest of every country in the East, are taken into the account.

The debts abroad are certainly much greater than at the first period of the comparison, but the effects exhibit an excess still more considerable. At home, the favourable alteration in both respects, has been to such an amount as to form in some degree the most serious part of the present financial embarrassment, inasmuch as what appears to be the chief cause of the apparent deterioration abroad, has contributed to the amelioration at home, to an extent rendering it a matter of great importance and some difficulty to restore the balance. This cannot be expected fully to take place till the return of peace. It had, however, been an object of very particular attention on my part, and from the confidence I have in the ability of the Company's resources I was led to form an extensive plan by which, upon calculations as accurate as can be expected upon mere estimate, the Company would be enabled, in a few years to restore the whole financial system to a state of the greatest prosperity, so that the debts in India would be discharged, the engagements to the public would be fulfilled, and the ultimate operation would be the security of the full capital at the end of the present charter.

I am fully aware that in the judgment of some my expectations will be pronounced too sanguine, and perhaps to be such that their realisation exceeds every degree of probability, or indeed possibility, as the rapid increase of the debt in the few last years must offer an insuperable bar to the accomplishment of events so desirable as those now pointed out. This consideration, however, strengthens the ground of my proposition. If the loss of the surplus revenue operated so quickly in an unfavourable degree, sure the acquisition of revenue must be allowed to have an equal effect in the recovery of the system. Difficulties of a formidable nature, it must be admitted, will be in the way of the execution

execution of a plan on so vast a scale. But these difficulties are only at the outset once surmounted no other obstruction need be apprehended, than such as no providence or care on our part can possibly meet and I have no fear of hazarding my opinion that should peace take place, and continue uninterrupted for a few years, and the trade remain in its present flourishing state, the realization of the whole of the advantages now stated may be safely reckoned upon provided the principles upon which the calculations are made are regularly attended to.

The grand and leading feature of this plan is,

First. An arrangement abroad, so that a full million from the surplus of the revenue shall at the commencement be applicable to the payment of investments.

Secondly. That the investment from India and China shall amount at present cost to four million annually in equal proportions.

Thirdly. That during the first four years from this time the Company shall avail themselves of the power they already have, under the act of augmenting their capital stock to the extent of two millions, at the rate of half a million annually which, it is supposed will realize one million sterling.

Fourthly. That the additional money so raised shall be applied exclusively to the liquidation of the present Indian debt at interest either by increasing instalments in bullion or export to India at that amount or by drawing credits in bills drawn from India for the same purpose.

Fifthly. That the extinction of this debt, now calculated to amount to fifteen millions sterling shall be carried on at the rate of one million annually till the part of it termed the Decennial loan shall become payable which is expected to take place on or about the year 1878, and that the sum then payable on account of Indian debt, which is stated at 3,500,000, shall be discharged in that year on which suppositions the debts at interest abroad will then be reduced to 4,500,000 at which amount it may be thought expedient to keep them stationary.

The gradual reduction of the debt will add to the surplus of the revenues, by the diminution of the interest, and in the year 1868-9, the sum of two millions sterling may be applied to the investments. The application of the surplus thus increasing from year to year, will of

course lessen the demand of India upon the home treasury, so that the balance of cash cannot fail of increasing to an immense amount.

I have stated the great difficulty to be in the outset; my estimate is to be calculated. In the first year no surplus revenue is reckoned upon the charges to be defrayed at home are all on a war establishment the whole cost of the investment, four millions, is to be paid, and another million to be applied to payment of the debts, making together five millions in aid of India. This must be furnished in exports, by the payment of bills to be drawn from abroad and in whatever amount these, together shall be found within a bullion must be metted. In the second year a surplus is expected in India of one million and the budget is taken at a peace rate and so continued from year to year only lessening the amount to be paid at home on account of India in proportion with the increase of the surplus from the revenues as already mentioned. Ample allowance is made for the whole of the home charges in all their area and if any unexpected additional charge should arise the current balance of cash might be employed in the purchase of government securities or otherwise as it should a fund may suffice to meet any peace contingency.

If it be objected that the trade is taken on too great a scale which according to present appearances, I cannot allow to be the fact still taking it at a liberal amount for only three millions of investment hereafter would be highly favourable though not to the extent at first stated while the other effect would be to render the plan more practicable from the smaller demand on the home treasury for the prime cost of the investments.

The propositions it must be observed do not arise from any new theory they are brought upon the system I laid down in the year 1853 and are only an extension of that system. The expectations I then entertained were not wholly disappointed and would have been most completely realized but for the various events which have been incident to the notice of the committee. The difference between that time and the present is highly favourable to the success of the system I wish to adopt. There then existed every appearance of war with our European enemies, who held possessions in different parts of India our most inveterate and formidable enemy, Tippoo, was still invested

with considerable power — We now reckon upon the prospect of peace, and have no immediate fear from any power in India.

The summary abstract of what I have now brought to the notice of the committee is as follows — An examination of the accounts upon the table both abroad and at home — the influence and power of the Company in the year 1784, and at the present time — the acquisition of territory and state of alliances — of foreign relations — the improvement of the internal administration of their own dominions — of the commerce in India, at China and at home — an explanation of the increase of the charges, and the prospect of gain obtaining a surplus revenue — the supplying investments by means of loans — the improvement of the Company's affairs under every event during the periods of comparison — and finally, the plan in contemplation on the return of peace.

In returning from my official connexion with the affairs of India the committee will do me the justice to believe that I can never be indifferent as to the success of the measures I have pointed out. I entertain on the subject the most sanguine expectations. Under other circumstances, I might at the present moment have felt deep regret, in the apprehension that new systems might have been introduced and new theories applied to the administration of our Indian empire. I make no doubt, many things will be found to require improvement and correction and none will rejoice more sincerely than I do in the fame and glory of those who may be the instrument of the improvement. But I am perfectly satisfied that radical change in the system I have pursued will be necessary in the full conviction of its propriety and utility that impression I shall continue to entertain with heartfelt joy every progress in improvement of our Indian concerns, relieving the most anxious burden in the hearts and integrity of those whom his majesty has appointed to succeed to me in this important charge. And it only remains for me to apologise to the committee for engrossing so much of its time and that the result of the examination of the statements may as usual, be placed on the records of parliament, to move the following resolutions.

Resolved That it appears to this committee, That the annual revenues of the East India Company in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and from Be-

nares and Oude, under the heads of mint or coinage duties, post office collections, Benares revenues, Oude subsidy, land revenues, police taxes, customs duties of salt and opium and stamp duties amounted on the average of three years 1797-8 to 1799-1800 both inclusive to the sum of six crore fourteen lacks twenty thousand three hundred and fifteen current rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual revenues of the East India Company in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa and from Benares and Oude under the same heads, which were estimated for the year 1799-1800 to amount to six crore nineteen lacks sixty seven thousand three hundred and thirty two current rupees, amounted to six crore thirty lacks forty seven thousand three hundred and eighty current rupees.

Resolved That it appears to this committee That the charges incurred by the East India Company in the provinces of Bengal Bahar and Orissa, and in Benares and Oude under the heads of civil judicial military and marine the charges of buildings and fortifications, of collecting the revenues and customs and the advances and charges on account of salt and opium and the charges of the stamp office, which were estimated for the year 1799-1800 at four crore fifteen lacks seventy five thousand five hundred and thirty four current rupees, amounted to four crore twenty three lacks twenty nine thousand nine hundred and nine current rupees.

Resolved That it appears to this committee That the annual revenues of the East India Company in the provinces of Bengal Bahar and Orissa, and from Benares and Oude under the heads of mint or coinage duties post office collections, Benares revenue Oude subsidy land revenues police taxes customs, the receipts from the duties of salt and opium, and the stamp duties for the year 1800-1801 were estimated by the governor general and council to amount to the sum of six crore thirty three lacks ninety two thousand and thirty seven current rupees.

Resolved That it appears to this committee That the charges to be defrayed by the East India Company in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, and in Benares and Oude under the heads of civil judicial military, and marine, the charges of buildings and fortifications, of collecting the revenues and customs, and the advances and charges on account of salt and opium, and the charges of the stamp

Post office for the year 1800-1801 are estimated by the governor-general and council to amount to the sum of four crore forty two lakh twenty thousand four hundred and seventy six current rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual revenues of the East India Company at the presidency of Fort St. George and the settlements subordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and northern circars, exclusive of Civil and the revenues from Mysore under the heads of rent or courage duties, post office collection, sea and land customs, subsidies from the nabob of Arcot, the rajah of Tanjore and the nizams, land revenues, and farm and licence amounted on the average of three years 1798 to 1801 to Rs. 1,00,00,000 exclusive to the sum of Rs. 1,00,00,000 or two crore two thousand and thirty five lakhs pagodas.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual revenues of the East India Company at the presidency of Fort St. George and the settlements subordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and northern circars, under the heads of rent or courage duties, post office collection, sea and land customs, subsidies from the nabob of Arcot, the rajah of Tanjore and the nizams, land revenues, and farms and licences, which were estimated for the year 1799-1800 to amount to sixty two lakhs five hundred thousand nine hundred and eighty six pagodas amounted to seventy lakhs fifty six thousand three hundred and forty one pagodas.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the charges incurred by the East India Company at the presidency of Fort St. George and the settlements subordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and northern circars, under the respective heads of post office, civil military and revenue charges, and for building and fortifications which were estimated for the year 1799-1800, to amount to sixty eight lakhs forty eight thousand and seventy seven pagodas, amounted to seventy-eight lakhs thirty two thousand two hundred and ninety nine pagodas.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual revenues of the East India Company at the presidency of Fort St. George, and the settlements subordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and northern circars, under the heads aforesaid, for the year 1800-1801, are estimated, by the governor and council of Madras, to amount to eighty-one lakhs

eighty two thousand six hundred and seventy-eight pagodas.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual charges to be defrayed by the East India Company at the presidency of Fort St. George, and in the Carnatic and northern circars, under the respective heads aforesaid, in the year 1800-1801 are estimated, by the governor and council of Madras, to amount to the sum of ninety three lakhs seven thousand seven hundred and eighty-two pagodas.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual revenues of the East India Company at the presidency of Bombay and the settlements subordinate thereto amounted on an average of three years, 1798 to 1799-1800, both inclusive to the sum of thirty-one lakhs three thousand five hundred and twenty-five rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual revenues of the

East India Company at the presidency of Bombay and the settlements subordinate thereto which were estimated for the year 1797-1800 to amount to thirty two lakhs forty four thousand five hundred and thirty seven rupees amounted to thirty one lakhs ninety four thousand seven hundred and eighty three rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the charges incurred by the East India Company at the presidency of Bombay and the settlements subordinate thereto which were estimated for the year 1797-1800 to amount to one crore twenty eight lakhs nine thousand one hundred and twenty five rupees, amounted to one crore thirty six lakhs nine thousand two hundred and ninety two rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual revenues of the East India Company at the presidency of Bombay and the settlements subordinate thereto, in the year 1800-1801 are estimated by the governor and council of Bombay to amount to twenty lakhs seventy thousand eight hundred and eighty seven rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the annual charges to be defrayed by the East India Company at the presidency of Bombay and the settlements subordinate thereto, in the year 1800-1801 are estimated by the governor and council of Bombay, to amount to ninety three lakhs forty-eight thousand three hundred and eighty four rupees.

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Resolved, That it appears to this committee That the annual revenues of the East India Company at the residency of Fort Marlborough and its dependencies, arising from customs, farms, and licences, amounted on an average of three years, 1796-7 to 1798-9 both inclusive, to twenty two thousand one hundred and fifty six Spanish dollars.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee That the debts owing by the East India Company at the several settlements in India, amounted, on the 30th day of April 1800, to the sum of fourteen crore sixty-four lacs four thousand and eighteen current rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the part of the aforesaid debts bearing interest amounted to twelve crore thirty lacs fifteen thousand seven hundred and one current rupees and that the interest thereon amounted to one crore eight lacs twenty thousand four hundred and twenty-four current rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee That the value of assets in India, consisting of cash in the treasuries, of bills receivable, of goods provided to be shipped for England, of goods imported to be sold in India, of salt, opium &c. and of stores for use or sale amounted, on the 30th of April 1800, (including current rupees six crore ten lacs ninety-one thousand five hundred and seven, of debts stated to be owing to the Company there,) to eleven crore nity six lacs ninety-five thousand five hundred and thirty-one current rupees.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee That the balance of stock in favour of the East India Company's commerce in China, amounted, at the conclusion of the year 1799-1800, to the sum of one million two hundred and twenty-six thousand and seventy-nine pounds.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee That the debts owing by the East India Company in Great Britain, (including three hundred and forty seven thousand seven hundred and eighty nine pounds of debts transferred from India,) amounted, on 1st day of March 1801 to five millions three hundred and ninety-three thousand nine hundred and eighty-nine pounds.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the effects of the East India Company in England, and afloat outward, consisting of annuities, cash in the treasury, goods sold not paid for, goods unsold cargoes afloat, and other articles in their commerce amounted on the 1st day of March 1801, to the sum of fifteen millions four hundred and four thousand seven hundred and thirty six pounds.

Resolved, That it appears to this committee, That the sales of the East India Company's goods, which, in February 1793, were estimated on an average to amount to four millions nine hundred and eighty-eight thousand three hundred pounds, amounted, in the year 1800-1801, to the sum of seven millions six hundred and two thousand and forty-one pounds.



PROCEEDINGS AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE,

In the Year 1802

APRIL 8

A special general court was held for the purpose of taking into consideration the subject of the private trade, relative to which the directors had printed and circulated a third report from their select committee (see *State Papers, this vol p 54*), together with a correspondence that passed between them and the commissioners for the affairs of India.

Mr MILLS took the chair, and stated, that the whole of those papers were now submitted to the general court, that the proprietors might adopt such measures respecting them as should appear most advisable.

One of the most interesting and animated debates followed, which perhaps ever took place in this assembly. We shall endeavour to do justice to the arguments and sentiments of the different gentlemen who spoke on this occasion, and as nearly as possible to give their speeches in the very words in which they were delivered to his our readers in India, who are in a peculiar degree interested in this most important subject, may be able to judge with perfect accuracy of the manner in which it was discussed in Leadenhall street.

Upon the Chairman sitting down, Mr Twining and Mr Henchman rose together. The Chairman called upon Mr Twining, upon which Mr. Henchman said, that as he

only wanted to speak to a breach of the privileges of the court, he had a right to be heard first. A tumultuous altercation on this point followed, but the Chairman at last decided against Mr Henchman's claim to be heard first, and Mr Twining was accordingly called upon to proceed.

He began by observing, that it gave him great pleasure to see, at such an early hour, such a numerous attendance of proprietors, of proprietor who were, he was persuaded, brought to that court by a desire of preserving the Company's commerce, and of preventing a violation of the Company's charter. He trusted that those gentlemen would not think it too much to devote one day to a business of so much importance, and that, if the debate should be protracted to a late hour, they would remain in court till the close of it.

The subject of the private trade with India had frequently been offered to the attention of the proprietors, but though a commercial question, decided where commercial question ought to be decided, in that place, and by a great majority of proprietors, it had been offered, and, strange to say, even by proprietors, to the interference of parliament.

The importance of the subject was acknowledged by all parties. The directors had told us, unani-

‡ U 3 mously,

mously, that the plans proposed by the private traders endangered not only the interests, but even the existence of the Company's wealth, on the other hand, those private traders and their advocates including the late president of the Board of Control, and the present Governor General of India, maintained, that those plans would promote even the Company's interests.

The Court of Directors had printed three reports in support of their opinion, and on the other side were the letters of Mr. Dundas, of Mr. Wellesley, of Mr. Hall, the proprietor, who was then in his place (Mr. Henderson), and of an honorable Baronet (Sir George D'Almeida). When opinion for or against had come forward on each side of the question, and had delivered their opinions for or against length, it might appear, Mr. Twining said, presumption in him to offer publicly, his opinion. But at some time happens, that those persons who profess themselves disinterested in the subject, are not, or pay little attention to that common circumstance, and are the rest of common sense, and which are the rules for practical application. I said, some of the proposals have been proposed for a long length, and contain but long and complicated accounts, that in print, it may be presumed, have been deterred from running, and yet the reporters of the subject were referred to them in a plan and I saw, might perfectly qualified to decide what part they should take upon this important question.

Mr. Twining also observed, that very soon after the renewal of the Company's charter, he had communicated to the proprietors his

apprehensions concerning the views of the private traders. It, then he remained silent upon the present occasion, it might perhaps be imagined, that he had altered his opinion, or at least that he was becoming lukewarm in the support of it. This however was far from being the case, that all the circumstances respecting private trade which had happened from that time to this, (and they were numerous and important,) had tended to confirm the opinion which at first he entertained, and he supposed not to vary his belief that the trade of the East India Company and that of the private trader had always been considered, as he thought they always should have been, as rival trades, if there had never been behind that barrier director who was, either directly or indirectly, interested in the private trade, and who was a cowardly disposed to encroach, the East India Company never would have been brought to the situation in which it was then placed.

It might be well, he said, to recollect that the Company was originally established for commercial purposes, but by means in the present time, political and commercial, it acquired, in a commercial firm, a political firm, and the trade gentleman to whom the control of the Company was committed, would, in the management of its political concerns, interfere with those persons to whom the political interests of the nation at large were committed, it was thought right to institute a board of control. Not long after the institution of that board, it was evident that its operations extended themselves somewhat further than the title of control, which it assumed, could have given reason

Company might have imagined, that the subject was settled, and that they should be left in quiet possession of the remnant of their Indian monopoly, during the period of their charter. This, however, as the directors well knew, had by no means been the case; and now the private traders applied for that, which would not only be highly injurious to the Company's commerce, but would also endanger the Company's existence. But the gentlemen on the opposite side of the question maintained, that their plan would prove beneficial to the East-India Company, to India, and to the nation at large, as well as to themselves. Here, then, Mr Twining observed, was the proper subject of inquiry, and, with the indulgence of the court, he would proceed to make a few observations, *first*, upon the interests of India; *secondly*, upon the interests of the East-India Company; *thirdly*, upon the interests of the private trader; and *lastly*, upon the interests of the nation at large. And in the course of these observations, he should notice such opinions on the opposite side of the question, as seemed most to require notice.

There was no circumstance, he said, which had a stronger claim upon the attention of the proprietors, than the interests of India, for the Company could no longer be justified in retaining possession of that country, than whilst it paid a proper attention to the interests, and to the happiness, of its native inhabitants: and here the adventurous spirit of commerce might be tempted hastily to decide, that the interests of India required the utmost possible extension of the commerce of India, without duly considering by what means that exten-

sion was to be brought about, or what effects it might be likely to produce. But hasty decisions are apt to be erroneous decisions; and it might, therefore, be prudent to examine this subject more accurately. The inhabitants of India, like the ancient Egyptian, and the Chinese, had never been disposed, whilst left to themselves, to engage in foreign and extensive commerce. Possessing uncommon advantages for internal trade, with the enjoyment of those advantages they had been contented. It should also be remembered, that those inha- bitants of India, whom we were considering, were a peaceable race of people, and utterly unable, if left to themselves, to defend themselves from their powerful and warlike neighbours. The greatest misfortune, then, which could happen to those inhabitants of India, who were the present objects of consideration, would be, their being deprived of European protection. — Now, without applying towards any other nation in Europe those harsh expressions, which, as they tend to create or to perpetuate animosities, had always better be avoided, it might safely be asserted, that there was no nation in Europe, which, possessing in India the power we possessed there, would employ that power more temperately, and more to the advantage of the native inhabitants of India than we did. Under our protection their commerce was increased: the utmost attention was paid to their opinions and to their prejudices; and by us they were defended from those warlike nations of India, by whom, if they were left to themselves, they would soon be overpowered. It should here be remembered, that all parties hitherto had acknowledged, that there was

no certain method of preserving the connexion between this country and India, and consequently of securing to India the advantages of British protection, but by means of the East-India Company. Instead then of the hasty and inconsiderate proposition, that the interests of India required the utmost possible extension of the commerce of India, Mr Twining said, he should assert, that the real interests of India required *that* extension of the commerce of India, of its products, natural and artificial, which might be consistent with the permanent security of the East India Company. That extension of the Indian commerce which should put in peril the security of the East India Company, would also put in peril the interests of India; and that extension of such commerce which should prove fatal to the East India Company, would also prove fatal to the interests of India. Sound policy, therefore, and not only sound policy, but also humanity required, that we should not attempt to assist India beyond our powers of assistance.

There was a circumstance materially affecting the interests of India, in which there was a wide difference between the East India Company and the private trade. The East-India Company always looked forward to permanent advantages, and in order to obtain such, either for itself or for others, to whose interests it was bound to attend, it was willing to make, and it was able to make, great temporary sacrifices. But present advantage was usually the object of private commerce, and whenever the permanent interests of India, or of the East India Company, or of this country, should come in competition with the temporary interest of an individual, it might be expected,

that with him that temporary interest would prevail. Or if it should be said, that the private trader would be anxious to secure to those who were to come after him, and for whose welfare he was as deeply interested as for his own, a continuation of the benefits which he enjoyed, this would lead to, or rather would imply, that principle of colonization which was with to much reason apprehended.

It, then, it were wiser to preserve known and considerable benefits, than to risk them in the pursuit of novelty and experiment; if it were more prudent to adhere to old and approved friends, than to abandon them for the sake of promised but untried friendships, it would of course follow, that the native inhabitants of India would consult their real interest, by preferring the old system of the East-India Company to the chimerical projects of the private traders.

Mr Twining proceeded to consider, in the second place, the interests of the East-India Company. It was, he said, a mortifying and an humiliating circumstance, that a proprietor of East India stock should find it necessary to stand up in that place, and to exhort other proprietors not to consent to a transfer of the Company's commerce, or to a violation of the Company's charter. He would, however, do that justice to the majority of those gentlemen who heard him, to express his firm conviction, that they were as anxious as he was, and more anxious they could not be, to preserve the Company's commerce and its rights. He should not, however, think the trouble which he took ill bestowed, if he could call to a sense of recollection even a single proprietor, who had inadvertently united himself to the opposite party, without

having at all foreseen the extent or danger of their plan

Mr. Twining said, he should not have been much surpris'd, if those gentlemen who are merely private traders, and not proprietors of East India stock, had contended for still greater indulgencies than those which were granted to them at the renewal of the Company's charter, and yet even those gentlemen would not have been perfectly justified in their present demand. They should have recollected the concessions which were made to them at the renewal of the Company's charter, and they ought not to have disturbed, or to have attempted to disturb the arrangement which then took place but it frequently happened, that concession did not produce the effect which it ought to produce, on the contrary, it too often encourages those, in whose favour it has been made, to ask for more and some persons are never satisfied by concession, whilst any thing remains which can possibly be conceded. But Mr. Twining owned he was much surpris'd, when proprietors of East India stock supported and encouraged the views of the private traders and he was most surpris'd, when those gentlemen refused to acquiesce in the determination of a great majority of proprietors, and appealed to the decision of parliament. But the proprietors who acted thus, maintained that they had the interests of the East-India Company in view, as well as those of the private trader. Let us see then what the interests of the East India Company really require.

Upon first considering the extent of our power in India, it might perhaps be imagined that we could supply Europe at least, and perhaps America, with Indian commodities

and some gentlemen appear, I think, to have adopted even such an opinion. But here again let us guard against hasty decisions, and let us see, not merely what we might like to do, but what we are really able to do.

Whole nations which are in amity with this country, and are disposed to trade with India upon their own capitals, and for the supply of their own wants, must be allowed to do so. At the time of the renewal of the Company's charter, this point was acknowledged by all parties, by the proprietor, the directors, and Mr. Dundas. If foreign ships were to be excluded from our ports in India, they would visit the ports which belong to other nations, and we should lose those benefits which at present we derive from them. Or if, in the plenitude of our power, we could have excluded other nations from India, it may well be doubted whether they would not rather forego the use of Indian articles, than submit to, and in fact encourage, such an arbitrary use of power.

But Mr. Twining declared, that he did not mean to deny any evil which really existed. It might be that some portion of that trade which was carried on under foreign flags, was really supported by British capitals, and was therefore an illicit trade. From the reports which had been printed by the court of directors, he was authorized to conclude, that the extent of this illicit trade was by no means considerable. But whatever it might be, the court of directors would doubtless pay proper attention to it, and endeavour, by all prudent methods, to convert that illegal trade into a legal channel. If, however, by rashly attempting to do this, they were to ruin the Company,

pany, their conduct would resemble that of the unskilful physician, who, by his injudicious endeavour to remove a particular complaint, put his patient to death.

A large portion of that Indian trade which is not carried on by foreigners, belongs, as it ought to do, to the East India Company, and it is their trade, and not the trade of foreigners, which would principally be affected by the plan of the private traders. As, however, those private traders and their advocates deny this, it may be well to examine how their trade is likely to affect, and to injure ours, and thus will appear if we consider the Indian trade as to the purchase, the conveyance and the sale of Indian articles—that is to say, in all the circumstance of that trade.

To commercial men it must surely appear evident that the private traders, purchasing goods in the same market as the East India Company, and for the same market, must be rivals to the Company, and by competition, raise the price at which such goods are to be purchased. Having done us this injury in the first instance, we shall sustain a second injury by the manner in which they propose to convey their goods to England. Were those private traders were admitted to a participation of our commerce, it might have been thought sufficient if their trade was carried on in the same ships, and at the same expence of shipping as ours. This would have been admitting them upon terms of equality, and therefore upon terms which, it might have been imagined, would have prevented complaint. But the East India Company did at first, and now proposes to do, much more than this, and to furnish the private trader with shipping upon such terms as can scarcely

fail of giving him, in many respects, an advantage over the Company. The Company, having thus sustained a second injury in the conveyance of goods to this country, is again injured by the private trader in the sale of them. The profit arising from the sale of Indian articles must of course depend, in a great degree, upon apportioning the quantity of any article offered to sale to the demand for that article. The East India Company might be able to accomplish this, but this is very unlikely to be accomplished between the Company and the private trader. In another respect the Company is very likely to sustain, and has already sustained, considerable injury. If the Company has reason to think that a certain quantity of any article would, if it were exposed to sale at a certain time, fetch a sufficient price, it publishes a declaration accordingly—that is, it gives notice, that upon a particular day a certain quantity of that article will be exposed to sale. But between the publishing of such a declaration and the day appointed for the sale, one or more of the nimble ships, belonging to the private traders, may arrive with the same article on board which the Company has declared for sale—the consequence would be, that the Company's goods would sell for less, probably for very materially less, than they otherwise would have done, and the Company would suffer from the indulgence granted to its rivals, the private trader. In this respect, as was before observed, the Company has already been injured.

There is a subject which has been pressed upon the notice of the proprietors by the opposite party, as much concerning the interests of the East India Company. It would be

be well, say the advocates for the private trade, to recollect, that in a few years the Company's charter will expire, and that the Company must then treat for its renewal. If, then, the proprietors expect to renew their charter upon favourable terms, they must shew their moderation now, and not stand up too rigidly for their monopoly. This language, Mr Twining said, be considered as the language of intimidation, and in his language never produced any effect upon him at least not the effect which it was intended to produce. It was true, indeed, that when the time should arrive for renewing the Company's charter, the Company would be very likely to have to treat with a party stronger than itself, with a party which, if it pleased, might take from the Company the whole of its territory, and the whole of its commerce, and when it had so done, say, in justification of the deed, what the royal animal in the fable said, when he took to himself the whole of the prey "*quia sum fortis*"—"quia plus valio." But the subject of renewing the Company's charter must ultimately be decided by parliament, and whoever thinks of the power of parliament should also think of its justice, and it may reasonably be supposed, that parliament would deem it inconsistent with justice to take from the Company its territory and its commerce, without considering what it had done both to acquire and to preserve them. Or, if the worst were to happen, if, when the charter expires, the Company should be deprived of all that it possesses, Mr Twining said, he would declare for himself—and, upon a question of so much importance, he would not presume to speak for others: that he would much rather

be deprived, by the strong hand of power, of whatever, as a proprietor of East India stock, he possessed, than lose it by his own timid and unwise surrender. He who properly defended what he conceived to be his just right, if ultimately he lost it, had no reason to reproach himself, or to look for reproach from others: but he who weakly abandons what he ought resolutely to defend, can scarcely avoid self-reproach, certainly will not avoid reproach from others.

There was another subject, Mr Twining said, to which he particularly wished to call the serious attention of the proprietors, as it concerned their most important interests. It had been repeatedly asserted by those persons who were best acquainted with our Indian possessions, that they were held, in a considerable degree, by opinion: but what could tend more strongly to lower the East India Company in the opinion of the natives of India, than such a dispute respecting the commerce of that country, carried on in the way in which that dispute had been carried on. When the directors asserted that the British character might suffer in the opinion of the inhabitants of India, from the reports which would be spread in that country by the lascars, after they had witnessed scenes of the greatest depravity in England, it was replied by our opponents, and with a considerable degree of levity, that the lascars could not possibly injure us, that they were taken from amongst the lowest ranks of people in India, that they were confined to the sea-ports, and that their opinion of us, whether it were favourable or unfavourable, could not affect us. But who were the persons who, upon the present occasion, opposed the

the court of directors, and charged them (to say the least) with being wholly unacquainted with the Company's interests? There were, in the first place, several gentlemen, who had been employed in the Company's service, who were well known in India, and who had acquired their fortunes in that country in the service of the Company. There was also the late president of the board of control, and, Mr Twining said, he was most sorry to add to the list the present governor-general of India. There was at a prince in India whose views or whose wishes were hostile to the East India Company: there was not a prince in amity with it, or an inhabitant of India, whose good opinion it behoved us to cherish, who would not know of such a contest as the present, and who might not possibly turn that knowledge to our disadvantage. The interests of India required, then, not only the preservation of the Company's commerce, but that such discussions as had taken place upon that subject should be discontinued.

In the third place, Mr Twining considered the interests of the private traders. He would not, he said, impute their conduct towards the directors, and charge them with being totally ignorant of their own interests. On the contrary, he would readily own that they were, as far as worldly wisdom went, extremely wise: and that they knew perfectly well what would promote their interests. But when he proceeded a little further, and inquired whether those interests were just interests, he found that they were utterly unjust, and that the plan proposed would promote those unjust interests at the expense of the just interests of the Company.

In considering, lastly, the interests of the nation at large, Mr.

Twining thought it necessary, he said, to repeat the declaration so often made by all parties, that the only certain method of preserving to this country the advantage of our Indian possessions, was by means of the East India Company. The interests of the nation required, then, that every plan which affected the security of the Company should be rejected. Those interests were of too important a nature to be risked, in order to favour the speculative views of individuals.

Upon the much talked of subject of colonization, Mr Twining said, he should add but a few words. There was one circumstance respecting that subject, and that a circumstance of the utmost importance, concerning which all parties were agreed, viz. that colonization, if it were to take place, would be a great evil. Instead, then, of disputing about the greater or the less chance of incurring this evil by the adoption of the plan proposed, it would be more prudent to guard against the evil by rejecting the plan altogether. It would be unwise to run the risk of inducing such an evil by the adoption of a measure which was likely to be, in some respects, beneficial to the Company. But the curious circumstance is, that the proprietors are called upon to adopt a plan which has (to speak moderately) some tendency to lead to colonization, and which, independently of that consideration, is likely to prove injurious to the Company.

It has been asserted that the power of the government in India was sufficient to guard the East India Company against any evil which might otherwise be occasioned by those agents, who were to be employed in conducting the private trade with India, and that such

power was more likely to be exercised effectually against British subjects than against foreigners. To these opinions, Mr Twining said, he could not accede. He was not disposed to rely, in this case, upon the exertion of that power, which the government of India certainly possessed. In considering what might happen in future, we ought to recollect what has happened already. If there should be in the direction, and at the head of the direction, a gentleman who was avowedly a friend to the private trade with India, and if the president of the board of control should also favour that trade, would it not be reasonable to suppose, that a Governor-general would be disposed to encourage rather than to control those persons who were employed to carry it on? His power was little likely to be exerted upon such occasions. But if the conduct of foreigners was injurious to the Company's interests, such conduct would undoubtedly call forth the power of the British government in India.

The last subject which Mr Twining intended to mention as applicable to the interests of the nation at large, was the Company's charter. It surely interested the nation to respect those chartered rights which had the most solemn security which this nation could give. There was no subject so frequently dwelt upon by Englishmen, or dwelt upon by them with so much pleasure, as the constitution of this country, nor could too much be said in its praise, or too much be done for its support. But, Mr Twining said, he could not consider that constitution as secure if its most solemn acts were to be violated.

Under a firm persuasion that the

properors would not abandon the interests of India, of the East India Company, and of the nation at large to promote the interests, the unreasonable interests of the private traders, Mr Twining said he should proceed to say a few words in explanation of that motion, which he should have the honour of submitting to the court.

The objects of that motion were three: first, to approve the conduct which the court of directors had hitherto adopted, secondly, to declare the determination of the proprietors not to abandon the rights of the Company, empowering at the same time, the directors to take such further steps as they might think requisite for the support of those rights; and thirdly, to testify a disposition to adopt even yet any conciliatory measures which might be suggested, and which could with propriety be adopted.

That the directors were entitled to the support and approbation of the proprietors for their past conduct, for the manner in which they had contended in defence of the rights and just interests of the East India Company, would, Mr Twining imagined, be generally acknowledged. He also thought that the expediency of placing confidence in them, and of authorising them to have recourse to such measures as they might find necessary, would be generally admitted. He was however anxious that his motion should clearly shew (what the directors had uniformly shewn) a disposition to preserve a good understanding with his majesty's ministers and the board of control. And indeed he could not but flatter himself, that when the board of control and his majesty's ministers observed this disposition, and re-considered

considered the subject, they would not be inclined to adopt severe and hostile measures towards the East India Company. The long and important struggle in which this country had been engaged, was ended, and peace, the blessing of peace, was restored. The part which the East India Company had taken during the whole of the late struggle, would doubtless be remembered. Upon every occasion they had been ready to come forward and to contribute largely towards the public service. The return for this surely would not be a neglect of the Company's just interests, and a violation of their chartered rights. Whilst the rest of the nation rejoiced at the return of peace, the East India Company surely would not be marked out as the object of severity and oppression.

Mr Twining concluded by making the following motion

Resolved That this court confirm and approve the proceedings of the court of directors upon the subject of the private trade of India. That in their proceedings they have shewn themselves, and the court are convinced will always shew themselves, desirous of preserving by reasonable arrangements, that good understanding with the board of commissioners which is so important to the interests both of the Public and the East India Company, but that the court of directors be authorized to take such further steps as may appear to them necessary for the defence of those rights which have been solemnly sanctioned to the Company by their charter which are essential to the interests of the public as well as of the Company and to the violation of which the proprietors of East India stock can never consent.

Mr HUDLESTON said I rise, sir, to second the motion and although I have not the vanity to think I can add to the impression which my honourable friend's speech must have made on the mind of every person

present, I shall endeavour to deliver my sentiments on the present momentous subject, hoping for the same indulgence that I have on former occasions experienced in this room.

The East India Company, sir, are certainly arrived at an awful crisis, struggling abroad with serious difficulties, and at home threatened with an hard requital for the sacrifices by which they have been occasioned; but I will yet hope, sir, that the highly respected nobleman at the head of the board of control, and his colleagues, will re-examine their opinions, and that a mutual spirit of conciliation, and a mutual perception of the necessity of harmony, and cordial co operation, to all the interests concerned, will lead to an amicable adjustment of the existing difference.

I have perused, sir, the reports of your special committee, and the other papers that have been printed for the proprietors, on the subject of the private trade. I have also perused the publication of an honourable proprietor present, and have traced in it the same talents and industry that I have formerly, with great pleasure, seen exerted in this room, on the side of the East India Company, and I can truly declare, that I rose from the perusal, impressed with a conviction, that all the material principles and deductions laid down by your committee are substantiated, and looking forward to what I consider as unavoidable consequences, I can see no solid distinction between the change desired and an indefinite enlargement of the trade, which it is, I believe, pretty generally admitted, would lead directly to a system of colonization, and from thence to the dissolution of our Indian empire.

This has been termed a watch-word, and I hope it will prove a watch word, and a signal of alarm, not only to the proprietors of India stock, but to every man who knows how inseparably connected is the stability of our possessions in India with the vital interests of the state. It is, at least, *fit, uncontested*, that whoever brings forward, or assists the efforts of others, to accomplish *so important an innovation as that which now engages the industry of that honourable proprietor*, is bound to demonstrate that no such peril can attach to it, and that it may be adopted without wound or injury to rights which the Company have so dearly earned, and which the private traders themselves ought to feel it a sacred obligation to protect. Now, *fit*, what are the arguments and inducements offered in favour of the plan, and to disprove the danger? Why, *fit*, the late president of the board of control, and after him the honourable proprietor, lay their principal stress on the unanimous opinion of your most intelligent servants in India, in its favour, that is to say, the most intelligent of those persons, a just indulgence to whose interests the late president states, in the same paragraph, to be the leading object of the plan. No one, I am sure, can entertain a higher opinion of the servants of the Company than I do, both in respect to ability and integrity, and few have had better opportunities of judging of them, but, *fit*, there is a principle universally recognised, which prevents it from being usual to rely in favour of any plan on the approbation of those who are to profit by it in such cases we receive the testimony of the most upright with considerable allowance, recollecting that it

comes to them with one of the strongest instincts of our nature on its side, which may blind them to its imperfections. To what other cause can it be ascribed, that those servants see only beneficial effects, and no risk of any unfavourable consequence, from a system which we, and many with us, think fraught with immediate injury, and final ruin to the Company? Is it unfair to answer, that they see it only on one side, and pursue its effects no further than the period of their own administration or residence in India? But if it had been thought advisable to obtain the unbiased sentiments of intelligent servants of the Company, are there not servants of that description in England, who, their fortunes being already remitted, have no motive on the side of interest to warp their judgement? Let me see their written opinions in favour of the plan, after they shall have examined it in all its bearings and relations, and I will acknowledge them a solid ground of argument. The next argument relied on, is the opinion of the present Governor-general, the Marquis Wellesley. I hope I shall not be thought to derogate from the great merit and splendid talent of this nobleman, who, almost immediately on entering on his high station, had occasion for all those energies which distinguish a great from a common mind, and shewed that he possessed them, but I contend, *fit*, that on a subject of this nature we do not look for judgement, or judicious opinions, from splendid talents or elevated rank, but from plain sense and matured experience. Longer expatriation, certainly, and more matured, than the noble marquis could have possessed at the period when his lordship appears to have made

up his mind of the subject, and it is therefore not unfair to conclude, that the ideas expressed in his letters were adopted on the partial suggestions of others. The publication of the honourable proprietor would lead a reader to suppose that the opinions of the Governor general, and of the late right honourable President of the board of control, were equally favourable to the views of the private traders, but your committee have shewn that there is an essential difference between them. The late president would limit the plan to *bona fide* Indian capital—"to the making the surplus produce of India the means of transferring the fortunes of the Company's servants in India to Great Britain. He agrees with your committee, that "the permitting the transfer of British capital to India, would establish the first principle of a colonial system, and directly tend to introduce that system into India." The Governor-general, on the other hand, sees no danger, but on the contrary, beneficial consequences, from applying to the trade capital drawn directly from Europe. His lordship spoke generally of British merchants, and observes, that "if the extension of additional indulgences to them should involve the admission of numerous British adventurers into India, the government can always with less difficulty control the operations of British, than those of foreign agents, and his lordship adds, that "it is not probable that any increase of private British trade would necessarily produce a proportionate augmentation of the number of British agents resorting thither, but that British agents in India would be likely to be employed by persons engaged in commercial concerns at home." This clearly admits an option in

British merchants at home, to send agents to India to manage their concerns there, and of course shews that the noble marquis does not limit the private trade to the Company's servants, or the remittance of their fortunes. Indeed it would not in practice be possible to limit it. It is obvious that the Governor general, relying on the powers of government, or which he was conscious in himself, over unlicensed persons, sees no dangers in admitting an indefinite number of agents to settle in India, or his lordship would not be satisfied with opposing to it a probability. With regard to the position, that it is more easy to control British than foreign agents, it seems to be extremely problematical, at least even now, and looking forward to future times, supposing it acted upon, consequences of serious importance must, I think, suggest themselves against it. Upon the whole, sir, with the sincerest deference to the opinions of the noble marquis on every other subject, I venture to think that his lordship has on this one demonstrated the error of supposing, that splendid talents, and a mind enriched with science and literature, supersede the necessity of local knowledge and experience.

I come now, sir, to an authority, in venturing to dissent from which, I fear I may be accused of yet greater presumption—I mean, sir, the authority of the late president of the board of control, whose great talents, and beneficial application of them to the general affairs of the empire, I most freely acknowledge. I consider him as having been one of the principal members of an administration, to whose councils, under Providence, we owe the salvation of the country. With respect to his system

of Indian administration, I have the misfortune to differ from him extremely and must be resigned to ~~all~~ the discredit attached to the confession I mean, sir, his system taken as a whole many of his measures have my warmest approbation, God forbid that I should forget that he sent Cornwallis to India, and thereby exhibited to astonished millions, a union of all the virtues that adorn the human character—a union of absolute power with consummate honour, and a conduct that fought its object, not in the mysterious haunts of diplomatic craft, but in the plain, right onward path of openness and candour.

On the subject in question, I balance against his opinions, the almost unanimous opinions of the court of directors, many of whom have, for as many years as he did, devoted their faculties to the affairs of India, and with less divided attention, and several of whom possess the advantage of local knowledge and experience, in common with those persons whose sentiments are so much relied on.

But, sir, are the private traders, or their agents, willing to accept the trade on that right honourable gentleman's limited principles, and to forego the more liberal system of the Governor general? The error of the right honourable gentleman (if I may presume to attribute error to him), I conceive to be, in supposing it possible that the trade could be, or remain so limited. He states, "that the parties themselves should manage the trade, or agents for them, subject to the control and regulations of the Company," and afterwards, that he sees no reason why those agents may not be permitted to exercise their agency in any of the territo-

ries in India, but, sir, it must be obvious to all who have had experience in India, that the managers of your own trade, and of all your other vast concerns, cannot be allowed to manage this trade on their own account. In all the different boards and offices of importance, they are, and must continue to be precluded from carrying on private trade, either as principals or agents: they must consequently have agents to manage his trade with England on their account. The Company's military officers too, must have agents, and of course his majesty's officers must have agents, for they will have fortunes to remit through this same private trade. Thus, sir, even on the late president's limited plan, you will have a host of legalized agents in India, and an European public at every out-fortification, as he "sees no objection to the agents exercising their agency in any of the territories in India." How numerous then will be the agents, if the trade is to be carried on by British mer hants indiscriminately, and with British capital?

In addition to the vast numbers that the trade will invite to India, let it be considered how many hundreds, and in process of time, thousands of European ship-carpenters, joiners, and other artificers, will be required for the prosecution of that trade, which your committee have stated strong grounds to conclude is, after all, the primary object, namely, a trade in Indian-built ships, the subject of which is so unanswerably discussed in your committee's third report, that I have but to observe, that the only argument in favour of the trade, that appears to me to have any real solidity, was the supposed

surplus

scarcity of timber for the royal navy, in consequence of the great demand of large timber for the Company's regular shipping and the argument is completely done away by the proposition of your committee to build, if necessary, large ships for his majesty's service, and by the declaration, "that the directors are ready to sacrifice their own judgement, and to exert every endeavour to carry such plans as may be recommended by his Majesty's ministers for the public service, into effect." Thus, sir, the consumption of large timber may, if necessary, be diminished, without destroying the privileges of the East India Company.

I shall now, sir, briefly notice the grand and captivating idea held out to conciliate friends to the plan, and make the public free with indifference the East India Company despoiled of their rights. The idea, sir, of bringing the whole of the trade of India to the Thames, making London the grand emporium of Asiatic commerce, and excluding foreigners from the share they now hold in it! And I should briefly notice this grand idea for your committee have left very little to be said upon it—they have shewn it to be a baseless fabric and that it would end in complete delusion. Sir, they have not only shewn that it would be impracticable, but that if practicable, it would be unwise to attempt to reduce the proposition which foreigners now hold in this trade. They have stated a remarkable circumstance, they have shewn that the Governor general was calling on the court of directors to take effectual measures to guard against the Portuguese, while the Portuguese were assisting his government, then in distress for money, by the importation of £74,000*l.* in silver.

On this head I shall only add one observation. In Bengal, on the coast of Malabar, on the coast of Coromandel, from Cape Comorin to Orissa, ports and factories are possessed by the French, the Dutch, the Danes, and the Portuguese; they are all maritime powers, possess commercial capitals, their merchants as eager in pursuit of gain, and almost as enterprising as ours, and their respective governments equally sensible of the advantages of a trade with India—can there then be rational ground of hope that we can exclude them from their share in this trade, or induce them to relinquish it, and consent to obtain the product of India only through the port of London? Besides, sir, in a political view, it would not be wise to acquire for ourselves so invidious a preference; for we can but ill afford to lose any part of the reputation we possess with foreign powers, for moderation or liberality in this respect. But if, sir, the private traders really think that this brilliant object can be accomplished, are they content to receive what they demand on the condition of restoring it in case of failure? Will they consent that the private trade shall return to its present footing, if the hope shall prove delusive?

I believe, sir, I have adverted to the several speculative opinions and arguments that have been brought forward in support of the views of the private traders—they do not, in my opinion, prove that those views can be acquired in without infringing the rights of the Company, or that the adoption of them will be attended with benefit to the public. As to the momentous point of, whether the plan will tend to introduce a system of colonisation, I shall refer them to

the highest authority they have quoted in their own favour, to show not merely that what they now demand will have that tendency, but that what they have already obtained has directly tended to it. For, as I have already observed, the late president of the board of control agrees with your committee, "that the permitting the transfer of British capital to India would establish the first principle of a colonial system, and directly tend to introduce that system into India." I ask then, if the capital now employed in the private trade, or a great part of it, is not British, and therefore if the first principle of a colonial system is not already established?

The only arguments offered to disprove the existence of danger of colonization from the projected change, (even after the first principle of it has been established,) are comprised in the honourable proprietor's publication, and they rest upon the conclusion, that the governments and commanders in India, present and future, will always do their duty, and enforce the established regulations. The non existence of the danger is thus allowed to be conditional at least: the answer, in every part of it, implies doubt, and rests upon an *if*, and should the author unhappily live to find himself mistaken, (for I am sure it would be a subject of deep attention to him,) he will refer to that *if* in his defence: but I think I might safely appeal to his candour, whether it would in reality (as he states) be a very heinous libel on the governments and commanders abroad, to suppose it possible that, under the new system, they might be remiss in the respects alluded to? and even whether the danger might not exist, and increase imperceptibly to them? For my own part, sir, should the

change be adopted in all its desired extent, I am fully persuaded that all attempts to limit the number of agents, and prevent the influx of Europeans into India, would be nugatory and ineffectual. Even now, as you, sir, must be aware, it is extremely difficult to prevent persons from finding their way to India, and settling at our presidencies: the regulations on that point are often evaded, and the evasions continued.

The officers and crews of foreign ships, which the honourable proprietor speaks of, do not at all resemble the persons who will wish to proceed to India under the new system, the latter are not equally divested of the means of obtaining protection by the influence of connections here. To the spirit of adventure, and the golden prospect held out by this speculation, and the hope of finding other avenues to wealth, and a better trade than they were sent to manage, will be added the far more inducement to emigration afforded by the pressure of the times. The persons who proceed to India as agents, those who may employ them there, and the numerous friends of the plan in England, will have one common object, and to judge of the probable issue, look only to the powerful interests already united against the Company, and the support they meet with, advert to the situation in which we at this moment stand, and the occasion of this meeting!

Justly, indeed, sir, does your committee observe, that the concessions made in 1793, are the source from which the present claims originate, and, if admitted, they will give birth to others. We know, sir, that where passions less strong than that of gain are set at work, concession begets concession, and

that it is not always safe to grant even those that are just, for that passion never yet was satisfied, while any thing remained within its possible grasp, and unhappily, what ever contributes to its success, augments its means of gratification. If, therefore, on other grounds, it were safe to grant what is now desired, it would be discovered that some thing yet was wanting, and that to complete the system, the private traders must have liberty to find their teak ships to Canton, to be laden with surplus teas, and bring the whole of the trade with China also to the Thames. This will be disclaimed, and I doubt not with sincerity, by the present Indian agents and their friends, but the object is too valuable not to be hereafter attempted as they increase in strength, their views will enlarge, and new enterprizes be suggested, by a consciousness of the power to effect them. Therefore, sir, in 1793 your motto should have been, "*principis obsta*" as it should also long since have been, in respect to another important branch of your affairs, of which I shall take a cursory review, in order to show that our commerce at present is our only sure dependence. Your revenues, immense as they are, are absorbed by your more immense expenditure, and that, even on a peace establishment. When your income scarcely exceeded one half of its present amount—when you had a powerful and inveterate enemy, against whom it was necessary to be constantly upon your guard, you had a clear surplus revenue, I think, of more than half a million sterling! Now that that enemy is destroyed, his capital, and a very great portion of his country, added to your dominion—now that all opposition is laid at

your feet, and that you are secure from any but what you may yourselves provoke, you have not a rupee of surplus revenue, and are twenty millions in debt! But a perseverant adherer to the system you have persevered in for these seventeen years past, is, in seven or eight years more to lead you back to prosperity and affluence be it so I shall, if in existence, sincerely rejoice, and acknowledge the weakness of my present apprehensions.

Enthusiasm, sir, is of different sorts, and operates variously—mine tells me that no half measures or partial saving will avail, but that your affairs can only be retrieved by economical retrenchments in every department abroad and at home—by the suppression of all establishments and offices that are profitable only to the possessors—by making talents, experience, and integrity the only recommendations to promotion abroad—by a just and consulting conduct to all with whom you have to deal, whether weak or powerful—and, finally, by forsaking the system once declared to be repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of this nation! [*Hear, hear! from the corner occupied by the friends of the private traders*] The gentlemen seem to be elated at this statement, but I trust I shall show that it affords them no cause of triumph. Sir, as matters now are, others have in effect a clear income from territories which you protect, and, with receipts to the utmost, I believe, of eight millions sterling, your real income is worse than none. Your commerce, however, remains, and from that the proprietors derive their dividend. But even that resource is now grasped at, and in a way that, were it certain the public would benefit by it, would still be unjust, because it strikes at your char-

chartered privileges. But you have not that consolation should your opponents prevail, the public will suffer with you, and the grand children of many present, tracing on the map the topography of that quarter of the globe, will point out to their children the vast tracts that once were British India! But, sir, I will not yet believe that this 'interference in a department of your business, where the administration is declared by the highest authority to be exclusively your own, will be persisted in until the fact shall stare me in the face, I will not believe that the present minister, of whom, amidst all the collisions of party, there is but one opinion, and that unmix'd with a single shade of dissipation, will give the sanction of his fair name to so great an injustice as that of wresting from the East India Company the privileges of their charter, and retaining the price that has been paid for them. I have meant here, sir, no invidious comparison, being convinced that the mind of the illustrious person who presided in the late administration, would have equally revolted at such an injustice, nor am I less convinced of the pure and upright motives which govern the conduct of the noble earl who presides at the board of control to err, and to yield to partial representations, is human, but his lordship can have none but disinterested views, nor any other object than virtuous fame. At all events, it is desirable that the business should speedily be brought to a final issue, otherwise, sir, what will be the opinion in India of the situation of the Company, and what the estimation there of your authority? If, unhappily, the decision should be against the Company, they must

state with respectful firmness to Parliament the sacrifices made, the ruinous burthens incurred, and the vast sums expended by the East India Company during the last thirty years, to aid the national cause, and often in enterprizes in which the Company had no distinct interest, but the success of which was made subservient to the public welfare, and the expences left on them must petition against the injustice of being compelled to protect a trade in opposition to their own, and a system operating to their own destruction. They must respectfully claim, that this rival Company, admitted to a participation in the Company's commerce, shall participate in the expence of protecting it.

Sir, in contemplating the more transcendantly important consequences of the system dem'ded, I have overlooked the injury it must operate to the Company's regular shipping, and the commanders and officers in your naval service. This is too obvious to require any detailed argument—the Indian markets will be glutted, the teak ships will often be filled with the Company's goods, and gentlemen returning from India will often, if not generally, embark on them. You will find it necessary to increase the pay of your commanders and officers, but no increase will compensate the difference, and those who may engage in your service, under the new system, will not be of the same description with those who have done it and themselves so much honour, and who have, at different times, and whenever called on, so nobly seconded those efforts of the British army and navy, by which your Indian empire has been so often preserved.

In fine, sir, my honourable friend has

has shewn, and your committee have abundantly shewn, that the court of directors have been, and are, willing to give every facility to the private trade that can consist with the rights of the Company, and the interests of the Public, and to fulfil, to the utmost, the intentions of the legislature in its favour, but the paragraphs sent for the adoption of the court of directors would make them profess sentiments, and acquiesce in principles, in opposition to those which they have uniformly maintained, and a departure from which would be a compromise of those rights and privileges of the Company, for which the public faith is pledged. But I repeat my hope, that the board of commissioners, will re-examine their opinions, and that a mutual spirit of conciliation will lead to that happy adjustment of the existing differences which my honourable friend's motion is so well calculated to promote. But in all events, should the subject be discussed in another place, the proprietors may rely with confidence on that candour in his majesty's ministers which they have so lately experienced, and on the wisdom and justice of parliament.—Whatever may be the result, I shall always feel it an honour to have borne a share in the labours of this day, and to have seconded my honourable friend in that signal effort by which he has crowned a long career of undeviating efforts for the welfare of the Company.

Mr ADAMS said, the impression, sir, my mind received from the perusal of the printed papers on your table, has been considerably relieved by the motion of my honourable friend. The manner in which his proposition has been received, offers an expectation that the ground of a painful contention may be removed

And in that hope I cheerfully accede to it.

Though, sir, the consideration of the private trade has so long engaged your proceedings, and absorbed so much of the attention of this court, I was when I came into it, by no means prepared to consider the question of this day as a question of private trade. It seemed to me to affect the very existence of the Company's commercial franchise. The consideration seemed to me to be, not what we should concede, but what we possessed—not what we should grant to others, but what we actually retained ourselves—not how the portion of the subject assigned should be limited, but whether the whole of it was not gone.

This court, sir, on the 28th of May, in the last year, after the maturest deliberation, and the fullest information of your proceedings, gave them their confirmation, and by their resolution instructed,—“without delay to act upon the principles detailed in your resolutions.” Ten months elapse, and you come to a resolution, that the proceedings of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, “taken altogether, demonstrate a decided and unequal local intention of invading and destroying commercial rights and privileges the East India Company.”

Through the whole of the motions, of which you state the result and inevitable conclusion there is no one, I am persuaded, who considers the positive direction you received from your constituents who can impute to you the want of conciliatory dispositions. For observe, that by your resolution of the 15th July, you propose *a statu quo*—you offer to let things remain as they are for this season. This, no doubt, was in some degree a va-

riance from your instructions, but you probably judged, and truly, that this course would have acquiesced in it, when it appeared in fact, that though a departure from the letter, it was not a departure from the spirit of your instructions, and that in the whole of your proceedings you were maintaining those principles upon which you had been directed to act. But, sir, even after this concession, after every endeavour on your part to alter, modify, and render unobjectionable the paragraphs you had proposed on the subject, the board send you, for transmission to India, two of their own, that is, they assume, not merely the power of *approving, altering, or amending* but of *original* directions on a subject which has been expressly defined to be of the exclusive authority of this Company.

From the earliest existence of this corporation, there is not an act in the statute book that in any manner relates to it, which does not expressly affirm your exclusive commercial privileges. But, sir, the very nature of the transaction, sanctioned by the last act the 12th of 1793, amounts to the most decisive recognition of them that can well be conceived. For what is it? It is a stipulation on the part of the state that you shall, to a certain limited extent, to certain persons, for the purposes described, allow a concurrence in your trade. Now, sir, can any thing more completely affirm your commercial franchise than this provision for your indulging it to others? Can there be a more irrefragable argument in favour of your *exclusive* right than this stipulation for your *letting in* others to a limited enjoyment of it? Thus stands your compact with the

state—a compact of the highest, most unlimited good faith, and to be construed with the most liberal spirit. Is it by a construction in that spirit that, after an agreement between the parties to it, that what belonged to the *political* department of the territorial possessions should be conceded to the control of government, but that the *commercial* department should remain absolutely and independently with the Company—is it, sir, I say in that spirit, that we are now to be told that the commerce is political? Political! in what sense? It is true that in a more general sense this Company, and all which belongs to its administration, may be termed political, as it constitutes that great machine which the national policy has adopted as the best and only medium through which those distant possessions can be maintained and preserved with national benefit to this country. In this enlarged sense every thing that regards this Company may be considered as political. But, sir, when we are speaking in the sense of that compact which the state, for its political end, has thought it wise to enter into with the members collectively, the *United Merchants* of this Company—in the sense furnished by the context of the act which sanctioned it, and which, like every other, has most anxiously defined and distinguished the political from the commercial concerns of the Company—is it, sir, in this sense that the trade of the Company can be deemed political? If it can be so deemed, then indeed I admit there is no question remains for us. The board have pronounced upon it, your functions are gone, and this court has nothing left to debate upon for of a right to exercise

cise that trade of which another can claim the direction, I have not a conception.

With these impressions I will own it appears to me that, as a preliminary to every other discussion, it was necessary that this court should take into its consideration the actual state of the Company under the operation of the late acts. I certainly should not have been disposed to admit the claim of the board of commissioners, but on the contrary should have thought it my duty, in consistency with the line I have uniformly observed, to have contributed my poor endeavours to the assertion and vindication of your just rights. Had such a discussion been necessary, it would not have been possible that this court could have disguised to itself the origin of the difficulties that presented themselves. In the very first letter from that board, No. 1 of your Appendix, I read it in very distinct characters. "The present Governor general, as well as the late President of the board of control, to whose experience the greatest deference is due, have imprinted a conviction entirely adverse to that of the court. So that we should have had to encounter a sort of system of the late president. This is the right hon. gentleman's *last legacy* to the Company, at which he has indeed appointed the *executors* from our own body."

But, sir, this is not all. In a publication written with great ability by an honourable gentleman now present, for the communication of which I return him my best thanks, I find the following public declaration during the progress of this question, ascribed to a right hon. gentleman, the ex-chancellor of his majesty's exchequer. "He should be glad to be informed by what

right the East India Company, or the Nation, could deprive the people of India of the privilege of exporting their own produce and manufactures in their own shipping." If, sir, by the people of India is meant those whose pretensions were at the moment in question, I ask, sir, what are we? We are in the case of an unfortunate purchaser, who discovers a flaw in the conveyance. All I can say is, that we have for a large sum of money bought an estate with a bad title.

The hon. mover, with that good sense and ability which he always displays, has shown, that the commercial franchise of this Company is best conducive to the interests of the public, of India, and of this country—and these points the report of your committee has most convincingly established. These topics certainly furnish the best answers to the reasonings which, within and without this court, have been employed to raise the public prejudice against what *ad invidiam* is termed the *monopoly* of this Company. But, sir, in themselves these are properly topics of *legislation*, and we are not *legislating*. With me the most decisive argument in favour of this exclusive franchise is, that though it is not the first time by many that individuals have thought it their interest to assail it, yet in all the successive changes of administration, whatever their different political complexions, the wisdom of it has uniformly been recognized. In a word, the most decisive evidence of its policy is its existence at this moment.

Let me, however, sir, for a moment imagine that, against all the reasoning which long experience has confirmed, the rage of innovation should induce a persuasion of its impolicy,

policy, would it, sir, I ask, necessarily follow, that the pretensions of the present *possessors* should be *admitted*? Would it follow that, without more this corporation should be *disseised* of the franchise? I venture to assert the reverse and I assert it upon a principle which I trace in every parliamentary proceeding that regards the rights of any body of men, or any individual whatever. There is not a bill for a public road, or country bridge, in which I do not discover it. Should the cottage and ground of the meanest individual stand in the way of a work of public utility, does the state exact an absolute sacrifice of his private right to the public interest? No, sir, he is treated with upon liberal terms for the transfer, and compensated. A signal instance occurs of more appropriate analogy in no very remote times. The *feignory* of the Isle of Man, derived from royal grant, which had been recognized and confirmed by parliament, existed in the hands of a subject. It had descended from the earl of Derby to the family of the dukes of Athol. In the reign of George I. the inconvenience of this sort of *superiority in impropriety* manifest. As the king's process could not enter the jurisdiction, it was found inconsistent with the purposes of public justice and public revenue. Now sir, in this case every argument for the sacrifice of private right to public interest applied in full force. The independence of this jurisdiction was an anomaly in the government. But, sir, did the state for this reason proceed to invade this right? Was the subject *dispossessed* of this franchise, if I may so term it? No, sir, the state treated for the transfer of it. An act of parliament was passed to empower the treasury

to purchase it of the then proprietors for the use of the crown. It is in the administration of this sort of justice that the legislature of a free country appears in its most august form.

I had more to have advanced upon this subject, but I trust the occasion does not call for it. I have scarcely touched upon the pretensions of the private trade, ~~because~~ I do not think that to be the question of this day. Before I conclude, however, I wish to make one observation upon it. It can never enter into my conception that the exclusive franchise of this Company was granted to it merely for the benefit of the individual members of it. I think it was projected by a more enlarged and enlightened spirit, with a view to great national interests, and that this court cannot better consult those interests, than by maintaining, unimpaired, their own rights. But, sir, with this impression I do not mean that it *could*, in my opinion become it to say, with Shakespear's Shylock, "*How is it nominated in the bond?—I stay upon my bond*." There is no indulgence to others which I should not be forward to grant, short of that which would impair the paramount rights of this Company in the subject, & which, I repeat it, which it is equally the interest of the Public with that of the Company to maintain inviolate.—With respect to the adverse claims of authority opposed to us, the proposer of my honourable friend offers the facilities of conciliation, and this, sir, of all others, is not the moment for contest. Nothing but the imperious necessity of vindicating the rights of this Company could render this line of conduct eligible, at a time when this court, in common with others, feel
with

with gratitude the blessing the minister has been the instrument of obtaining for the country and the species. He has also contributed another ingredient to the public happiness, he has relieved the country from the pressure of a tax, the character and principle of which I cannot better describe than by appealing to the joy and exultation which all men have felt at its repeal. This indeed, sir, is not a moment for dissatisfaction and ill-humour.

Should we unfortunately be disappointed in our hopes and expectations that the differences which have prevailed will be terminated, I have only then, sir, to say, that if the minister carries with him into public life those qualities which have attached his friends in private life—it, as I trust, the candour and impartiality with which he filled his former situation accompany him to his present post, he cannot disrespect the principles of those who are contending for the inviolability of plighted public faith, for the security of the rights of others, as well as for their own.

Mr. IMPEY said, I entirely concur, sir, in the opinion delivered by my hon. and learned friend who spoke last, that nothing can be more contradictory and opposite than the proceedings of the court of directors, and the resolution which we are called upon to pass this day, approving those proceedings, yet contradictory as they are, I have the misfortune to dissent from both. The measures which have been pursued by the directors for a long course of time, in relation to the private trade, seem to me equally impolitic in their end and imprudent in their means, I cannot, therefore, assent to a resolution

which sanctions and approves them; neither can I give my vote for that part of the resolution which recommends conciliation, (though I most sincerely wish these fatal differences may terminate amicably,) because conciliatory steps have been already taken, and have led to an actual engagement with government, which, in my opinion, ought to be carried into execution.

The East India Company has indeed, as the honourable proprietor who seconded the motion expressed himself, arrived at an awful crisis, and I heartily wish he could prevail on the directors to take the opinions of the late Governor-general of India, whose ability, information, and integrity, cannot admit of dispute, on this extensive and intricate subject, but the honourable proprietor will do us on this side of the court the justice to recollect, that we passed this very proposition on the directors last year, and that it was treated as little better than an insult on their superior wisdom, perhaps at last the experience of their own weakness may teach them a little diffidence.

When I consider the great ability and information of the honourable proprietors who brought forward and seconded the motion, I confess I am surprised to find to little to answer or animadvert upon, they have said very little on the great question of the private trade, and still less on the conduct of the directors respecting it, which they call on us to sanction by our approbation. As I do not dispute any of the general principles they have laid down, and differ from them only in some of the conclusions they draw, and some of the facts they state, I shall take

notice of those differences as they arise, in the course of what I shall submit to the court.

If the doctrine which obtained here last year is still to prevail, that the opinions of the directors are infallible, and that it is presumption in any person to controvert them I am wasting time and labour in attempting to argue this question, but that is a doctrine to which I shall not easily be brought to subscribe. I consider this court as the constitutional corrective of the errors and exorbitancies of the directors, its powers have often been exerted most beneficially for that purpose, and may again, and thinking, as I do, the impediments industriously thrown in the way of the general trade between India and Great Britain highly pernicious to the Company as well as the Public, and that the conduct the directors have thought proper to adopt, is equally weak and violent, full of disrespect to us their constituents, and full of duplicity to the government and legislature, I shall express that opinion, and the grounds of it, without any reserve.

Much has been said in other places of the aristocracy of Leadenhall-street, but such only as have been present at our late general courts can have any adequate idea of the plenitude of its power. Here the directors have of late made no scruple to affirm, that any man who stands up to argue against their resolutions is an enemy to the East India Company, an opponent of its chartered rights and privileges—This, sir, you scruple not to affirm, though you know those resolutions are in direct opposition to the deliberate judgement of the first statesman in the country. But these excommunicatory anathemas have no

weight with me, while I know I am pursuing what I conscientiously believe to be the true interest of the Company. I know, sir, that assertions, unsupported by reason and argument, are of no real value, whether they come from that side of the bar or from this, but I will venture to assert, that throughout this business the directors have been the real enemies of the Company, and I think they have this day put me in a condition to prove it to the satisfaction of all impartial men.

As the private trade of India has been the ground and origin of the controversy which subsists between the directors and the government of the country, I cannot avoid making some general observations upon it, and what has been said respecting it. My opinion still remains unshaken and confirmed, that it is of primary importance to the interests of the empire at large, whether viewed in a commercial, financial, or political light, it opens an unbounded field to mercantile enterprise, it supplies and promises fertile and unfailing sources of revenue, and what may be considered as far more valuable, it provides the means of additional strength and security to the whole community, by an incalculable increase of our naval power, and that at a time, which, from the inordinate expence of naval equipments, may be called a time of need. Were the Company even to be sufferers in a slight degree by these great public benefits, I should think them unjustifiable in their opposition, but I maintain that they actually are and will be advantaged by them, and that the Company cannot be losers. The honourable proprietor who began this debate, begs the question between us from the beginning

gunning to the end when he states that injury is intended, or can accrue to the Company by the encouragement of the private merchant. He re-states objections long since made by the directors and refuted, and which, however seriously urged, I can scarcely treat as serious. He tells us, the private merchants will rival the Company in their trade. How can that possibly be, when they do not deal in the same articles? when they admit that the Company shall at all times exercise the privilege of monopolizing what articles they please, and excluding the private traders? Again we are told, that the private trade will lead to colonization in India. How is it possible that any natives of this country can settle in India, when the Company are furnished with the most despotic powers to prevent it? No Englishman can hold lands in that country, or go ten miles from any of the principal settlements without the Company's special licence. All India as well as England is compelled to enforce the execution of these laws, and to prevent a free intercourse between the natives of that country and this. Surely then, sir, we are treated like children, as wholly unversed in human affairs, their causes and effects, when this bogbear colonization is conjured up to terrify us.

The honourable proprietor talks of the ingratitude of the private traders for the *concessions* that have been made to them, as if this trade had originated in the concessions of the India Company, and as if there were something reprehensible in attempts to extend it; nothing can be more false than such a notion. Let us see how the fact stands, and in what state of relation to the merchants the Company are placed by

parliament. Till the year 1793 we were the monopolists of the Indian commerce: at that period our monopoly ceased, and the legislature, in its wisdom, established it as one of the conditions of renewing our charter, that we should encourage by every liberal facility and indulgence the new trade created by them. This provision was founded, not only on the narrow principles of transmitting the fortunes of individuals to England through the medium of commerce, as the directors pretend; but, in the act itself declared, with the view of extending the manufactures, commerce, and navigation of the whole British empire. The private merchants have as much right to all the assistance and protection we can afford them, consistently with our own exclusive privileges, in the prosecution of the mercantile concerns, as we have to their submission and obedience, when legal and reasonable restrictions are imposed by us for the defence of those privileges. Under the fostering care, not of the directors, but of some of their ablest and most enlightened servants in India, (whom they have been pleased to stigmatize for it, as hostile to their interest,) this trade has thriven to such a growth, that it occupies this season 15,000 tons of shipping, and its sale amount is not less than three millions sterling. Do the directors believe that any minister of this country can be so weak and ignorant as to sacrifice such a trade to their prejudices, or even to risk its transmission into the hands of foreigners? Even if such a minister could be found, do they imagine that parliament has ceased to have any regard to the resources of the nation?

Sir, it required no spirit of prophecy to foresee, that your resolutions

tions of last year could never be carried into effect, and I will venture to predict, that whatever may be the resolutions of the directors, or of this court, the private trade must and will be supported by those, whoever they may be, that administer the affairs of this nation. The prospect is already opened of bringing the whole or nearly the whole of the surplus produce of India into the Thames, and making London the emporium of Europe for Indian commodities. The directors complain that this prospect is chimerical, that it is new, that it never was dreamed of by the legislature in the year 1793. In answer to that complaint I charge the directors themselves with having opened that prospect to the nation, with having urged them by the most incontrovertible arguments to realize the views of greatness and opulence they pointed out. Those arguments still remain unanswered, those views are in a great degree realised, and their further prosecution is only retarded by the preposterous opposition of the directors themselves.

It is superfluous for me to urge arguments in support of the policy of these views, if the directors can answer their own arguments, I shall be satisfied. In the year 1797 they presented a memorial to the lords of his majesty's treasury, praying a reduction of the duties on Indian commodities, in which all the principles, all the views, all the reasonings are detailed on which the private merchants now rest: I will read some extracts from it to this court, and I will then ask the proprietors, I will then ask the directors, what answer can be given to this memorial, and how it can be reconciled with their present reasonings and conduct.

Mr. Lapey here read the fol-

lowing extracts from a memorial presented by the directors to the lords of his majesty's treasury, dated the 3d May 1797.

"Your memorialists have taken into consideration the situation of the East India trade, not only so far as concerns the Company's own commerce, but that carried on by individuals: and it appears to your memorialists that the regulations and indulgences which have taken place, in consequence of a late act of parliament for the renewal of the East India Company's charter in 1793 relative to the permission granted to individuals to participate in the East India trade, having already led to consequences most beneficial to the British nation your memorialists are perfectly convinced that the increased trade to this country from India, as before stated, notwithstanding all the encouragement given to it would not have taken place to the extent it has, if the situation of the principal commercial countries of Europe in consequence of the war, had not rendered their trade more expensive and hazardous than the trade to this country: but this, on the return of peace must necessarily cease from a variety of causes. Amongst these it may be material to impress upon the attention of your lordships, that individuals residing in India cannot be restricted to particular ships, but that they have it in their power to select the ships of any nation which will take goods on the lowest freight, or that will best suit the purpose of conveying their commerce to Europe, and the policy of all the other commercial powers of Europe will give every facility to this trade, for the purpose of drawing it to their own country.

"The policy of Great Britain certainly should be to remove every obstacle that will prevent its carrying on this trade upon as few terms as any other country.

"If this was done, there is every reason to hope that almost the whole trade from the East would pass through London.

"In such case, the rate of sale of Indian goods would be increased, from the increased quantity of goods sold for exportation, bringing the greatest competition.

"The sale of our exports in British manufactures would also be proportionably increased, from the increased number of foreign purchasers of Eastern goods at the India sale, because persons frequenting a country for one article inadvertently buy many others.

"This increased commerce would not only

only give an immediate increase to the number of our seamen but it would serve the most useful purpose of bringing those back who now serve under foreign flags in the illicit trade carried on at foreign ports with English property. It would encourage our ship building throw much money into the country by the charges of merchandize and give employment to numbers. In short, the advantages accruing from such a plan cannot come within dispute.

"Your memorialists in troubling your lordships with this address, are only actuated by the public benefit. As lords of the soil in India, advantages will certainly result to them which will give more perfect security to their property embarked in the trade, but every other advantage will continue to pass through the hands of the Company merely as engines in the service of the state."

This memorial was accompanied by another paper, entitled general observations, which contains passages equally curious and important.

"It is to be expected almost the whole of the articles produced in India several of which were new to the Europe trade until within these few years, such as sugar cotton indigo &c. will find their way here, if proper encouragement shall be given by the removal of the duties, and extra expences which attach upon importation here and which are a great check upon the exportation of those articles for foreign use for it should be remembered that it is impossible for Great Britain to tax foreign countries by levying any considerable duty upon articles for foreign use while those countries have it in their power to procure the articles themselves, without coming to this country for them, either by trading directly to the places of produce or by giving encouragement to the shipping there to send the articles to them which the merchants of India have in their power to do beyond any other persons concerned in commerce in any part of the world, from the variety of articles, and the extent of the produce of them, the necessity of remittances to Europe, and from the ports in India being free to the ships of any nation.

"The situation of foreign countries at this time, and the insecurity of neutral flags, are particularly favourable for the extension of this great and growing India

commerce to its legal and natural channel, from which it has been forced by the high duties, and the mode by which levied.

"A low duty collected on the sale prices of goods sold for exportation, would it is expected make London the great emporium of India commerce, at present almost carried on entirely by English capitals although under foreign flags—even a considerable part of the Danish Company's cargoes are purchased with English funds.

"It is also a matter of great regret, that most of the private ships trading to and from India, under foreign flags, are navigated by English seamen who are thus alienated from their country.

"All the advantages stated to result from this trade to foreign countries, when transferred to this country, would centre here and from the whole of the private importations being joined to those of the Company the sale prices would thereby be supported from the concurrence of foreign purchasers who would also export many articles of British manufacture whereas at present the sales here are frequently counteracted by the sales at Hamburgh &c anticipating those of the Company in order to fill the market previous thereto.

"Another strong circumstance is, the India trade does not drain this country of its capital or divert it from other channels as is the case with the West Indian trade where immense sums are advanced upon mortgage of plantations, and in the American trade, where goods are sent upon long credit to the detriment of commerce from a well regulated intercourse with our fellow subjects in India, it is presumed many articles, the manufacture and produce of this country would be sent there in preference to those of the countries they now resort to to the great advantage of the community."

It is for his information, that this memorial and those observations have never been printed by the directors among the papers which they have laid before the proprietors for their information, but they have been printed by order of the house of commons, and by my honourable friend near me in the able book he has published on the subject of the private trade, the directors have prudently kept them

in the back ground, and it is from extraneous sources we are supplied with those proofs of their inconsistencies and contradictions.

It appears by Lord Wellesley's letter to the court of directors, of the 21st Sept. 1801, that the export trade of the Company is about two fifths of the whole export trade of India. The remaining three fifths are carried on partly by private British traders, and partly by foreigners, some of whom trade on their own funds, and some, as is distinctly admitted by the directors in their first report, on British capital. The private merchants desire no more than that they may be permitted to use the means in their power of prosecuting to advantage that portion of their Indian commerce which the Company cannot embrace, and which, if unoccupied by them, must be carried on by foreigners. The merchants tell us, that they shall be enabled to bring the whole or nearly the whole of the surplus produce of India into our warehouses, if we will allow them to take advantage of the Indian shipping at such a rate of freight as they can agree upon with their owner; if we will allow them to ship their own commodities under such restrictions as we choose to impose, and to dispatch their vessels at the periods most convenient to them. "No, (say the directors) we insist upon shipping your goods when and in what manner we please, we insist that your vessels shall sail in the fair weather season only, we insist on providing for your whole tonnage, at a vast increase of expence both to you and to ourselves." Their project last year was to build a new fleet for the conveyance of the private trade in this country, now half of their

fleet is to be built here and half in India.

The directors, sir, undertake to furnish annually a sufficiency of tonnage to answer the whole demand in India of the private trade this year, when the cotton crops have almost entirely failed, the trade occupies no less than fifteen thousand tons, and this whole quantity the directors do not scruple to promise. How it is possible for them to perform this promise in the present state of the shipping of this country, and at the present enormous rate of all the articles of ship building, it is for them to explain. But admitting their performance of this engagement to be practicable, let us see how they have been accustomed to execute similar engagements on former occasions. In the season 1800-1, they were bound by the act of 1793 to furnish the private merchants with what is called the *statutable tonnage*, that is, *three thousand tons at the least* did they fulfill that obligation? So far from it, that we are told by Lord Wellesley, in the letter I have already quoted, they did not furnish a single ton, and that if the merchants had been deprived of the resource of Indian shipping, either their goods must have lain on their hands, or they must have disposed of them to foreigners. If this was the case in 1800-1, when, comparatively speaking, so small a quantity of tonnage was required, what may be expected at this time, when the trade is so much increased? Can the private merchants, with such an example before their eyes, stuff with any degree of security the promise of the directors?

But the merchants plainly tell you, that even if you could supply *tonnage* with the whole *tonnage* they

demand, in the manner you at present propose, they could not occupy it—it must remain in your hands, useless to them and burthen some to the Company. “Your mode of contracting for our shipping, (say they) is so inconvenient, so clogged with limitations and provisions, that the freight must necessarily be enhanced by it—besides, your officers distribute our cargoes at their pleasure over a variety of vessels we know not where or when, and the period of their dispatch are confined within a particular season—under these vexatious incumbrances we know not how to regulate our consignments or in surances. Addressing a mercantile assembly like this, I consider it ask them, whether there are frivolous or capricious complaints, or are they substantial, and necessarily arising out of the conduct of the directors? Is it not plain and evident, that these restrictions, if not removed, must transfer this valuable branch of commerce to foreign nations?

The honourable proprietor who moved the resolution tells you, that foreign nations have a right to trade to your settlements in India, and that you cannot with justice exclude them. No advocate, sir, for the private traders has ever disputed this principle, or has even sought to exclude them. What is it then they ask? that the Company have the means of rivalling them, that they may be enabled to enter into that fair and honourable competition, by which Great Britain has become the most opulent and powerful nation upon earth.

Let us suppose for an instant that it were possible for the directors to carry their plans into execution to their utmost extent, and build a new fleet of their own for the con-

veyance of the private trade.—What is to become of the Indian shipping which this commerce has already created, and which I am sure I do not over estimate at forty thousand tons, at a period when ship timber is so scarce, when all the articles of ship building are so dear, when, after six months of peace, ships cannot be built for less than twenty one or twenty-two pounds a ton—is the whole of the Indian shipping to be lost to this country? Is it to rot unemployed, or to be sold at a low price to foreign nations, while we are building a new fleet to supply its place at a ruinous expense, and to the incalculable increase of our difficulties in naval and mercantile equipments?

The more, sir, we consider the plans of the directors, and trace them to their consequence, the more clearly do we discern the mischief and absurdity with which they are fraught. But were they ever to write, were the principle of excluding Indian shipping ever so clearly, connected with the prosperity of the Company, I could never approve (as I am called on to do by this motion,) the conduct of the directors in the prosecution of their measures, as it is detailed in these printed papers. I think their conduct at once weak, unskilful, and violent, and disrespectful to us their constituent, and still more dishonouring to his majesty's ministers and the legislature.

More than a twelvemonth since, the court of directors came to certain resolutions, by which they declared the admission of Indian ships into the commerce of Europe to be incompatible with the safety of the India Company, and determined to set aside the whole system recommended by Mr Dundas, and

pursued by lord Wellesley, for the encouragement of the private trade. This step was considered by the directors to little liable to doubt or objection, that they did not think it worth while even to call a court of proprietors, that they might sanction it with their approbation before it was carried into execution. Some gentlemen, however, on this side of the court were not quite so precipitate, they wished for further information, they wished, as the hon proprietor who seconded the motion does to-day, that the late governors-general of India should be consulted before a final decision they called a general court, and submitted to it a proposition to that effect, but this proposition was treated by the directors as little better than insult on what they were pleased to call their unanimous opinion, though they are compelled to admit to-day it was not unanimous. The proprietors confirmed their resolutions by a very large majority, and by their vote of the 28th of May last, intrusted them "to act without delay upon the principles detailed in them."

What were the principles on which the directors were thus required to act without delay? The first and most prominent of them was, that the total exclusion of Indian ships from the private trade was essential to the preservation of the Company, and of the British empire in India. Be this principle right or wrong, the directors became bound by the instructions of their constituents to act upon it, more especially as those instructions were the result of their own arguments and opinions. If they found any impediments to the immediate execution of the orders they had received, if they found them

resisted or impugned by any higher authority, it became their duty, in my humble opinion, to call the proprietors together, to represent to them the difficulties that occurred in enforcing their orders, and to ask their advice how far they ought to persist in their resolutions, and how far it might be prudent to recede from them. Instead of this, though instant obstacles occurred to arrest the progress of the directors, they have never returned to our advice from that day to this, and so far have they been from adhering to the principles on which we directed them to act, that we find by these printed papers, they have wholly departed from them, that they have actually drawn up orders to their governments on the opposite principle of admitting the Indian ships to an equal participation in the private trade; and had these orders been approved by the commissioners they might have been dispatched to India without our knowledge, or without the possibility of our legal interference, if we had known them. This conduct is, in my judgement, highly disrespectful to the proprietors, and an infringement of their just rights and privileges in the management of their own affairs; but as my honorable friend near me has promised to bring forward a motion on the subject, I shall dwell upon it no longer at present.

I shall proceed to what is further detailed in these printed papers. It appears that immediately after the debate of the 28th of May, the directors dispatched paragraphs, intended for their Indian governments, to the heads of commissioners, founded on their resolutions of the 4th of February; these the commissioners refused to sanction, all they had consulted other branches of his majesty's government, for this

this refusal they assign their reasons in a letter dated June 2, 1801

"Though the paragraphs are *de nonnatis* commercial, and may be, therefore supposed not to be within the exercise of the powers of the commissioners for the affairs of India, yet the proposition, extended as it is, fixing permanently and finally the condition of the private trade, and confining it solely to British ships, appears to us to involve in it much more than merely commercial considerations, and to embrace points of great political importance which may in their consequences, deeply affect the interests of the State."

A very few days after, notice was given by an honourable member of the house of commons (Sir William Pulteney), that he intended to bring this great question before the legislature early in the present session, and an order was served on the directors to lay all the papers on the subject before the house. In this stage of the business, I beg leave to call the particular attention of this court to the conduct of the directors, and to ask them, Whether, in their judgement, it was calculated to promote the interests of the India Company? When parliament had actually taken the question of private trade under their cognizance, with a view to its final arrangement, the directors think fit to commence a contest with the board of commissioners for the transmission of their paragraphs to India; whereby the judgement of parliament would have been anticipated by a final arrangement on the plan of their own resolutions. Thus the commissioners very properly resisted; and I will state to the court the various correspondence on the subject, in which the firm temper and moderation of the one side form a striking contrast to the indolgent and violent temerity of the other. The commis-

sioners answer the requisition of the directors for a confirmation of their paragraphs by a letter of the 20th of June, in which they say—

"As various papers respecting the private trade with India have been laid before the house of commons preparatory to an investigation of the subject, which it is the obvious intention of parliament to enter upon early in the ensuing session, they feel it inconsistent with their sense of public duty by any intermediate step, to anticipate the decision of the legislature on a question of such magnitude, and so closely connected with the maritime strength of the country and they therefore signify to you, that they withhold their approbation from the draft proposed.

The directors do not yield to this reasoning of the board, which one would imagine to be quite conclusive. In a letter, dated the 2d of July, they again press for the transmission of their paragraphs, and say—

"If the board mean to prohibit the transmission of the paragraphs to India, the court take the liberty of representing that such prohibition appears to them not to be within the legal exercise of the powers delegated to the board by the act of 1793; and the acquiescence of the court would, in its consequences, sweep away all the exclusive privileges of the East India Company."

The commissioners reply on the 14th of July, with great temper, re urging their former arguments

"Considering" say they, "the weighty opinions which have been stated upon the subject, we think it sufficient to express a strong doubt, how far paragraphs can be considered as simply and purely commercial, the immediate effect of which may be, to prevent the public from enjoying the full advantages of the immense resource which, it is contended, the forests of India may afford to the maritime strength and commerce of Great Britain, at a time when the great and increasing scarcity and dearness of the materials for ship-building, threaten the most serious detriment to both: as it is, however, the understood intention of parliament fully

to investigate the subject and certain steps preparatory thereto having already been taken in the house of commons, the board are induced to persevere in withholding their approbation from paragraphs by which the manner of carrying on the private trade of individuals may be affected."

The directors, instead of yielding to this firm opposition, are irritated by it, they kindle in their course, and not only insist on their paragraphs, but break out into an invective against their governor-general. In a letter to the board, of the 10th of July, they lament,

"That the commissioners still persist in withholding their approbation from paragraphs which they conceive purely commercial." They add, "As much time has elapsed and as the conduct of the governor-general in India operates in a manner hostile to the rights of the Company as regard to its exclusive trade, the court of directors think it absolutely necessary that some instructions should be transmitted to India forthwith in order to preserve those rights, which cannot be impaired without a violation of the exclusive commerce of India in the hands of the Company."

The commissioners, still adhering to their resolution, endeavour to moderate the violence of the directors. In a letter of the 21st of July, they say—

"If it had been clear to the board that the important business in agitation between the court of directors and the board, had been simply of a commercial nature, no difference of opinion could possibly have subsisted between them. Under the present circumstances, they conceive that it would be unnecessary to send out any paragraphs, the tendency of which might be, so occasion uneasiness in the mind of the governor-general, who has, no doubt, acted upon this occasion in the manner which he conceived would be most to the advantage of his employers."

The directors, however, still continue obstinate in the controversy, they tell the commissioners, in a letter of the 23d of July,

"That it was the intention of the

directors to convey to the governor general their marked disapprobation of his conduct as a *private party* *commerce*, and which conduct, if persisted in the court think would operate to the detriment of the Company's exclusive trade."

At length the board of commissioners found it absolutely necessary to close this scene of rash importunity, in a letter dated August 4, equally remarkable for its firmness, moderation, and liberality, which, if it fails to make a strong impression on the proprietors, I must say they have very different views from what I entertain of the interests of this Company. The letter is as follows

"GENTLEMEN,

"The board think it necessary that the court of directors should explicitly understand, that however much it may be their wish that their ideas of the interests of the East India Company and of the public (inter its in their opinion, inseparable), should coincide with those of the court of directors, they are by no means disposed for the sake of securing that coincidence, to relinquish any points by which they think those interests may be materially promoted. They dare not show a marked contempt for what may be the opinion of the legislature: they dare not risk the adoption of measures which may counteract the regulations of parliament in a matter of great political importance, where they have the power of resisting them. They have too much regard for what they conceive to be the real interests of the East India Company, to give their approbation to any measure which in any exposure to public view, and awaken prejudices, now perhaps dormant, in the breasts of a few individuals, but which may eventually, if revived, extend themselves even within the walls of parliament. They are aware that paragraphs may be worded in such a manner, as by bringing them within the letter of the act of 1793, may prevent their giving them a decided rejection, even when they cannot approve, and they are ready to recur where the law points out to them the path of their duty: but no law can oblige them to approve, and they do not hesitate to declare, that it is their opinion that in the present circumstances it is not expedient that any paragraphs whatever, respecting the private trade,

trade should be sent out to India as, however, it is possible that in this respect they may not obtain the concurrence of the court of directors they return them the paragraphs so corrected as to leave the question entirely open for future arrangement and discussion, and they are determined that no powers which the Legislature has vested in them shall remain unexercised to prevent any attempts to fetter such future discussion."

Whether the directors were at last convinced by the arguments of the commissioners I know not, but it appears that these paragraphs, though so often styled *paribus commercialibus*, were never sent to India and here the matter rested, till Mr W. Pulteney gave notice in November last, that he intended to fulfil his promise of bringing the matter before parliament. On this occasion, Mr. Pitt, as chairman of the Company, thought fit to address a letter to Mr. Addington, dated Nov. 7th, the contents of that letter at our last meeting here, you challenged me to discuss, I have since read it with renewed astonishment again and again, and I must say, that, in misrepresentation, presumption, and indiscretion, it stands unrivalled by any public document that ever fell under my observation. First, as to its misrepresentations, it represents "the claims of the private traders as 'undefined,' whereas nothing can be more clear and definite: they demand the liberty of employing Indian ships at the rate of freight they can agree upon with the owners, they demand the liberty, under due restrictions, of loading and dispatching those ships as is most convenient to themselves—Can any thing be more definite? Yet thus the chairman calls undefined claims—he represents the mer-

in truth, they distinctly disclaim any wish to interfere in any branch of commerce which the Company may choose to monopolize, and merely ask permission to carry on, in the only practicable manner, that surplus trade which the Company's capital cannot embrace. Next, as to the presumption of this letter, the chairman says, "As chairman of the East India Company, I have to it my duty to press on your attention how impossible it appears that an satisfactory result can be the consequence of such a mode of proceeding," that is to say, by an inquiry in parliament—a result satisfactory to whom? If it be meant that it is impossible for the result of an inquiry in parliament to be satisfactory to the public, it is a direct insult on parliament, if it be meant that the result must be unsatisfactory to the directors, it is a complete dereliction of the justice of their cause—I leave to the chairman the choice of either meaning. The letter proceeds thus

"To undefined claims urged before the Legislature on the ground of political expediency the East India Company I apprehend are compelled to oppose their rights, founded on a deliberate compact with the public, after a laborious and unfruitful discussion, confirmed by parliament. If this should be violated, without the consent or concurrence of the East India Company I profess myself at a loss to conceive how any rights can remain to them, or to other bodies of men dependent on the public faith. If from a different view of public or private interests, the rights of the Company may be narrowed, they may also be overruled and it must be understood in future, that those who form compacts with the state, hold what they have understood to be rights, during the good pleasure of parliament."

If I have a very understanding, these passages can only be construed to

a violation of public faith, and to threaten them, if such should be their disposition, with proclaiming to the nation "that such as form compacts with the State, hold what they have understood to be rights during;" what the chairman is pleased sarcastically to call "the good pleasure of parliament." Do I make use of too strong language, when I call such an imputation as arrogant and presumptuous, as it is unfounded, in the character of the British legislature. Lastly, as to the indiscretion of this performance, "I am sensible (says the chairman) that the East India Company are strongly implicated with the public government of the country, and that it may appear ungracious on their part to oppose *legal rights*, in the *rigid letter* of their compact, to any *reasonable change* which the *public interest* may require." I ask this court, whether it be discreet and prudent in the chairman thus to represent the India Company to the Nation in the amiable attitude of opposing the rigid letter of their compact to any reasonable change the public interest may seem to require? Is such a representation, or is it not, likely to rouse those prejudices in the public mind against the Company, which Lord Dartmouth tells us are at present dormant? "I need not suggest (says the chairman) to your enlightened mind, the danger which may result to the government of India, now become so important a part of the empire, by a too curious inquisition into the present state of their affairs, just emerging from the distress of an eight years war." In this paragraph the nation is told, in plain terms, that too curious an inquisition into the Company's affairs, would endanger our empire in India. A prudent and comfortable state-

ment this of the condition our affairs are in, but I hope and trust I may term this one of the chairman's misrepresentations as well as indiscretions. No comment I can make can in any degree do justice to the contents of this curious epistle, and I would recommend it to the attention and study of every proprietor, as a specimen of the ability and prudence with which our affairs are conducted.

The next step taken by the directors was an attempt to stop the further progress of parliament, by conciliation and accommodation; and it this had been done *bona fide*, and with a true conciliatory spirit, nothing could have been wiser or more calculated to secure to the Company the permanent possession of her exclusive privileges, and the good opinion of the public. As I was present when Mr Addington laid before parliament the terms of accommodation proposed by the directors, I can with confidence detail to this court the opinion he then delivered on the general subject the minister "expressed his regret at being compelled to say, that the directors had not extended those facilities to the private merchants, to which they were bound by the act of 1793, and if they had continued to shew the disposition they had hitherto shewn, he thought it would have become incumbent on parliament to interfere for the protection of the private trade; but he had the satisfaction to state to the house, that the directors had declared their willingness to permit the employment of the Indian shipping in the private trade during the two next seasons, in order that a *fair experiment* might be made of its alleged advantages over the tonnage lent from this country, and of the evils that were likely to re-

sult

sult from it." In a subsequent part of the conversation, he read to the house the eleven propositions printed in these papers, upon which an explanation took place, and all parties acquiesced in his motion "that the previous question should be put, upon its being fully understood that those propositions were to be considered as the basis of a future arrangement, to be modified according to the result of the experiment proposed. That they were viewed in this light by lord Dartmouth, is clear from his letter to the directors of the 29th of November, acknowledging the receipt of them, in which he expressly calls them 'the propositions agreed to as the basis of an arrangement for the private trade;' and expresses his earnest wish "that they may lead to such accommodation as shall be to the mutual advantage of the East India Company and the Public, parties whose interests, rightly considered, I conceive," says he, "to be inextinguishable." Yet although this clear understanding of the nature of these propositions had been expressed by the minister and lord Dartmouth, the directors, on the very day that they were made, without any regard to the eventual decision of parliament on the result of the experiment they themselves had proposed, resolve, in a secret court, that orders shall immediately be sent to their Indian governments, "that no teak or Indian built ships shall be employed on a voyage to Europe, except under and in conformity with the eleven resolutions sanctioned by the directors." This conduct of the directors I again charge as presumptuous, in anticipating the decision of the legislature, whom they had induced, by their proposal of an experiment, to suspend their judgement. This

conduct I charge as full of duplicity to the public, in holding out terms of conciliation, when they were resolved, at any rate, obstinately to persevere in their measures, yet this conduct we are called on to approve.

The directors proceed next to act on the secret resolution they had formed, they frame orders on it to be transmitted to India, and send them to the board of commissioners for their approbation. When lord Dartmouth receives these orders, nothing can exceed his surprise, he says in his letter of the 28th January last,

"I find, most unexpectedly what I had considered as a matter of experiment, upon the result of which the future regulations of the private trade was to be formed, as in these paragraphs treated as a fixed and final determination, as a permanent system not hereafter to be departed from, as a regular code not in future to be infringed, by which, in every circumstance, and under all contingencies, that trade is to be regulated.

The answer of the chairman to this observation of lord Dartmouth, in a letter dated Feb 9th, is curious enough he does not venture to deny the construction put on the propositions of the directors, if he had, he knew he might have been contradicted by Mr Addington, and all the members of the house of commons, who heard those propositions explained he answers with great caution, "that the paper presented by the deputy and myself to Mr Addington, and altered by him, will bear such a construction, I am not willing to admit." I give him credit for this unwillingness, but I think in the end he will be forced to admit it.

The commissioners were driven by this proceeding of the directors to the alternative of approving or disapproving their orders, an ac-

real engagement had been entered into with government, acting for the public, from which it became their duty not to permit the directors to swerve. Accordingly they made such alterations and additions as they thought themselves called upon to make, by that duty, and the true construction of that engagement. Upon this the directors instantly come to the following intemperate and furious resolution: "That the letter received this morning from the board, together with two commercial paragraphs to be transmitted to India, when taken altogether, *demonstrate a decided and unequal intention of invading and destroying the commercial rights and privileges of the E. I. India Company*." Thus also we are now called on to approve and concur in, but as the directors are not yet vested with the prerogative of declaring war on the part of the East India Company against the government of the country, I trust this court will be inclined, and think it prudent to examine a little the grounds of this resolution, before they consent to become allies, or rather principals, in the hostilities thus solemnly proclaimed.

The paragraphs, say the directors, are commercial, and as such out of the jurisdiction of the board. It is true, the word "commercial" is written in large characters at the head of them, but that, it is obvious, will not alter their real nature. But let us look into the section of the act on which this assertion of the directors is founded (*Mr. Impey here read the 16th section of the act of 1708.*) The first observation that occurs on reading this section is, that the word "commercial" is not contained in it. In the second place, by this section, the authority of the board is ad-

mitted to extend to all points connected with the revenues of India. Is this court prepared to say, that the private trade, which employs so many Indian agriculturists and manufacturers, which is the fertile source of so much revenue in all shapes, is "*not connected with the revenues of India?*" An honourable proprietor has triumphantly asked "is commerce not a commercial subject?" In return, I ask him, "is that produces revenue in India is not connected with that revenue?" In the third place, if directors really feel confident in their exposition of this clause, why do they not pursue the remedy pointed out by the act, of petitioning his majesty in council, instead of pursuing this violent manifesto, that their rights and privileges are invaded, and that there exists a fixed design to destroy them? But be the construction of this section of the "act what it may, of this I am sure, that by the spirit of that statute, clearly pervading every part of it, the commissioners are constituted trustees for the public in all points of Indian administration, nearly affecting the interests and prosperity of the British empire. It is the avowed opinion of the first naval characters in this country, and particularly of lord St. Vincent, as declared by his authority in parliament, that the employment or rejection of the Indian shipping may materially affect the maritime strength as well as commerce of this kingdom. Knowing such opinions to exist, the commissioners would in my mind have been wholly inexorable, if they had permitted that shipping to be excluded from the British commerce, either totally or partially, directly or indirectly, without the express sanction of the legislature,

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With respect to the two paragraphs which the board has recommended to the adoption of the directors, the first seems to me to furnish a distinct and decisive proof, that the question of the private trade is intimately connected with the revenues of India, it approves the conduct of the Governor general in permitting the advances of the private merchant to the manufacturers, as a mean to prevent the ruin of the manufactures and defalcation of the land revenue. The second relates to a subject in which I think the commissioners had a full right to interfere, a general trusteeship for the public, under the act of 1703, the infusing of a full supply of cotton to the manufacturer of this country. It is well known that those manufacturers applied to the court of directors, requesting that they would turn their attention to the importation of this article: they received a very extraordinary answer, "that if they wanted cotton, they should have the full permission of the East India Company to send as many ships as they pleased to India to fetch it." This insulting permission to the cotton manufacturers to turn merchants, the directors have since boasted of as a high strain of liberality. The commissioners, in my opinion, have taken a much juster view of the subject: when they consider the directors bound by the act of 1703, to furnish all the means in their power for the transportation of the largest possible quantity of the raw material to this country.

But even admitting, for the sake of argument, that this subject is purely commercial, and that the commissioners, in the ordinary exercise of their jurisdiction, have no right to interfere with it, yet in this case the directors are quite

precluded from any just ground of complaint, by their own acts and resolutions. In this case they had actually entered into a solemn agreement with government, acting on behalf of the public, which it became the duty of the commissioners to see conscientiously executed. In this case, the directors had resolved on the 25th of November, "That as much depends on the manner in which this arrangement is made known in India, they presume the best mode in which it can be done will be by paragraphs of India to be approved by the board of commissioners." Could the directors possibly mean, that the commissioners should sign an approval of what they thought objectionable? Could they possibly mean to preclude them from removing what they thought objectionable, and substituting what they approved in lieu of it? The supposition is so absurd that it seems to me impossible to contend, that the right of alteration and addition in the commissioners does not necessarily flow from the resolution of the court of directors.

The directors have annexed to these printed papers a curious composition, which they call a third report on the private trade, it appears to have been prepared, if not actually printed, as far back as last November, though it has been published, for the first time, a few days ago, for the purpose of the present debate. If I were to describe it in a few words, I should say it was compounded of vague and often contradictory arguments, founded on very bold assertions. I cannot pretend, from the very short time it has been in my hands, completely to anatomize it, I must leave that task to the industry and ability of my honourable friend near me, who

who has made skeletons of the two former reports, and hung them up for the amusement and edification of the public. I trust he will add this, which is a much greater curiosity, to his collection, but in the mean time I will give the proprietors a taste of it, by the selection of a few passages.

In page 15, the directors lay down a principle as generally applicable to the subject they are discussing, than which nothing can be more true, and yet almost every sentence in their three reports is at variance with it. "On a question, (say they) which in its progress produces such very important and serious consequences, mere opinions, drawn from inferences and speculative calculations, ought not to be admitted. What are all their reasonings about colonization, the depravation of the morals of the lascars, the degradation of the British character in India, and the overthrow of the British empire in the East, but "mere opinions, drawn from inferences and speculative calculations," and which therefore, according to their own calculation, "ought not to be admitted." On the other hand, the private trade is not a speculative, but a present substantial benefit, it actually produces annually three millions sterling.

In another passage the directors give us a specimen with what ease they get rid of proposals for the public benefit. They tell us, that in the year 1787 Mr. David Scott made a proposition for exporting British manufactures to India in the Company's ships, to an immense and annually increasing amount. "To such a proposal (say they) one single fact was opposed by the court of directors, namely, that at the time Mr. Scott made the pro-

posal, returns were received of the draught of water of each ship, as the only means to enable the court to ascertain whether the ships were not too full to perform the voyage from Europe to many parts of India with security, and on several occasions ships were not suffered to proceed, until some part of the cargo was taken out, in consequence of the ships being over-loaded. *Is it a decisive proof of the want of any basis on which a project of so much importance could rest, gave the Company a short respite —* "Were returns of the draught of water the only means of ascertaining whether the Company's ships were laden? Had they no invoices of their cargoes, from which they might have derived much more decisive proof whether their tonnage was fully occupied with *their own goods*? How does it appear at this instant, from the evidence they have adduced, whether these ships were loaded with the Company's goods, or whether they were conveying at the hands of their servants? Yet this is what they call a "decisive proof, that this project, admitted to be highly beneficial to the public, could not be executed."

In page 168, the directors display their philanthropy, by lamenting the dreadful mortality that prevails among the lascars on board the ships of the private merchants, but they give us no opportunity of comparing it with the dreadful mortalities that sometimes prevail among the Europeans on board their own ships in India. If any criminal neglect takes place in the management of the crews of particular ships, that neglect should be enquired into and punished, but it is no more an argument against the private trade, than the misconduct

of the Company's affairs is against the existence of the Company. It is no more an argument against the private trade that the sailors are subject to mortality in northern latitudes, than it is against the trade to India, that Europeans are subject to mortality in tropical climates, these are evils from which the greatest human benefits are inseparable. Did the directors never hear of the terrible havoc that disease makes among their sailors in Diamond Harbour? Yet they would think it a strange argument for the discontinuance of their trade.

I should quite exhaust the court, and myself, were I to enumerate all the passages that are equally contradictory and inconclusive, I shall select one more only, which seems to me completely to prove, if it be true, the injustice and precipitancy of the steps the directors have been taking. They tell us in page 178, "There can be no difficulty to assert that delay will be dangerous, nay fatal, to the cause of the private traders, for the experience of one or at most two seasons, will refute every argument they have used, and destroy those fallacious, chimerical plans and estimates, by means of which they have attained so much credit." Upon this fact the merchants join issue with the court of directors, and demand the experience of those two seasons, to prove which is right and which is wrong. The king's ministers and the board of control think it but justice to the public, that a full and fair experiment should be made: this justice I now demand for the private traders from this court, and as I cannot approve the conduct of the court of directors, or the motion that has been made, I shall move as an amendment, that all the words

of the motion, except the word "That," be left out, and the following words substituted:-

"Resolved That the question of private trade between India and Britain on which such opposite opinions are held by persons of the highest authority appears to this court to involve considerations of the utmost importance as well to the East India Company as to the maritime, commercial and political interests of this kingdom and this court is of opinion that previous to the final arrangement of a permanent system a full and fair experiment should be made, as proposed by the board of commissioners for the affairs of India.

SIR FRANCIS BARING rose to beg the attention of the court to a few observations, which would, he trusted, clearly shew, that the learned gentleman, with all his abilities, had laid a false statement before the court, and which was capable of refutation in many parts of his argument. The learned proprietor had made use of great names, had been very free in his observations on their opinions, and had contended for the great weight which they ought to carry with them. The learned gentleman had, in the first place, laid considerable stress on the opinions stated in the letters of the marquis Wellesley, the present Governor general, who certainly maintains sentiments highly favourable to those, whom he could view in no other light than as men who preferred their own interests to those of the Company, but it was to be remembered, that when the marquis first adopted the system of transferring that portion of the produce of India, which the Company did not themselves freight for Great Britain, he was but recently arrived in Bengal, could have formed no mature and well weighed opinion of his own, and must naturally have his mind open to the prejudices and false lights held out to him by the

the resident traders and merchants of India, whose prevailing principle it was to get the system most favourable to their interests, sanctioned by the Governor general & authority. Having once imbibed the poison thus administered, he usually fell into the error of zealousy advocating this system of the resident traders. With all his great and acknowledged talents, and no man was more ready, Sir Francis said, than he was, to do them the fullest justice, it was impossible for the Governor general, who had not, nor could he be supposed to have, any great share of that extensive knowledge of the true interests of the East India Company, which long experience, and repeated deliberations upon every part of her complicated concerns, and created the directors at home to acquire. They viewed the subjects of the private trade in all its bearings, and were fully convinced, from repeated discussions, that if the plan so earnestly recommended by the marquis Wellesley were given way to, it would not only take away the rights and privileges reserved to them by the special provisions of the act of 1793, but ultimately ruin their commerce altogether. With regard to the late president of the board of commissioners for Indian affairs, that right honourable gentleman undoubtedly possessed great abilities, and was master of all the subjects of Indian affairs and the Company's interests, but he had most unaccountably changed his mind respecting them, since he wrote his letter of the 21st of March 1801, to be seen in the printed papers respecting the trade between India and Europe. In the conclusion of that letter, speaking of the private trade, he says—*It is a trade, over which the commis-*

sioners have no control. After such a broad, unqualified declaration, what could the directors, or what could the court think of a contrary opinion maintained by the same right honourable gentleman? With the minister, the learned gentleman, Sir Francis said, had taken great liberties, and chosen to put his own construction upon a speech of the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, delivered in the house of commons, a construction directly contrary to that which he thought it entitled to. Sir Francis advanced one or two arguments as to the validity of the agreement, and at length said, that Lord Wellesley, Mr Dundas, and the minister, were entirely out of the question, he would therefore proceed to the next authority that the learned gentleman had relied on, that of the present president of the board of Indian commissioners, the earl of Darnley. Was it possible that Lord Darnley, though a man of undoubted talents and unpeached integrity, and very amiable qualities, could be thorough master of the subject in so short a time after his appointment? Was it not well known that the noble lord was surrounded by the intrigues of Mr Dundas, accessible only to the agents of the private traders to India? How was it possible, therefore, to expect any other opinion from a noble man thus circumstanced, than that deducible from his lordship's letter of January 28, 1804, the alterations in the paragraphs enclosed, and which afterwards the board of commissioners had confirmed?

The directors, Sir Francis said, called for attention to documents in their reports, but it was evident the learned gentleman had not paid much attention to the reports themselves, when

when he talked of employing Indian-built ships, for two years, as a fair experiment. The word "experiment" did not occur in the reports of the directors, but he admitted that it had been used by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in parliament, on the 25th of November 1801. The directors, therefore, were not to have an argument retorted upon them, which was founded on misrepresentation, nor to have the terms of others inadvertently upon, as if they had been their own expressions. It was, undoubtedly, the duty of the directors, to give a clear explanation of their whole conduct, since they received the instruction of the general court, held on the 14th of May 1801, but he must deny the truth of the charge so roundly made by the learned gentleman, of their having disobeyed the orders of the proprietors then agreed upon by a large majority. The directors were at all times animated by an anxious desire to shew the utmost respect to the court of proprietors, but they could not perform impossibilities. So far from wilfully disobeying their orders, they had immediately done all in their power to carry them in a full effect, and when it was well known what the impediments thrown in their way from another quarter were, it was not a little extraordinary that a gentleman who had been active in endeavouring to prevail on the general court of May 28, 1801, to vote against the resolutions come to that day, and to procure their sanction to a resolution of a very different tendency, should be the first to complain that the directors had been guilty of disrespect to the rights of the proprietors, in not having acted upon the orders of the general court. By the act of 1793, 9000 tons was the portion

of the freight allotted to the private trade, and it was to be recollected, that the limitation was not prescribed by the directors, the directors offered a *carte blanche* to the right honourable president of the board of control, and would have readily allowed 6000 tons, or as much more as should have been required, but Mr Dundas himself confined the amount of tonnage for the private trade to 3000 tons. Experience had since shewn that he made a wise estimation, as, excepting the single instance of Mr David Scott and Co's house, who claimed a freight of 200 tons, &c. in the year 1793-4, no other claim of any thing like a considerable quantity of tonnage had been presented. So far, however, were the directors free from the charge of confining the private trade to 3000 tons, the quantity of tonnage limited by the act of 1793, 1,000 tons had come home last season, an undeniable proof that the directors did not cramp the private trade, as they were represented uniformly to have done.

Much has been said respecting the losses employed in the service. It was an undoubted fact that the mortality attending on that unfortunate race of Indians, from change of climate, was dreadfully great, and could not be looked at without pain to every humane mind. It must therefore excite a degree of horror, when it was proposed to employ Indian-built shipping to bring the surplus trade of India to the Thames, which most of necessity he, in a great proportion, navigated by lascars, and, in consequence tend to increase the mortality that already too greatly prevailed among them, from the hardships they, from constitution, felt and experienced in an European voyage. Besides, it was

notorious, and a very melancholy truth, that the mortality among the sailors was not only infinitely greater on board the private ships than on board those of the Company, but that the miseries of their fate were lamentably aggravated, by the little care that was taken of these unfortunate men, on their arrival in this country, where they were left to perish, without the attention of their situation that the Company uniformly manifested to such as came here in their own ships.

The learned gentleman had laid considerable stress on the memorial of 1797, but he chose to make no mention of the main object of that memorial, which was the obtaining a reduction of certain duties paid by the Company. With regard to the other parts of that memorial, Sir Francis said, that he had never opposed the private trader but where the paramount interests of the Company made it his indispensable duty to do so. But was it to be wondered at, that there were passages in that memorial favourable to the arguments of the advocates of the agents of the Indian resident traders, when the source from whence it originated was considered. If it was asked, who was the original source of it? he could not hesitate to say, the source of all this mischief. With regard to the conduct of the directors in this business, the excluding private ships was all *their* object. They had no objection to the merchants and resident traders sending home as much as they pleased of the surplus trade, but they did feel a most serious objection to the sending home that trade in Indian ships, and were at the same time ready to agree to the employ-

ment of any number of British ships for the purpose, navigated by British seamen, because, without attention to that particular, it would become a question, how the Company's trade could be saved and secured from invasion and ruin, since it would be open to the encroachment of the private traders, if due care were not taken in time to guard against it.

Sir Francis spoke at some length upon the trade carried on by foreigners between India and Europe, and denied that there was a single trace of proof that any British capital was employed in the foreign trade. He touched upon various other collateral points, and declared he was convinced, that in proportion as the Company lost, the private traders would increase and become more and more the successful and powerful rivals of the Company. He felt it his duty, therefore, as a director, to resist an evident and almost undisguised attempt to subvert and ruin the Company's rights and interests. For these reasons he should vote for the original motion.

Sir Francis at length concluded with apologising to the court for having so early intruded his sentiments upon their notice, but he could not consistently with his duty and feelings consent to give a silent vote on the occasion; and the learned gentleman had delivered so pointed, direct, and unqualified a series of admonitions on the conduct of the court of directors, and on that of the chairman, that he thought it highly necessary to make an immediate reply, and refute the framed and fallacious arguments he had urged, while their imposition remained on the minds of the numerous proprietors present. He had

had only to add, that he duly felt his obligations to the general court for their attention and indulgence.

Mr JOHNSTONE began with declaring, that if a person of the honourable baronet's acknowledged talents thought it necessary to apologize to the court for delivering his sentiments, how much more was it necessary for him to intreat their indulgence, yet he could not hear the arguments of his learned friend (Mr Impey) treated as they had been, without offering a few observations. The honourable baronet says, that my learned friend has made use of great names, he has quoted the names of lord Wellesley, Mr Dundas, and the minister, now it is curious to observe how the honourable baronet treats these authorities. " Lord Wellesley and Mr Dundas (says he) I lay entirely out of the question, and lord Dartmouth is surrounded by the instruments of Mr. Dundas, and the agents of the private trade, and is inaccessible to truth and reason. Whence does the honourable baronet form this opinion? It cannot be from the papers that are printed, for they display the most attentive and deliberate consideration of the subject, " but with the minister, (says the honourable baronet,) my learned friend has taken great liberties. What are those liberties? Will the honourable baronet deny, that he himself heard the minister utter the words quoted by my learned friend? Will another honourable director (Mr Thornton), take upon him to deny, that those were the very words uttered by the chancellor of the exchequer? It is not my learned friend, but the honourable baronet himself who takes great liberties with the minister, when he asserts, that he is bound by an agreement, the

validity of which he denies (I mean the paper of the 25th of November); for if the validity of that paper, in the sense stated by the honourable baronet, were acknowledged by the minister, it is not possible that he should have sanctioned the alteration and additions to the dispatch of the board of directors, which had been made by the board of commissioners. The honourable baronet knows that these are sentiments of the minister, no less than of the board of commissioners, he knows that these instructions have been revised and approved by the minister, he knows, therefore, that the minister does not acknowledge the validity of the paper of the 25th of November, in the sense stated by the honourable baronet.

The honourable baronet has told the court, that it is the anxious desire of the gentlemen behind the bar to shew the utmost respect to the court of proprietors. Mr Johnstone said, he gave the court of directors full credit for entertaining those sentiments, and certainly if any constituent body was entitled to the consideration of their executive, by the unlimited confidence reposed in them, it is the court of proprietors, yet he must still contend that the observations of his learned friend were well founded. After the resolution of the 28th of May, the plain and obvious path which the court of directors should have followed, was to carry into effect the resolutions of the 4th of February, and if unable to accomplish this object, it was their duty again to have come to the proprietors, then the court would, at least, have been at liberty to consider the subject free from all embarrassment. It, as is

commercial,

commercial, the court would have taken its stand on this legal point, instead of which, the court of directors, after near twelve months of correspondence with the board of commissioners, after coquetting with the minister, after intriguing with the secretary, now come back and tell us, that the minister is faithless, and that an intention exists of invading and destroying the commercial rights of the Company. We are now no longer at liberty to take our stand upon the legal question, for, in the process of this intrigue, the court of directors and the minister having agreed upon certain propositions, and those propositions having been submitted to parliament, the minister has acquired an authority to review and controul the instructions to the governments abroad, by which these propositions are to be carried into effect.

Another remarkable assertion of the honourable baronet's is, that in proportion as the private trade of individuals has increased, the trade of the East India Company has diminished. Mr Johnston said, he noticed it more particularly, because it served to shew, that if gentlemen on this side of the bar sometimes lapsed into errors from want of information, yet the gentlemen on the other side, who were fully provided with official documents, were likewise apt to hazard very bold assertions. It appeared from the account of the Company's sales, that the fact was directly the reverse of the honourable baronet's statement.

In the year 1794-5 the sales of the India company amounted to

£ 5,521,000

The private sales 1,088,000

From this period they continued in progressive increase till

the year 1801-2, when the Company's sales were £ 7,100,000

The private sales 2,382,000

The honourable baronet tells us, that the memorial of 1797, "proceeded from him who is the source of all this mischief, and was intended merely to obtain a reduction of the duties." Be in allusion to its author, does the honourable baronet mean to deny his acquiescence in the sentiments it contained? And if he acknowledges the sentiments it contained, the purpose to which they were directed is of little consequence. Is there any assertion contained in that memorial, is there any reasoning there used, which does not apply to the present question, and incontrovertibly support the principles for which we are now contending? And if such be the fact, is it not apparent that the sentiments of the honourable baronet at this moment are directly at variance with the sentiments he entertained in the year 1797?

But, says the honourable baronet, we are represented as uniformly seeking to cramp the private trade, yet while three thousand tons only are allowed by the act of parliament, fifteen thousand actually come home the last year. But are the court of directors content that the system actually existing should continue, or is it not rather the object of all these requests, and all this contention, to substitute a new system in place of that actually existing? Gentlemen on this side of the bar are represented as innovators, as persons seeking to trench on the just rights of the Company, but let it not be forgotten, that the present mode of permitting individuals to send home the surplus produce of India in their own ships, was first adopted in this season of

1704 5 by lord Teignmouth, and continued in greater or lesser degree of encouragement until the commencement of the last year, when the court of directors, foreseeing the most alarming danger from the continuation of a system which, in six years of practice, had produced no evil whatever, suddenly proposed a new and complex plan of their own. If individuals, being permitted to bring home from India their own goods in their own ships be productive of such alarming mischiefs, how did it happen that the court of directors, which was then composed of nearly the same persons as the present, did not immediately repress so fatal an innovation? How was it suffered to continue during five years? where then was the zeal of the honourable proprietor, who forebodes the destruction of the East India Company? Among other alarming pictures, that honourable proprietor has represented to us the injury the Company may receive from the arrival of the goods of individuals, when a considerable sale of the Company's goods has been advertised. The honourable proprietor forgets that the question has gone far beyond this narrow ground, he forgets that the Company profess their readiness to bring home those very goods, and that the question is merely concerning the mode in which they shall be brought home. Why then does he approve of the cumbrous and intricate mode by which the Company propose to bring them home, instead of the plain and simple road which now exists of bringing them home, but because he knows that the Company will not perform what they profess to intend, and that thus a check will be given to the introduction of the goods themselves?

Mr Johnstone said, that he

could not concur in the motion, but should support the amendment, because he considered the motion to be at variance with itself. If gentlemen approved of the first part, he thought the last was cold and tame. Upon the face of the papers submitted to them, were gentlemen prepared to concur with the resolution of the directors of the 26th of March? were gentlemen prepared to say, that the chancellor of the exchequer had been guilty of a deliberate breach of faith, by an attempt to vary completely and fundamentally, the true intent and spirit of his agreement, and that a divided and unequivocal intention existed of invading and destroying the commercial rights and privileges of the Company? and if such is their opinion, what room is left for conciliation? With a man convicted of a deliberate departure from his agreement, it is fruitless to negotiate, and if a decided and unequivocal intention of destroying the privileges of the Company be apparent, there can be no room for conciliatory measures.

Lord KINNAIRD said, he had the misfortune to differ from his honourable relation, and therefore he could not consent to give a silent vote. It was not his intention to go into the consideration of the printed papers, and all the relative points that bore upon them, he would put them aside, and look directly at the main subject of debate, —the question, whether the court of directors, the executive of the Company, had, or had not, done their duty in the whole course of their conduct, under the arduous and difficult circumstances in which they found themselves involved, by the resistance made by the board of commissioners for Indian affairs, to their endeavours faithfully to dis-

charge their duty to their constituents, and act, as they were desirous to do, upon the resolution and directions therein contained, of the general court of May 28, 1801? The motion, so ably moved by his honourable friend, and so powerfully seconded by an honourable proprietor, appeared to him to be most appropriate, and most happily adapted to the subject. It went directly to its object, and completely embraced it. That it was the duty of the general court to approve and applaud the firm, manly and consistent conduct of the court of directors, in the whole progress of the business, appeared to him so manifest, that he was not a little surprised to find men of such enlightened minds, and such acknowledged talents, as his learned friend and honourable relation, rising to object to the original motion, and proposing an amendment, which they spared no pains to support and enforce. The general court would be blind to their own interests, (when the question at issue between them and the commissioners for Indian affairs, was, on the one hand, the subversion of the Company's rights, privileges, and commerce; and on the other, the preservation of them whole and entire, as pledged to them on the faith of parliament by the act of 1743,) if they did not support the directors. A very embarrassing and disagreeable contest had arisen on this question; it remained, therefore, for the general court to ask themselves whether they would not support the court of directors, their executive body, for having manfully stood forward the advocates and defenders of the very existence of their commerce, and firmly resisted the attempt made to invade their undoubted rights, specifically reserved to

them by the act of 1743? His lordship enlarged upon this reasoning with his usual *copia verborum*, but the reporter flatters himself that he has faithfully given the sum and substance of his speech.

(Mr Bosanquet and Mr Moore rose at the same time—but as Mr. Moore had several times presented himself to the court before, Mr Bosanquet very handsomely waved the privilege of a director, and gave way.)

Mr MOORE said, the same cause which the noble lord has just urged before me, will not allow me to trespass long on the time of the court, for I can most truly assert such to be my indisposition, that nothing but a strong sense of duty on this most important and alarming occasion, could have brought me into court. Sir, I have been very attentive to the debate as far as it has proceeded, but I think the main question before us is already nearly lost sight of, and I will therefore endeavour to recover it. I do not feel that we are assembled for the purpose of considering the internal arrangements necessary to the conducting of the private trade in future, or indeed to consider the question of the private trade at all, but to consider, whether the board of commissioners for India affairs, have a jurisdiction over our commercial department. This I hold to be the question which we are to argue and decide, without the least regard to consequences, which, however stated to be alarming, I shall put wholly out of my sight, as of very minor consideration to the main question on which the motion before the court is founded.

The discussion of this question, then, naturally directs us to the act of the legislature on which our chartered rights stand. The act of the

3rd Geo III c 52, though not at all convenient in black letter language, I have endeavoured to understand so far as to enable me to make up my opinion on the question before us; and I have no hesitation in saying, that it does not give the board of commissioners any such jurisdiction as they have claimed, and that our executive trust are entitled to the warmest approbation of their constituents, for the firmness with which they have resisted their influence, and maintained the chartered rights of the Company. [Applauses.] Indeed I had hoped that some of the learned gentlemen in court, whose special province it rather is to enter into legal interpretations, would have favoured us, unlettered men, with the weight of their knowledge and opinions, as instructions for our guidance. But only one learned gentleman (Mr Innes) has so far favoured us, and only on one point of the act, which certainly does give a jurisdiction over that point whenever it shall occur.

The act grants an exclusive trade and traffic generally, subject to certain limitations;—then I argue thus, what is granted generally under exceptions, grants all but the parts excepted. If a grant be made of the whole of an annuity of one hundred pounds per ann. except twenty, it is a clear grant for eighty pounds. In like manner, I say, the act of 1793 grants all which it does not provisionally except. It grants the whole exclusive trade and traffic, subject in certain cases, when they occur, to certain rule—for instance, by clause 90, if the Company advance the rates of freight on private trade, they shall report it to the commissioners, and that no increase shall be made but such as they shall approve. Here it gives the board a jurisdiction in a specific

case on a positive point, and no more—a point which has not occurred. By clause 91, every three years the directors are to communicate to the board on the rates of freight, and the order of the said board, in respect thereto, shall be valid and conclusive on the said Company.

So, by clause 96, the act gives the board of commissioners a special jurisdiction over the appointment of free merchants; thus, in special cases, the board of commissioners have an appropriate jurisdiction, but it is in special cases on positive points only, not one of which have ever yet occurred. Hence, then, they can have no jurisdiction over our commercial department, save and except on the special points therein provided, in manner before specified and I again make my bow of acknowledgment to our executive trust, for the firmness with which they have resisted the attempt.

Sir, until now, I never even heard that the board of commissioners ever attempted to assume any such jurisdiction. I see by the appendix to the report of the special committee, now before us, that the late chancellor of the exchequer did not entertain any such opinion; and in page 17, I find, in the compilation of my honourable friend (Mr Herries), that Mr Dundas, the late president of the board of control, in his letter to the shipbuilders of 1st July 1797, unequivocally declared, in still stronger terms, that the subject of shipping was connected with the commercial system of the East India Company, “upon which they are liable to no control but what parliament may think proper to impose.” It was therefore with the utmost astonishment I heard that all these author-

sets were in a moment to be thrown down, and an opposite doctrine maintained.

Sir, when the act of 1793 passed, the whole jurisdiction of the East India Company was divided into two distinct departments. The act itself is my evidence, and the practical execution of that act has been conformable. The one department classed all the money, revenues, and politics: the other was the department of commerce. Over the first, the minister conditioned for this label, as over the new committee rooms in the India House, *free admission*—over the other, the Company wisely conditioned for a *sole assent*, and had it not been so, I do not believe the Company would have accepted the act of 1793.

In the first of these departments it was clearly foretold, that the minister would endeavour incorruptibility to reveal; but the second was wisely, and has been firmly protected against every assault: and the language manifestly has been—*Confine yourself to your own department, no approach, no admission here and thus it settled, it formed, till the late correspondence with the board of commissioners on the subject of private trade, now printed for our use. Let us now look a little at the influence and operation of this correspondence.*

Our signature first, in the usual order, sent their commercial dispatches for the perusal of the commissioners. The commissioners not only alter many parts, but originate new dispatches. The directors, as became their trust and duty, responded, and consented for our exclusive rights under the act of 1793, submitted their own dispatches, and pushed against all growing control. The board of commissioners, never-

theless, persist, and although professedly desirous and studious to maintain all possible harmony in the management of India affairs, declare, "that they are determined that no powers which the legislature has vested in them, shall remain unexercised," and they again return the dispatches mutilated. The directors still persist in the performance of their duty, more than ever convinced of the necessity of maintaining unimpaired the exclusive privileges of the East India Company. The dispatches are consequently stopped, but it is not to be lost sight of, that whatever powers the legislature had vested in the board of control, the exercise of them stops also, some tolerable admission, that the whole attempt was a new assumption, and had not that authoritative foundation on which alone they could stand. I read also a great deal about the opinion of parliament, and the opinion of parliament seems to be introduced, if possible, that its influence may supply the deficiency of power in the board of commissioners. Clearly this was the motive for blowing this high sounding trumpet. For my own part, I do not know what the opinion of parliament means. I am most willing to respect acts of parliament—they are not *dead* so my prompt obedience, but I do not know what opinions of parliament are, and neither I nor this court have any thing to do with them. Let us now advert to the letters of the hon. Mr. Broderick, and the Right hon. Mr. Addington, the present chancellor of the exchequer. We all know, that while Mr. Dundas presided at the board of control, no other minister ever ventured to look into this department; it must therefore be something to us, how this subject of India com-

merce has crept into the department of the chancellor of the exchequer and it must appear wholly paradoxical to us, unless to supply all the defective powers of the board of commissioners, and the unsuccessful influence of the novel doctrine of the opinions of parliament. But here I find a new twist. In these letters the subject of commerce is suddenly metamorphosed into maritime and naval importance, in order, by conversion, to bring it into the political department, for the purpose, evidently, of obtaining, by new creation, that jurisdiction over it which the board of commissioners had not—such is the implied acknowledgment. So, indeed, by the skilful introduction of a good adjective, or some relative qualities, may they easily form a jurisdiction over every subject, however foreign. It puts me in mind of a very singular case that once came before me, as a chief magistrate, in India. It was a case between a Mussulman and an Hindu. The Hindu possessed a beautiful garden, which the Mahomedan had set his heart on obtaining. He proposed to purchase it—No—it was not to be sold. He bid high for it, price upon price—No—the Hindu would not part with it. The Mahomedan declared he must have it, he could not rest without it, and, in short, that he could not live contentedly without it. But all would not do—the Hindu would not part with it—he would rather part with his life, as his whole race of ancestry had lived there, and been nourished there before him. Still, sir, the Mahomedan persisted, he would have possession of the garden, at length he obtained it. But what course do you think he pursued, since both threat and alluring temptation had failed? Sir,

you know the Hindus hold the Bull sacred: the Mahomedan killed a bull, and throwing some of the blood into the garden, the Hindu instantly ran away with his whole family, to avoid contamination. Thus it is with this commercial dispatch, the minister throws into it the words naval and maritime, which are, in this case, the bull's blood, in order to acquire possession, and to bring the subject under his control and jurisdiction. [*Laughter and applause*] But, sir, we have to thank our executive trust again and again, for not yielding to the political fraud intended to be thus practised against us.

The next stage of this intended usurpation I trace in the letter of Lord Dartmouth, the actual president of the board of control. All the preceding letters are public, beginning with the dispatch of Mr. Broderick, threatening to leave no powers vested in the board of commissioners unexercised to accomplish their object, unto the political feint last played off by the chancellor of the exchequer; but here their courage manifestly droops, and they appear to be perfectly contented with the formidable reposte they have met. But now a new battery is to be opened, the pursuit is renewed, and we are to be abused, under all "the amiable manners" characteristically given of the noble lord at the head of the board of control, accompanied by all the "bewitching smiles of sweet Anne Page," in the form of a private letter, which, containing all the wasted wisdom of the board, and a prompt decision on every point of trade and shipping, handsomely burnished with friendly recommendations and the kindest whispers, in order to render it irresistible. What a direct assault had failed—

plish, is now to be effected by wisely suppling, and we behold the order of command wholly merge in private recommendation. But, I am happy to find our executive trust alike successfully resisted both, and that neither public power, or private influence, have been able to infligate them to what would have been a direct and criminal abandonment of their trust and duty to us. Sir, I have pleasantly mentioned several eminent personages, whose official conduct forms a part of the documents before us, but I mean them no disrespect. I am a sincere advocate for maintaining the existing law; I contend for principles, and for the integrity of their practical application. So much for the dry question of law, and ministerial manoeuvres which have been put in motion to supersede it.

Though not my original intention, I shall now, sir, with permission of the court, make a few observations on the question of private trade, for which I am as strenuous an advocate as any individual present, though, perhaps, on different principles from many, and, I believe, I can venture to claim as early attention to it. The private trade of our oriental empire attracted my attention as early as the year 1760, and my first impressions on the subject were committed to writing, to be communicated to the then minister Lord North, in the year 1762. I was then a junior in the service of the Company, and it was wholly foreign to my then employments, but it had struck me very forcibly on having found it difficult to make a small remittance, for the relief of indigence, through the cash of the Company, and being obliged to resort to foreign channels, with whose suppling the river was then wholly occupied.

The next stage of my interference was at the general court in July 1799. Sir, if the general court book be not at hand, I beg it may be sent for—I wish to resort to the motion on the subject of the private trade, of which notice was then given by one of the present representatives of the city of London (Mr Lushington), and an honourable proprietor (Mr Johnstone), who was to have seconded it, now below me in the court, I resort to this motion for the sake of further evidence against the jurisdiction of the board of commissioners for India affairs over our commercial department. That motion expressly states, and it was worded with great caution and circumspection, to avoid all possible infringement of the chartered right—that his Majesty's ministers be *solicited* to grant their assistance. Now, sir, the very term *solicit* precludes all shadow of authoritative jurisdiction, and the term so used was wisely calculated not to give that control which the board did not possess. [Mr Johnstone nodded assent.] As the honourable proprietor admits this doctrine, I shall have no occasion for the general court book, for however willing that honourable proprietor seems to be to act as the lieutenant either of Scipio or Fabius, under a full impression of gratitude to the Company, of service to the State, and with honour to himself, I am sure he never will contend, that *that* which was an object of solicitation in 1799 can now be a matter of competent legal jurisdiction, unless some act has since passed, of which I have never heard, to make it so. The next stage of my sharing in the discussion of this subject, was in signing the application of the famous forty-three, submitting to the court the propriety of my calling for

for further information. My whole aim and object pointed only to a well regulated licensed trade, subordinate to the Company's jurisdiction and control, but as I thought the subject was treated with a great deal of undeserved and growing ill humour on both sides the bar, I withdrew from the subject, and have never since interfered. But although I have been silent, I repeat that I am a friend to the private traders, and shall briefly state on what principles, as the law stands, though, as I have said before, I do not consider the question to be before us, and whether so or not, the subject is of too extensive import to be settled in this court. I observe that the report of the special committee denominates these private traders their opponents. Why they are so called I do not know, as at present, I mean as the law now stands, they are only trading under sufferance, and when our executive trust condescends to hold them in the character of opponents, they strangely depart from their constituted authority and dignity. Was I to argue in another place, and under other circumstances, I should hold a different doctrine, but while the law remains as it is, I must contend that the private traders can only be considered as humble petitioners, subordinate to the Company, to engage in those branches of eastern commerce which they reject, and I have not conversed with any persons on this subject who hold a different language, or entertain different views [*A cry of Hear! hear!*] If there are any persons who hold a different doctrine, I can only declare that I do not know them, and am not with them. If they convert such their applications into individual

rights, and become contentious demanders, I repeat, that so far from being with them under any countenance which the existing law gives them, that law requires that I should oppose all such pretensions, as divesting the Company of that solemn jurisdiction with which the act of the legislature has vested them. The jurisdiction of the Company, and their chartered rights, must be maintained, not according to the wishes of individuals, but according to the act of parliament. If the board of commissioners are disposed to encroach on the rights of the Company, it is the special province and duty of our executive trust to resist, nay, for them to accede, would be equally a breach of the act—neither must do that, the act is the prescribed boundary of jurisdiction to both, and by both must alike be held sacred. Common sense tells us, that the chartered rights must be maintained, and can neither be altered nor modified by any authority less than that which created them. That power must be resorted to for granting what the private traders ask beyond the existing law. The expediency of it has long since* been demonstrated by an honourable friend of mine below me (Mr Prinsep,) as he promised to do in this court, by facts and arguments which appeared to me unanswerable, and had his expectations been followed up, I humbly conceive the Company and the State must have benefited to a degree not now easily calculated. Nothing more need or can be said to any purpose on this topic at this time, I mean as to the expediency. The right of interference then is the sole question, and on that I maintain our executive to be well grounded in their resistance, and the private trader

trader must continue to act as heretofore under sufferance. But, for the present, that is, while the legislative regulation remains as it now stands for our guidance, I beg leave to read what I conceive to be the arrangement which should regulate the private traders.

1. To define the articles of distinct concern, and call on the private traders for a definition, on which the Company will decide.

2. To publish them both here and abroad.

3. The facilities to British subjects to be realised to them as completely as may be, by regulations simple, clear, and rigid, but prompt and certain.

4. The whole must be under the control of the executive trust, and the relative situation of a licensed trade be maintained as our's used to be, under the government of the nabobs of India.

5. The act of parliament must be maintained in all its force as it now stands, until the legislature alter it, and whenever it may pass any other, it must be careful to preserve a most rigid jurisdiction against danger and severance.

These are the principles which I humbly suggest for regulation, while the law remains as it at present stands, and I remember well when I first stated them in this court, one of the worthy members of the city of London (Mr. Lushington) highly applauded what he was pleased to call the former relative situation between the Company and the nabobs of India, as a very happy appropriation in this case of private trade. The whole of this discourse consists in articles of trade and shipping. As to the at-

ticles of trade, the definition which I suggest is most necessary to all parties, to prevent those dreadful evils attending foreclosing so strongly stated in the special report before us. And as to shipping, the teak built ships of India, the question may be easily set at rest, by allowing them (all I believe that is desired) to benefit by the standing system of fair and open competition which now regulates our tonnage. I confess, for one, that when we formed that regulation, I believed the principle was to be extended to teak ships, as well as others, as most likely and best calculated to promote that economy which was the object of that principle. This I think ought to be the rule in future. But as to the present shipping, they ought to be employed, from every motive of justice, equity, and good faith, as they were encouraged by government, and if not employed, that encouragement must inevitably tend to the ruin of individuals.

Then, sir, we are to consider the different descriptions of traders, for they are many and various, and different are their objects. Even the gipsy pulverings and pretty novelties contained in the letters published under the signature of an Englishman, admit that the traders of Bombay and Surate are not so easily accommodated and suited as those of Bengal, Madras, and other parts of India, or to that effect.

Sir, this subject is of very great magnitude, and is entitled to the most solemn deliberation. I repeat, it is not a subject that can be settled here. It is fraught with incalculable consequences, if wisely decided, it must produce great national benefit, but if otherwise, it may prove dangerous in the extreme; we may argue, but cannot

decide it. It requires all the united wisdom of the executive governments of the Country and of this Company, and demands the most deliberate arrangement of the Legislature, and even of the Nation. It is a most important state question, but has been treated as a party question. Against the last I for one solemnly protest, declaring that I can have no possible interest in the issue, but as a proprietor of India stock, wishing to promote the true interests of the Company, and as a subject of England, desirous of promoting the prosperity and aggrandizing of the nation, by extending her navigation and commerce.

Sir, making my acknowledgements for the attention of the court, I have only to repeat my thanks to our executive trust for the steadiness and firmness with which they have maintained our chartered rights, and to express my decided and unequivocal opinion and hope, that if we are to lose them, it may be by an helpless submission to an act of violence from the strong and irresistible arm of power, and not by any surrender or act of suicide committed by our own hands — The East India proprietary, and the creditors of the Company, place their sole reliance and confidence in you, as their executive trustees, thro' whom, and whom alone, their rights can never be injured or lost.

Mr CHISHOLM delivered his sentiments upon the subject generally, but expressed his strong approbation of the firm and manly conduct which the court of directors appeared to him to have pursued, in defence of the rights and privileges of the Company. He considered the question of the private trade as a question purely commercial, and, as such, exclusively reserved to the management of the

Company's executive, the court of directors, by the act of 1793. He, therefore, should vote for the original motion, because he thought the directors eminently entitled to the approbation of the general court, and that the proprietors could not do less than confirm and support their conduct.

Mr BOSANQUET said, this subject has been now more than a year before the public — Three reports by the court of directors, and many publications on the other side, have been published. I should have been content to rest upon the arguments brought forward from this side of the bar, but the great importance of the subject, as it respects the rights and interests of the East India Company, as well as the interests of the Public, will, I hope, excuse my trespassing upon the court's indulgence.

My object will be not to amplify, nor shall I narrow the grounds of the present question. It has happened to this, as to other subjects, a plain and simple question has been buried under a mass of irrelevant papers, which the committee has been obliged to bring forward to meet the arguments used on the other side.

One point we all agree upon, and the only one, the charter in 1793. It was not granted in a hurry, but after mature and deliberate consideration, and all circumstances were then duly weighed. It was, nevertheless, not entirely free from objections, but, upon the whole, thought to be the best plan of intercourse with India: this is the written law between us and the public, and also between us and private traders. We may therefore look to this as our defence.

But gentlemen on the other side admit the law, or at least the letter of

of the law, to be against them, yet wish to look to the spirit, and thus hope to overlet this solemn compact. Two publications upon this subject have come forth, one by my honourable friend, the other by an honourable baronet, also a member of this court. I have derived much pleasure from these publications. They are both of them written with great ability, but what pleased me most was, that, notwithstanding the talents of the writers, no conviction is produced by them.

Here let us pause, and consider what the attempt is. It is to set aside the plain letter of the law, and to introduce a thing totally opposite. If this shall be sanctioned, where is the faith of written obligations, where the value of charters, where will a plain man find any thing upon which he can place his confidence?

But now let us inquire where this spirit is to be found, is it in the letter of Mr Dundas? Is it in the proceedings of the directors upon the renewal of the charter? No, sir, all these points, and many others, were canvassed at the time, it was agreed that the shipping, for whatever trade should occur, should be furnished by the Company. Look at the proceedings of the day—where then is this spirit to be found? only in the breasts and in the mouths of those who are to be benefited by the change.

But though I cannot agree with the private traders, that their spirit shall be placed in the room of the plain letter of a plain law, I am ready to meet them upon any ground of fair and liberal discussion, I am ready to admit that cases may occur, in which even the strong obligation of such a solemn compact as this one a question should be

done away, I am willing to admit, that law should yield to necessity. But has any such case been made out?—What is the fact? We have already, under our charter, secured nearly three fourths of the trade of India, and left one fourth to all the world beside. What can we expect more, what has the public a right to ask for more? Every encouragement has been given to trade, India has been kept without expence to Great Britain, the state has been benefited, and the Company alone is poor, whilst individuals have grown rich.

But I am, and always shall be, ready to abandon “the *tip toe* of monopoly,” as it has been called by a great character. I am willing to suppose the private traders have proved (what they cannot prove) that a trade exists which ought, but cannot be brought to this country by the Company, or whilst their exclusive rights exist. What follows, that these exclusive rights shall be given to another body of men? No, sir, if taken from the Company, they go as a right to the public at large—to British as well as Indian traders.

Is there a man who now hears me, who will contend that this trade, if it can, shall not be brought by preference in British ships, manned with British sailors? Shall they be excluded, because the private traders have said they can sail on cheaper terms? Have they proved the fact? Can they prove it? Has not the contrary been proved? Let us look around us, after a nine years war we have now got peace. What aspect does France present, she has nearly doubled her territory, and if she succeeds in peace as she has done in war, what is to check her future preponderance? That only which has checked her

her in her mad career, the navy of Great Britain, which saved this country from the contagion of her fraternal embrace; and how is this navy to be fed, but by the streams that have hitherto fed and administered to its wants—the mercantile service? In the hour of distress shall we look to the poor diseased and shivering lascar, trembling in every blast of wind, to fight our battles, or to the bold and intrepid British seaman, whose heart is as firm as that substance which buoys him up on his native element?—Shall we surrender the trade with one quarter of the world to such a system; or shall a fair and open competition be established, that shall give it to those who can sail upon the cheapest terms? Lamenting only, if lascars shall succeed, the loss in political strength to this country

The points of contest lie in a narrow compass. We contend that our charter shall not be ravished from us, without proof that we have abused it, to the injury of the country at large, or that it stands in the way of their fundamental interests, and no doubt, under any such kind of resumption, parliament would pursue the line of conduct they had always adopted. He begged leave to observe, that when formerly the Company's right to the territory acquired in India was in question before a great character now deceased (the earl of Chatham), his answer was in his usual emphatical style "The territory is the crown's," (meaning probably that he would allow no doubt about such a right,) but he added—"The Company shall have generous compensation; and, no doubt, in the case of a violent assumption by parliament, of any rights assured by charter, they would accompany

such an act of force with generous compensation. We contend that, as heretofore, the trade shall be carried on in ships under our direction, and chartered to us, or we say our charter is gone. Whether these ships be British or Indian, we are willing to leave to free and open competition, but we know under similar regulations British industry must prevail. We contend, however, that these ships whether British or Indian, be navigated by British seamen, that so in the hour of distress this country may know where to look for the props of its naval greatness. We ask, that if our charter be annulled, the right so taken be not given to a partial selection of persons, but to the public, and, finally, we contend, that our commerce, which has supported our territorial acquisitions, and without which India must have become a burthen to this country, be left to our own guidance, for without it we say we cannot exist.

Surely, sir, these are moderate and reasonable requests, we see in them not our own interests alone, but those of the state. They require only to be understood we stand upon our charter till it be proved to be injurious to the welfare of the State, and when it is so proved, (if this can be done,) all we ask is a fair and open competition for British ships and British seamen, and that no licence be given to an Indian ship that is not equally extended to them.

Can, Sir, the modest, the moderate agitation of points like these, be considered as hostility to his Majesty's ministers: surely, sir, they ought and will feel obliged, by our exertions, to reform the public from private interests, that cloak themselves under the garb of public convenience. To
be

be silent upon such an occasion would be a crime. No doubt, a contest with his majesty's ministers is to be deprecated by every well-wisher to the Company but, sir, the minister and the public are just, our cause also is just, and, in my humble apprehension, as our very existence is at stake, timidity should be thrown away. To command success is impossible, but we ought to study by our firmness and our moderation to deserve it. The question now in agitation is almost in fact the same in substance with what we have lately heard so much of in another great assembly, that free bottoms shall make free goods. If this be conceded to the private Indian trader, we say our charter is gone, as far as relates to an exclusive trade: the Indian trader will have the privileged bottoms, and he will kindly open them to all the world, to British as well as to Indian capital.

I shall now say a few words in answer to an honourable and learned gentleman. He sets out by saying, that the agreement made with the chancellor of his majesty's exchequer, should be carried into execution, we say so too. It is all we ask but we contend that the real spirit of that agreement is altered by the amendment proposed, upon this point we are at issue. The learned gentleman has next contended, that we are completely in the wrong, and he is completely in the right. This may be so in his opinion, but upon this the public, and not he, must decide, it is not necessary to anticipate their decision.

The learned gentleman has stated, that the private merchants are unable to carry on their trade under the restrictions imposed by the Company, inasmuch as that they are

prevented sending their ships to Europe, when and how they please, and the ships provided by the Company are not dispatched as suits their convenience but these observations arise from the learned gentleman's want of knowledge upon these subjects. He was in the presence of many merchants, who would correct him if he was wrong, when he said, that under such restrictions the greater part of the trade of the world was carried on. Two instances occurred where a whole ship was freighted by one person, and it necessarily followed, when a part only of a ship was occupied by a merchant, he must depend upon the will of others for the time of sailing, and could not command these points himself. Such remarks were deserving of no attention.

The learned gentleman has next asserted, that the Indian trade will open a boundless field to the merchants of this country. [*Here Mr Impey leaned over, and said, Not the merchants of this country.*] The honourable and learned gentleman then means the British Indian merchants, and that all others are to be shut out, this requires no observation. The learned gentleman has next contended, that the private traders only ask for an indulgence in those articles in which the Company do not trade? Is he ignorant, then, that the charter of the Company has already given them a trade in every article except piece goods? [*Here a proprietor said, Saltpetre &c.*] Mr Boscawen replied, this article was not excepted, the act only excepted piece goods, and some articles outwards. The honourable and learned gentleman proposed what he could not perform. The trade the private merchants possessed, the directors did not wish to diminish, they only

only objected to new and dangerous extensions. The learned gentleman had stated the conduct of the court to be derogatory from the rights of the proprietors. What was the fact? They had not immediately acted upon the orders received from them. He was surprised to hear such a reflection from such a quarter could a greater instance of moderation and conciliation have been produced? he begged to say, it was the decided wish of the court to conciliate. But Mr Bosanquet begged to observe, that he never did, nor will he ever in future, bow to any set of men who might form a party in that court. He was the servant of the proprietors at large, he would look to their interests generally, and when such a line of conduct would not secure him his seat behind the bar, he was content to make his best bow, and retire to make room for some other person. If a zealous defence of the rights and interests of the Company, and of the Public, was a crime, he was guilty in the instance quoted by the learned gentleman—the public must decide. A great clamour had been raised about the resources of the forests in India, and the learned gentleman had touched upon this subject. It did not in fact relate to the present question, but if it did, the court had consented to leave this part of the business to his majesty's ministers, but he could not help saying, that, in his humble opinion, the measures pursued by his majesty's ministers were wrong, and he was fortified in this opinion by the reports of the commissioners employed by the public on the subject of timber. To lay the iron hand of power upon the present growth of large timber, might answer a temporary purpose, but the only way to insure a permanent

supply was, to let timber reach the price which it ought to bear in proportion to other products, and by these and other means to encourage its growth, all other measures were, he presumed, inadequate to the end proposed.

He should here thank the court for the attention they had shewn him, and ought to apologise for his intrusion upon their notice. The decision remained with them on the one side they saw a select body of individuals, chiefly contending for their own interests, and on the other, an unanimous court of directors, contending as well for the rights and privileges of the proprietors, as for the interests of the public at large, which were united in the point for which they now were in contention.

Mr BARR spoke in substance as follows —“Mr Chairman, it was my intention to have given a silent vote in favour of the temperate, sensible motion, which an honourable proprietor has submitted to the court, but an assertion, which has been made by another honourable proprietor (Mr Johnstone), occasions me to controvert what he has said, that the court may not remain under an erroneous impression. He has stated, that the opinions of all the old servants of the Company are in opposition to that of the directors. Sir, I have dedicated thirty years of my life to the service of this honourable court, almost the whole of which time I have passed in India, and have been many years employed in the commercial department. The subject of Indian bull shipping has engaged much of my attention, but the question upon the grounds demanded by the Indian merchants and agents, and supported by several proprietors near me, was never, whilst I was in India, broadly

broadly discussed by your servants. Seeing the pressure upon this country from the high price of tonnage, your servants have been advocates for the admission of Indian built shipping, and, sir, I now speak my own opinion every national advantage that can be derived every benefit the royal and commercial navies of this country can obtain from Indian shipping, will be produced by following the plan for their admission, proposed in the resolution of the court of directors of November last. Sir, I must express my further opinion, that if the measures for which the Indian merchants and agents are contending, be adopted, they will produce the effects stated by the directors, *the ruin of the British empire in India.* This subject has been so fully discussed in the very able reports published by the directors, that it would be a waste of the time of this honourable court, for me to attempt to recapitulate their arguments.

I take the present opportunity of no using a part of the Observations published by the honourable proprietor (Mr Henchman) upon these reports I have been quoted by name, and made to say, "The manufacturer prefers the employment of the private agent to that of the Company." I never held such an opinion, nor are there any such words in the letter alluded to. I have too much respect for the character of the honourable proprietor to suppose he designedly made an erroneous quotation, but I wish he had perused my letter with more attention before he quoted it.

One other matter in these Observations I must also notice: an advertisement of the board of trade in Bengal is exhibited, in which the public are informed of the freight paid by the Company on their re-

gular shipping, amounting to 22l 15s per ton, and this freight is invidiously contrasted with foreign freight, at 16l per ton. The occasion of this advertisement was this: there were, at the time spoken of, in the river of Bengal, several British-built ships, sent out by the directors for the purpose of bringing to London the goods of individuals, and the Company's own goods. They were sea worthy insurable ships, which cost the Company, as near as I can recollect, from 24l to 26l per ton, whilst individuals were charged the act of parliament price of 22l 10s per ton. But several persons wished to put their goods on board the Company's regular ships, in order to benefit by the low rate at which the regular ships are always insured. It was signified to them they might do this, provided they would consent to pay the same freight as these ships cost the Company. For their guidance, the particulars of the freight were published. The items were specifically given, where they were specific; where they were contingent or uncertain, the fairest computation that could be made was stated. Nothing was meant to mislead. The permission to lade private goods in the regular ships, instead of being oppressive to the trade of individuals, was an indulgence."

Mr HENCHMAN said, he should feel very uneasy to find he had made an incorrect quotation from the correspondence of any gentleman, and he should very readily make an apology for his mistake, if, upon examination, it should prove to be so, and which, he could assure Mr Bebb, was entirely unintentional. All, Mr Henchman said, that he could add at present was, that he copied the words,

which were to be found in his publication, from the manuscript papers which lay open for the perusal of the proprietors at the India house, by the orders of the court of directors, and he concluded them to be correct.

Mr R THORNTON said, he was very happy he had given way to the intelligent proprietor who had just sat down, and whose opinions concerning the trade with India merited peculiar respect. He would now say but a few words, knowing that another gentleman was anxious to deliver his sentiments, who contended for the privilege of speaking at the beginning of the debate. Mr Thornton could not help taking notice who were the persons earnest to encroach on the privileges of the East India Company: they were men, generally speaking, fostered and brought into affluence by that very power whom they were ready to pull down and annihilate. He contended, that the East India Company could not stand, and bear the burthen of large establishments, and expensive wars, if others were to snatch away their trade, who were subject to no such charges. The India Company had acted in all cases with liberality, had forwarded the views of government in carrying on the war, had rewarded its servants and others with the utmost generosity, and, at length quite exhausted, looked to commerce alone for its recovery from distress, and for the repairing of its finances. But this commerce was now to be attacked, and those exclusive privileges on which they had depended were to be taken away.

He observed, that the directors had done their duty, had made a stand, and had carried on a negotiation with the chancellor of the exchequer, who seemed to agree to

preliminary articles, but was not ready to sign the definitive treaty. He said, that ultimate success would probably depend on the determination and firmness of the body of proprietors, who had to look to their own interests, and who, by countenancing and supporting the executive body, might still preserve those privileges handed down to them, and granted on the renewal of their charter. Mr Thornton wished the public at large to participate, provided the trade was thrown open, but this did not seem to make a part of the new system recommended.

Mr BAKER rose to complain of the language held by the honourable director who had just sat down, with respect to those proprietors who had formerly been employed in the Company's service, and who had made their fortunes in India, that consideration had nothing to do with the independence of proprietors of East India stock in a general court, nor would he patiently or silently submit to hear so unhandsome a charge, as that of ingratitude, which the honourable director had so loosely and unwarrantably cast on proprietors, who stood in the situation that he did. He was willing to give credit to the honourable baronet, to the honourable director who had just sat down, and to the rest of the gentlemen behind the bar, that they sincerely believed, that granting the indulgences contended for, would totally injure the best interests of the Company, but he must insist, at the same time, that he was equally entitled to credit, when he declared that he sincerely believed the reverse of that proposition, and that, according to every principle of independence belonging to an individual in a free, deliberative assembly,

tembl,

sensibly, like a general court of proprietors, he had as full and ample a right to maintain an opinion on one side, as the honourable gentleman behind the bar had to maintain another.

Mr HENCHMAN then rose and spoke as follows —“ Mr Chairman, before I enter upon the subject which has been already so much debated this evening, I shall take the liberty of begging permission briefly to explain the cause of my wishing to have been heard for a few minutes, on the first opening of the business this day. I desired then to be heard to a point of privilege, which, in most assemblies, is allowed to have precedence before any other subject whatever and for the best of reasons, because, if your privileges are infringed, you may soon have no opportunity of debating at all, for that may be taken away also. I should then have stated, as I shall now, that the privileges of this court have been seriously infringed and disrespected, and by your own agents, the court of directors. The instance is this. In May last, when we had under our consideration the very subject we are still engaged upon, this court came to a resolution approving of the report and proceedings of the directors, and instructing them to act without delay upon the principles therein contained. From that time to this, for ten months, the proprietors have never been called together, or informed in any way of what the court of directors had done in consequence of those instructions: at last we learn, by the papers now printed, that they found such serious difficulties as to prevent their executing the orders they had received, that they had exerted themselves to do so, but found such

objections in the superior board, that they had abandoned those instructions, and entered into a new and different negotiation, which they now lay before this court. Sir, I mean to contend, that the directors, in this proceeding, have infringed the privileges of the court of proprietors, that they were under the express orders of this court to carry into execution, without delay, certain resolutions they had approved, and, in case they found that impracticable, they had only one course to take, which was, to come back to this court, to tell the proprietors so, and to receive such further instructions as they might think proper to give them. It may be very proper here to consider the nature, circumstances, and importance of this subject. It concerns one of the largest branches of British commerce, and it had been so fully discussed and reported upon by the court of directors, that they said long ago all further deliberation was needless, that they had ascertained what was right to be done, and they entreated the general court to give them the instructions they received. Now, sir, I must insist, that it is a serious breach and contempt of the privileges of this court, for the directors, under such circumstances, to set aside the orders of their constituents, without telling them that they found themselves in such a predicament that they could not fulfil them, and besides that, entering upon a different negotiation, which gave up the essential points before insisted on, and at last agreeing with his majesty's minister that a different system should be adopted. But such a system as the directors themselves had represented to this court would inevitably bring ruin on the Company, I mean the admission

admission of the claims of the merchants, and teak them into the trade between England and the East Indies. My intention was, early in this day, if I had been permitted to speak, to have stated this case, and to have proposed a resolution, vindicating our own rights, by declaring that we are sensible of this want of respect on the part of the executive, to the constituent body but, sir, if there prevails such an apathy in the court, I shall content myself with this notice of the matter, and with only remarking, that if this disposition continues, the proprietors will be no more than tools or instruments in the hands of the directors, called on when they please, to vote just what they desire, to be regarded just as much as they in their good pleasure may think fit. By the motion now proposed this court is about to tell the directors, as they were told before, that all they have done since May last meets their approbation, although it differs so materially from their former instructions, should that be carried, I think there will be less reason to expect they will pay any attention to it, since they have given so lately this unqualified instance of treating the authority of their constituents with contempt. An apology, at any rate an explanation, is due from the directors but I shall not pursue the subject further, it rests with the court to dispose of it as they please. All I hope is, that they may not establish a dangerous precedent against themselves, by passing it over without notice.

I shall now, sir, proceed to make some remarks upon the correspondence that has passed between the court of directors and the board of commissioners, and also upon the paragraphs which were prepared for

India by the directors, and the corrections which were made in them by the board of commissioners. These paragraphs were framed by the directors, for the purpose of instructing their governor general to carry the eleven propositions relative to private trade into effect, which had received the sanction of the house of commons on the 25th of November last, and I have no hesitation in declaring my opinion, that, instead of being formed with a fair and honest intention to that end, they seem to me to be of a complexion that must have a direct contrary tendency, and have all the appearance of being meant to defeat, instead of promoting, the object of his majesty's minister, which was a fair experiment between British and Indian ships. No wonder, then, that the board of commissioners disapproved and altered these paragraphs, and substituted others in their stead, which might answer the real end and purpose intended. Upon the correspondence I shall not say much, it has been well commented upon already. I shall only remark, that there is evidently throughout it a fixed determination to oppose the board of commissioners in every application they make for papers to guide them, and sometimes very extraordinary reasons assigned for such refusals. For instance, when lord Dartmouth requests to see the separate opinions of the directors, belonging to their first report, and which Mr. Dundas had seen, they reply "The papers therein mentioned had only for object a free and full interchange of sentiments among the members of the special committee, preparatory to their laying their opinions upon the important matters referred to them before the court at large, that they made no part of the report to the

the court of the 27th of January last, and had never been made use of to influence the decision of the court upon that subject. The papers, therefore, are considered by the members whose signatures they bear, as well as by the court at large, as private papers. Now, sir, to determine this point, it is only necessary to appeal to the report itself, which expressly refers every reader to them, 'a containing much supplementary detail, and large illustrations of a variety of relative topics. But, sir, the truth may be, that one director having publicly admitted, that his separate opinion would prove his difference in sentiment, and, of course, that the directors were not unanimous, so the directors generally have persisted in refusing to produce these other separate opinion, lest they should prove that others among them also differed. Such construction I might have a right to put upon their refusal, and it must tend to increase the suspicious about, until such time as these papers are produced. There can be no such thing as private documents among public officers. I insist, therefore, that this court has a right to the papers in question.

In the middle of the letters now printed will be found one from the minister, who, being very reasonably alarmed at the directors advising for hiring ships in the summer, says—'I am induced by a strong sense of public duty, to represent to you the inexpediency of entering into such contracts, upon the very important subject, which has recently occasioned a correspondence between the commissioners and your court, has undergone the investigation and discussion which, it may be presumed, will take place in the ensuing session of parliament.'

In answer to which, the chairman, with the approbation of the court, explained to the minister, 'that the ships they were about to take up were for the Company's own use and cargoes. To which the minister replied, "That he had good reason to believe, that the additional shipping was not solely intended for the purposes which he described, but it was agreed that it was only to be made use of in the manner described by the chairman, his objections were removed." After this clear understanding, that they were to take up no ships for private trade at that time, the directors persisted, and take up many ships, which they now state to be ships taken up positively for private trade, (vide No. 38, printed papers,) and not for the Company's use. Sir, I do say, that here is an assurance for unlanded and so un candid on the part of the directors, that it requires from them a very clear explanation indeed.

I shall not go into the letter which you, Mr. Chairman, addressed to Mr. Aldington, evidently with the hope of alarming him respecting this inquiry. My friend (Mr. Impey) has done all that could be wished respecting that letter; and, to be sure, it is a most extraordinary circumstance, that you should in that letter deprecate an inquiry into the Company's affairs, as extremely dangerous, and yet, in your present report, go very deep into that inquiry yourself. If this was the only inconsistency discernable in these papers, I should attribute it to accident, but, sir, I find so many others, that they are to be attributed to some other cause.

I now, sir, come to the paragraph which the court of directors

had prepared to accompany the eleven propositions to India respecting private trade, and if I do not shew that they bear strong evidence of a settled intention to throw obstacles in the way of the Indian ships, instead of giving facilities to them, I do not desire credit with this court for any thing I may say here this day. No wonder, sir, that paragraphs of such a tenure should be objected to by the board of commissioners, but there is much wonder, that the directors should ever have framed them. Some hesitation, I think, has been expressed in admitting, that the directors have had the intercourse which is imputed to them with the treasury, but, sir, there needs no reserve on the occasion, for my honourable friend (Mr G. Johnstone) was right in charging them with having been intriguing in that quarter. I know it to be a fact, we all know that the directors soon found that they could not persuade the board of commissioners to give into their views, and therefore they went directly to Mr Vanittart: they saw both the secretary and the minister, they carried on the negotiation there instead of with their proper superiors, the board of commissioners. That they did this, I assert on my own knowledge. I also saw Mr Vanittart, on the part of the agents, and he told me the directors had been with him, and he with them. Therefore there can exist no doubt that the directors transmitted their applications from the board of commissioners to the treasury. And, sir, were you not there obliged to promise those concessions, which it is now the object of these curious orders to defeat? It may be fairly charged, that such is the design, for nothing else could induce the

framing them of the tenure they are. To shew the spirit throughout these orders, I shall first notice a part of the introduction, where the directors account for the paragraphs being delayed: they say, "That when an honourable member of the house of commons moved there, that the papers should be laid before the house, and his motion was acquiesced in, the transmission of the orders we had prepared was, *in consequence*, suspended. Now, sir, the very printed papers which I hold in my hand prove the contrary: for sir William Pulteney moved for these papers the beginning of June 1801, but instead of suspending their orders in consequence, the directors still went on contending with lord Dartmouth for the transmission of them, and never ceased till, at the end of two months, they found his lordship was not to be moved, but positively told them, "That he dared not shew a marked contempt for what might be the opinion of the legislature, that he dared not risk the adoption of measures which may counteract the regulations of parliament. Such respectful attention to a branch of the legislature must meet with approbation, every where but behind that bar. My point, however, I think is now made clear, that you did not suspend your orders *in consequence* of the house of commons entering into sir William Pulteney's motion for papers, but in consequence of lord Dartmouth's spirited opposition to your repeated attempts to gain their consent to them.

Soon after, in these paragraphs, the directors say—"Our opposition to the introduction of Indian ships here did not arise from a desire to exclude them from mixing in the commercial shipping of this country."

try." Yet in your former report, and in your speeches, you had been strongly arguing against them, because they would interfere with the ship-builders, artificers, and tradesmen of all sorts, and because they would throw English seamen out of employ. When you almost recommended to the ship-builders and sailors to rise up against the proposition to allow Indian ships to come here, can it be said you had no desire to exclude them from mixing in the commercial shipping of this country? I am afraid this assertion must appear as ill founded as many others.

I next find in these paragraphs—"That many publications have been industriously disseminated in this country against the matter and reasoning of these reports and in these publications there are *not a few gross errors* in point of fact. Sir, I cannot refrain from saying, that this is mere assertion, and I call upon the author of this paragraph to shew, to point out these gross errors, which are so glaring and so numerous and I hope you will not have credit for the fact, until you prove, by instances, that your assertion is well grounded which is not yet done in any part of the papers you have printed. If, however, it should now, or at any future day, be shewn that I have fallen into errors of any description, (which I am far from thinking is not the case,) I shall, I declare, be ready to confess them.

The next point in these paragraphs I shall notice is that where, after describing the private trade as you think it ought to be, it is said—"This remittance trade, thus described, forms the point at which we wish to stop." Why then have you not done so long ago? No, you have admitted the trade to go

on much beyond this point year after year, and if you had not seen some other cause, you would not have objected even now. Sir, it is fair to charge, that construing the act of parliament as the directors have done, (viz that all the private trade should be confined to the returns for British exports, and the acquisitions of individuals in India, after deducting what might be taken up by bills drawn by the governments abroad on the court of directors,) they ought long since in duty to have stop'd the private trade altogether, for there have been no British manufactures exported on their ships, and the bills drawn from India annually have exceeded all the savings that the highest calculation ever admitted it were practicable for the servants of the Company and others to make. If so, the directors should have brought this question to issue much earlier there exists no legal capital, in their opinion, to carry it on, all that is done must, therefore, be unwarrantable. Yet it was too delicate and too interesting a question for them to stir they were afraid to meet what appears to have been their duty—and so they are still, for they are even now proposing a plan for continuing this trade, though, it must be confessed, not with much apparent sincerity for its success; at least as I view it.

I next come to the paragraph which directs how the *teak* ships are to be contracted for, which it was agreed should be built in India; and it states, that the terms and conditions are to be agreeable to a printed schedule transmitted with the orders—[Here Mr Hensbman stopped to observe, that he should want several papers in the course of what he had to say, and hand-d

up a list of them, begging that a clerk might get them at hand. As Mr. Hensman now wanted the schedule, which was the first, some demurrer seemed to arise within the bar, whether he should have it.]

Mr. Hensman on this said, Mr. Chairman I am at a loss to account for any hesitation on this point, because the schedule ought to have been printed with the third report, however, I am not distressed for want of it, I have read the schedule—it is printed, and in the hands of every ship-owner. I shall, therefore, quote what is necessary to my argument from memory, you will, I trust, set me right if I should make any mistake. Sir, that schedule requires, that the captain and officers of any Indian ships contracted for, shall be bred up in your regular service. Now, you know no such men are to be found in India, and therefore that clause would prevent any ships from being contracted for at all, but if they could be met with, you know, and have formerly admitted, that it would be most unreasonable to expect that owners should commit such large properties to the management of strangers: so that, at all events, it would act very much to the impediment of these contracts. Your orders also direct, that no more than 141 per ton shall be allowed for the freight; being the rate at which you have contracted here—and when Lord Dartmouth inquires of you, in his letter of the 27th of February last, “Whether there are no contingencies, such as an allowance on the building, home demurrage, or other circumstances, which will make the rate exceed 241 per ton?” the court of directors answered, “They foresee no circumstances which can increase the rate of freight of 141 per ton,

but if any should occur, the increase will equally apply to Indian as to British ships. Then, sir, you do not admit the 91 per ton in the building or the 3d per day per ton home demurrage, in the schedule, is to be allowed to these Indian ships. Are not these contingencies that will increase the rate of freight? And taking them into the calculation you have not contracted to build any ships at 141 per ton. The value of these two items would make an increase of at least 11 10s per ton. Yet, sir, you would exclude the Indian ships, unless the owners will contract simply for 141 which is lower than any contracts you have made for building in England and you tell Lord Dartmouth, you foresee no circumstances which can increase the rate of freight. Is this giving facilities, or an equal participation to the Indian ships? So far from it, that it is denying them common justice, and I therefore must consider this part of the orders as an intended impediment to the use of Indian ships on equal terms, until a satisfactory explanation is given.

I have now to notice that part of the paragraphs which says—“In order to afford a provisional aid to the supply of a due proportion of Indian tonnage for private trade, and also to give encouragement to the disposal of Indian ships in this country, we permit extra ships of that description (about 500 tons) to be hired for one voyage home under express stipulation, that they are not to return to India, either directly or circuitously, on account of any British subject whatever.” Now, sir, I would ask, what merchant will enter into such an engagement? Would any man make himself liable, after the ship possibly has been sold half a dozen

† A 2 3 time.

times, and at last goes again to India, perhaps under foreign colours, and some Englishman bearing a share in her, to a penalty for such an event? It clearly is an article to which no prudent man will subscribe. But this is not all, the directors surely never meant such ships should come to England at all, I think they have acknowledged as much. The proprietors need only refer to the 74th page of the third report, in which the directors expressly state, 'there are few service, except that of the East India Company, in which they (ships of four or five hundred tons) can be employed, *nor is there a chance for their being sold*, unless there shall be a demand for the commerce of France or Holland. It is impossible, sir, that this can by any ingenuity be explained away. It stands in positive opposition to your professions, but must be taken as a direct proof, that you never intended any such ships should come to this country for sale. I think I have the fairest ground for saying this, when you yourselves acknowledge, that there is no chance of that class of ships being sold, which is the only class you are willing to allow to come to this country for sale.

Next, sir, I must refer to your instructions about manning these Indian ships, when they may be contracted for. You say, in these intended orders, "the act of navigation allows one third of the crew to be aliens, and therefore appears to this extent may be employed, but by no means in any greater proportion." This I may surely challenge as another impediment to the Indian ships being employed. You know that European seamen in great numbers are not to be found in India. Suppose twenty teak

ships, or as many as are this year in the Thames, to be wanted, two-thirds of each crew may be forty men, and the whole number would be eight hundred. It is a thing impossible to find eight hundred British seamen in the East Indies therefore no contracts can be made if this is insisted on.

After this follows an acknowledgment that "it is our (the directors) intention to give in equal participation, on equal terms, to the Indian ships, in bringing home the private trade. This, however, is instantly done away by the particle BUT, which provides, that "the directors may hire at any time a ship or ships casually, (which is a mode we shall never be inclined to prefer,) but that is to give no pretension to the Indian ship-owners for furnishing one in that way, or on such terms. Here the equal participation is immediately destroyed and can this be reckoned fair between the directors and private traders? Or, does it not rather prove the necessity of there being some declared umpire between two such parties? Who can this be but the board of commissioners? to whom this power was evidently intended to be given by the spirit, and indeed I may say, by the letter of the act of 1793.

Next, sir, with respect to the loading of these Indian ships. The directors would order, "if the ships sent from Europe, and engaged in India, cannot both be laden at parallel periods, those from Europe, which cannot be diverted to any employment in India, (as the country ships may,) must be laden first." Is this another instance of the *impartiality* of the directors, and of the *equal* participation which they intend to deal out to the merchants in India? Or did not this

article,

article, in common Candour, require the aid of superior authority to correct the manifest injustice & ex habits?

I will not detain the court longer by detailing other instances of the same spirit, so clearly manifested from the beginning to the end of these paragraphs. I will content myself with adding, that I read nothing in the corrected copy of the paragraphs returned by the commissioners but a desire to do away these evident obstacles, thrown intentionally, as I conceive, in the way of Indian shipping and to make the paragraphs, what they ought to be, the means of "opening a fair competition between Indian and British ship, for bringing home the private trade."

It is a very necessary observation to make in this place, that the court of directors have, on receiving these corrected paragraphs, only come to a general resolution, that, "taken altogether, they demonstrate a decided and unequivocal intention of invading and destroying the commercial rights and privileges of the East India Company." They have not shewn to what part they particularly object; many parts remain as they themselves originally formed them; others are only calculated to make the facilities to Indian ships the same as to British, and where there are any that are to destroy the rights and privileges of the Company, I am at a loss to discover. I call, however, upon any and every gentleman behind the bar to point out those paragraphs which can be charged with being big with any such consequences.

Mr Chairman, there is an opinion given by your learned counsel, among these printed papers, to which it is very necessary I should

not omit to refer upon the present occasion. We all with good reason pay high respect to his advice and you, sir, and the court of directors have, I make no doubt, been guided, in the construction of the act of the 39th Geo III cap 89, by the learned counsel's detailed opinion, given on the 2d of October last, at your desire. The part of that opinion to which I at present beg to draw the attention of the court, is that respecting the taking up of ships for the Company's service for eight voyages, when the act of the 39th Geo III expressly says, "the Company shall employ no ships in their regular service, unless contracted for to serve in trade and warlike, or in any other service, for six voyages." The learned counsel, after assigning his reasons, says, "I think, therefore, that the Company may contract for eight voyages, which is only extending the principle further than the law requires." The opinion stands No 20 in these printed papers, every proprietor, therefore, has an opportunity of referring to it and the use I intend to make of the extract I have quoted from it is this—*Extending the principle of the act*, I think I may venture to state, is taking the spirit of the act instead of abiding by the letter of it. The act of the 39th says positively, that the directors must contract for their ships for six voyages. There is no latitude given, as there might have been by the words *or more* and I am ready, on the authority of the learned gentleman, to believe that they were unnecessary, though there might have been some plausible reasons assigned, at the time the act was passing, against taking up ships for more than six voyages, if such an authority had been known to be contained

ed in the act as it is not ~~worded~~. However, sir, I repeat, that *extending the principle*, (by making a positive injunction to take up ships for six voyages, include a liberty to take them up for eight, or for eighteen, for any number may as reasonably be taken as eight,) is in other words, adopting the spirit of the act, instead of abiding by the letter of it. If I am wrong in this, I shall be much obliged to any one who will set me right. But, sir, if the spirit of one act can be adopted instead of the letter, I would submit, whether the spirit of another act may not also be adopted instead of the letter, and therefore I mean to claim it for the act of the 33d Geo. III. as it has been claimed in this instance in respect to the act of the 39th of Geo. III. The act of the 33d expressly grants a controlling power to the board of commissioners over the private traders to and from India, in several different sections, and speaking of that act, it has been said by a gentleman of that profession, that "nothing can be more manifest than the distinction established by the statute between the two sorts of commerce (the Company's and the private), and the authority which it vests in the commissioners to decide all controversies which shall arise out of the private trade,"—and again, that "no doubt can be entertained of the reason of the law, and the intention of the legislature."* If this opinion be well founded, and the spirit of the act of the 33d Geo. III. be clearly of this description, I ask, for information, why the principle of this act may not be extended, as well as the principle of the act of the 39th? All that is wanted is an umpire between the

court of directors and the private merchants—it is not fit that either should be the judge in his own case—the legislature could never intend any such thing, what they did intend is perfectly clear, and the clamour about chartered rights, and the infringement of them, on the present occasion, is nothing but a popular outcry, raised, in default of argument, to prejudice the minds of the public, in a case where no rights of the Company are attacked, but the rights of the private merchants are seriously endangered and the evident intention of the legislature is attempted to be over ruled. In short, sir, if the principle of an act of parliament can be extended, or, in other words, the spirit can be adopted instead of the letter, I ask again, can it not as reasonably be claimed in respect to the act of the 33d, as in respect to the act of the 39th of Geo. III.?

Before I proceed to the third report, I would here just enquire, with what consistency do the directors come to this court complaining against the government of the country, as having "a decided and unequivocal intention of invading and destroying the commercial rights and privileges of the Company?" If you, sir, are correct in stating the question at issue to be purely commercial, I may very reasonably ask, by what authority, and upon what grounds, the court of directors engaged, by their secret resolution of the 25th of November last, to submit the paragraphs introduced for India to the approbation of the board of commissioners? This part of your unauthorized compact with Mr. Addington, however, was not of long continuance: as soon

* Vide Mr. Heathman's Observations, 2d edit. for the whole of this opinion.

soon as the directors discovered that the board of commissioners would not approve just such orders as they wished to transmit to India, because they were not calculated to carry into fair effect the eleven propositions offered to the minister as the basis of an experiment, the concession was withdrawn. By this mode of conduct, the directors first insist, the question is commercial, and subject to no control: secondly, they take upon themselves to decide, that it shall be submitted to the control or approbation of the commissioners: and lastly, as soon as they discover that this mode of proceeding will not answer the end they expected, they protest against their own concession, and say, for the second time, that the question is purely commercial, and that the commissioners, in attempting to exercise a control, (which the directors had taken upon themselves to agree to,) shew a decided and unequivocal intention of destroying the rights of the Company. Are men high in office in the state to be treated in this capricious manner? Will they allow the directors of the East India Company to say and unsay just as they please? or, will they not rather be dissatisfied with such conduct, and if there is so much doubt upon the subject, remove the doubt by a reference to that tribunal, which alone is able to put an end to these angry controversies? Such is the predicament into which the directors have brought the proprietors, and now they expect them to approve all they have done, involving a gross breach of the privileges of this court. I trust there may be found spirit enough among us to disappoint any such expectation, by negating the present motion.

I shall proceed to the third re-

port of the court of directors, which has been printed separately, and is intended to support what was never heard of before, an IMPERIAL EMPIRE, by averting the dreadful consequences which the directors lie in the employment of East India shipping. But, sir, before I enter upon the report, I must beg to do an act of justice to an old friend of mine, Mr C Grant, who is confessedly the author of the first and second reports from your committee. That gentleman's talents I well know, and they are to be traced in those reports, his language, his style, and his ingenuity are evident: and, sir, with a full recollection of their contents, it would be unjust indeed, that in commenting upon this third report, it should for a moment be supposed by any one that I was commenting upon a work of Mr Grant's. No, sir, I do most sincerely acquit him of having had any, the least share, in this composition, there is not a single sentence that bears the stamp of his pen, it is the work of some other hand, and Mr Grant need not be envious of the laurels the author will gain by the support this third report will give to the long contested question.

Perhaps, sir, some idea may be formed of what is to be expected in the course of the argument from the terms of the introductory paragraph. We are told, that "in their former report the court of directors endeavoured, *but without success*, to explain the dangerous consequences that are likely to follow from such a system," (meaning the system of Indian shipping,) and then immediately afterwards, that "the object of the same committee at present is, to endeavour to give the subject a different form, and to refer to their former report for elucidations

editions which they ~~cannot~~ *improve*." It is very true, sir, the author has not improved upon the former reports, but it is rather an extraordinary way of convincing, by referring to former reports, which have been unsuccessful, and which the committee confess they cannot improve, and I was puzzled still more, when I turned to the last page of this third report, for there I am told, that in these (unsuccessful) reports it was demonstrated, that the plans of the private traders must terminate in the destruction of the British Empire in India. Now, sir, how a demonstration could be unsuccessful, I shall expect to hear explained from your side the better for it is generally understood to be proof to strong and invincible, that the mind must yield to it. This, however, is not all the singularity of the present case for we are next told, that this question is to extraordinary in its nature and circumstances, that "what would be decorous, prudent and desirable on almost every other occasion, would be culpable and even criminal at present. How, Mr Chairman could the court be brought into this strange and vexatious dilemma, and what path are we to pursue, when that which would be decorous, prudent and desirable on other occasions, is to be so injurious on this? I did hope, sir, that I should have met with some comfort, however, when I proceeded further, because I found in the same page, that "not only the truth, but the whole truth, should be submitted to the consideration of his Majesty's ministers (mark, not the board of commissioners) "the proprietors, and the public, and I read again, in a latter part of this report, that "it is indispensable for your committee,

and for the court (of directors), to divest themselves of their private feelings, in order to do justice to the Company and to the Public." From all this the proprietors must perceive, that they have not had the whole truth yet laid before them, (perhaps the separate opinions, so often asked for, contain some part of it) nor do I, after a careful perusal of the present report, discover what this wonderful information consists of. I really see nothing new, except it is the attack upon Mr Durdie, of which I shall take further notice by and by. But, sir, I should have thought these gentlemen would at all times have done justice to the Company, and that upon this question they would have submitted to the general court the whole truth long ago. It has been rather extraordinary treatment, though I believe not unprecedented here, to require the proprietors to give a decisive opinion, without having the whole case submitted to them.

Proceeding further into this report, I agree with the committee of directors, that "on a question which, in its progress, produces such very important and serious consequences, mere opinions, drawn from inferences and speculative calculations, ought not to be admitted. Sir, I think we ought most readily to acquiesce in this way of thinking, and in consequence, I expected to find the report replete with evidence that could not be contested. But instead of any such proofs, perhaps of all others this is the publication most generally supported by inferences and bold assertions. In one place the committee contents they have no regular returns, but they contend that such accounts as they have shall stand till their insufficiency be shown, and

and "that in the mean time the unauthenticated representations of the persons who are interested in depriving the Company of ~~their~~ trade be not taken as a basis upon which any argument whatever can be built. And even afterwards the directors add, "they trust that their adversaries shall be compelled to prove, that the trade they propose to carry on is, in its nature, likely to be permanent." It appears immediately, however, to be rather hard service they would impose upon their adversaries, for they instantly add, "*this, however, is impossible*, and assign the reasons why

This report, in an early part, declares, that the Company are always willing to remove obstacles to exports from this country. All that I shall say in answer to this is, that there is no proof but of the contrary. In this report the directors state, that 800 tons of British goods were exported on the Company's ships in the year 1798, but that the exports of private merchants on the Company's ships have long since dwindled into nothing, yet when Indian ships have come to the port of London, they have carried away six or seven hundred thousand pounds worth of British goods in a season. These are facts, and therefore there must have been some obstacles and objections to the Company's ships, which the directors have not removed. Indeed it is well known there were many, and they have been often enumerated.

I perceive, sir, that you still persist in the idea, that ships are the end, and goods only the mean, but I do not discover any proofs to establish this opinion, and the question has already been fully discussed. I find, however, the directors themselves allow in this report,

that "in a very short time the traders in goods, and the owners of ships, will become in India, as they are in other parts of the world, different persons. If so, what becomes of all the long arguments we have heard about the means and the end, and the bad consequences of the ship-owner and the merchant being one and the same party?"

I shall now proceed to the question of capital, upon which your committee say, "they shall prove that the larger part of the capital employed in "this trade is British, and not Indian." After some search, I found the promised proof, and it is this: they state the amount exported from Bengal, by private merchants, at 788,000*l* and the amount imported by them to the same place at 803,000*l* leaving a balance of 483,000*l*. The Indian capital, therefore, say the directors, does not exceed 303,000*l*. Sir, this is a most extraordinary sort of proof. The merchant draws bills of exchange on his correspondent in London for the 443,000*l*. It is admitted, but he must get the money for which he draws, from some resident in India, and therefore surely it is, *bona fide*, what has been called India capital. If you mean to deprive the Indian merchant of his credit, I understand you; but I cannot consent that it is British capital he trades on, because his correspondent in London accepts his bills upon goods consigned to him. But there is an easy remedy for this, say the committee. "Check the trade of Indian merchants, such a check will not operate to the prejudice either of India, the Company, or the Public." Here is the present opinion of the directors, briefly and openly given. Return to all your former coercive measures, renew all you penal

laws,

laws, there is your remedy. Now, sir, have we any proof, instead of this mere assertion, that it will be a remedy? No, but we have abundance of experience in proof, that these checks will revive and support foreign and clandestine trade, inasmuch that the directors were very loud against them, and desired, only a short time since, that they might be removed.

The comparison that is made in this report between British, Indian, and Foreign ship, and between British and Indian owners, is not the least extraordinary part of it. It is not my wish to enter into this comparison between any two descriptions of merchants, it is not for me to take the liberty of pointing out the one as extortioners, and crying up the other for their public spirit and generosity. Nor will the old owners be very thankful for this panegyric, when they recollect that the very same directors, only a few years since, charged them with similar extortion, and said the Company only employed their ships because they could not get any others. It suits the present purpose to use this language, but the justice of it is very questionable. As to generosity in counting houses, I believe that is not the place to look for it, every merchant makes the best bargain he can, according to what he has to dispose of, these gentlemen have done no more, and I am perfectly satisfied that they possess as much generosity and liberality in society as any other men.

But, sir, the instance brought forward in the present report, carries with it its own refutation. The Governor-general found himself, above a twelvemonth ago, under a natural necessity to engage all the ships he could meet with for an extra and dangerous service, the Ben-

gal merchants were called on to derange all their commercial engagements, and to let their ships to the government they did so, but they required a high price, which the Governor-general gave. "The *Gabriel*, one of these ships," say the directors, "is engaged at 1500l per month, for nine months, or 13,500l, whilst the *Rockingham*, one of the Company's ships, performs the same service for 680l per month, or for nine months, 5,450l making a difference and a loss to the Company of 8,050l the Public and the Company, says the third report, ought to be rescued from such avarice and extortion." But, sir, is this a fair state of the case? Was the *Rockingham* engaged for this single and dangerous service? You know she was not, but that she is, after serving six voyages as a regular ship, engaged to perform a voyage in the Company's service upon their dismantled plan, that she happened to be in India at the time, of course was called upon to go upon this service, as within the covenants of her contract. The directors, therefore, take the rate agreed to under very different circumstances, to make a comparison with the *Gabriel*, and besides this, they omit to state, that at present they have a law-suit with the owners of another ship, the *Martha*, on this very question. And, sir, I have good reason for thinking, that the owners of the *Rockingham* will dispute this very point with the directors, and not rest satisfied with 680l per month, as here allowed them. A few months will show whether I am right or wrong, and even then, if they are compelled to submit, it will be only in consequence of a previous existing contract, by which they are obliged to serve

serve in trade and in warfare on certain conditions. It is therefore impossible to draw a fair comparison between the two. But, sir, the directors might, if the object had not been to disparage the Indian owners, have stated, that when Lord Wellesley lately talked of sending three or four regular ships to China for want of cargoes, *that arch offender*, Mr Fairley, offered to furnish the Governor general with goods to the value of 18 or 20 lacs, in order to prevent it and it is very probable these ships are now on their voyage home, supplied with cargoes by one of those very men who are abused as extortioner, and, instead of aiding, to be taking every opportunity to injure and distress the Company. Next, sir, with regard to the comparison between Indian and European ships, as to dearness, foreign European ships are said to be the cheapest, and teak ships the dearest; *that* I totally deny upon the information I have had. Perhaps many people will agree with me, when they are acquainted that teak ships will go eight or ten voyages to India and back, without any repair at all, whilst an oak ship is never able to go above three voyages without a thorough repair, at an expense of many thousand pounds.

In an early part of this report, great fault is found with an honourable friend of mine, (Mr D Scott,) not only because he has differed with the rest of the directors on this subject, but a letter of his, of so old a date as 1787, is brought forward, to shew what unfounded and ill digested propositions he at times recommended. This letter contained a plan of increasing the exports of British manufactures yearly to a great amount. He asserted, that the Company had not for years

sent out above one quarter of their tonnage in goods. Now, sir, it is curious to see the method, which, the report states, was followed to ascertain whether this assertion was correct or not. "To such a proposal *one single fact was opposed* by the court of directors, namely, that at the time Mr Scott made the proposals, *returns were received of the draught of water of each ship, as the only means to enable the court to ascertain*, whether the ships were not too full to perform the voyage from Europe to many parts of India with security, and on several occasions, ships were not suffered to proceed until some part of the cargo was taken out, in consequence of the ships being overloaded. *Such a decisive proof* of the want of any basis on which a project of so much importance could rest, gave the Company a short respite until the years 1792-93, when it appeared in another form, &c. &c." Mr. Chairman, I really doubt my own senses, to understand so simple a case as this, when the court of directors shall seriously assert, *that the only means to ascertain whether their ships were overloaded (with Company's cargo) was to take their draught of water, and this is called a decisive proof*. Pray, sir, was it not possible that other persons besides the Company might have goods on board those ships? Such things have happened;—there have been times when ships outward-bound have been half laden with clandestine trade, and on that occasion there was a more obvious and decisive test, which might have been referred to—I mean the invoice of each ship's cargo belonging to the Company, and the account of the tonnage it occupied. However, instead of throwing a reflection on the offer of Mr. Scott,

it is entitled to much praise, for on a reference to the amount of British goods exported by the Company it did not much exceed half a million in 1787, and it has continued to increase gradually ever since, inasmuch that this last season it amounts to two millions. This has been the effect of that letter, and whoever was the author of a proposition producing such a consequence, has done great service to the Public.

In pursuing this report, I find the directors assert, that "the foreign trade must revive, and will increase," but they soon afterwards say, "there appears to be an apprehension about the foreign trade which no practical foreign merchant can understand. It is but fair to ask for a single instance wherein it has succeeded." And they then describe how every foreign company has been ruined, as well as numbers of private merchants, and the remainder of them are stated to be insignificant. In short, say the directors, "there was a wreck of general and individual enterprise." These surely are not proofs that the foreign trade *must revive and will increase*. I do not, however, go this length with the directors, I know there will be a foreign trade as well as that there was a foreign trade, of good credit, but how extensive that trade will be, depends more upon the settlement of the present question than upon any other circumstance whatever. All I contend for is, that the British government should interpose, and bring as much of this trade as possible to the river Thames, and in particular that which is carried on with British capital.

These private traders are, in various parts of the present report, stated to intercept the Company's

funds, and to forestall the Company's market. How are these points maintained? In my opinion, not more satisfactorily than any of the preceding. Let us first examine into the funds, what have the Company raised during this war by bills on the directors, and by bonds given in India? I shall not be contradicted when I state it at ten or twelve millions sterling. But I need not go so far back, I have evidence enough in my favour in this report. It is there stated, that very late loans in India amount to 2,200,000l., and that 1,200,000l. of this large sum is borrowed at Madras at one time, in the autumn of last year. Now sir, instead of intercepting the funds, here is a clear proof that the government of Madras were able, a few months ago, to negotiate a larger loan than they ever negotiated before, since the existence of the Company. How does this happen? why, it happens from the trade, the credit, and circulation of these former whom the directors wish to destroy. In the former war (distinguished as the American war), there was no such class of men, what was the state of the Company's credit then? they had incumbrances of only half the amount of the present debt, yet their means were exhausted, and their paper at Bombay was 65 per cent discount—at Madras it was 50, and at Bengal 30 or 35 per cent below par. What is it now? Such paper as bears an interest of 6 per cent is at a discount of 22 per cent. Paper of 8 per cent is at a discount of 7 or 8 per cent. Paper of 12 per cent is at par. The Company's credit is therefore much better at this time than it was at the former, and there is no doubt it will continue to be so, as long

an encouragement shall be given to the general trade of their settlements. Next, sir, as to forestalling the Company's markets, it is a circumstance deserving attention, that in the early part of the report these merchants are reproached with not exporting British manufactures, and the proof is, that in 800 tons of merchandize exported by one house, there was only one ton of woollens. Here is a glaring proof that they do *not* interfere or forestall the Company's markets for woollens are one of the grand staples the Company deal in. But the merchants are accused of sailing without convoy, and doing every thing they could to get to an early market. It is true, they used, as all private merchants must, the best diligence they could, they often sailed with any convoy to the westward, instead of the East India convoy, but very seldom I am told, sailed absolutely without any convoy at all. There are, however, other circumstances to be brought into this account, the articles they generally deal in are different from the Company's trade woollens, copper, naval stores, the Company may engross, and for the sale of these articles in India, the Company have settled periods by auction, which they would not alter, whether the ships of individuals arrived before or after them. This regards the outward trade. With respect to the imports from India, it is well known that the Company's goods are always sold first, so that the goods of private merchants cannot get to auction till after them and this is more particularly evident, as they are all under lock and key in the Company's warehouses.

We are told in one part of the report, that the exclusive trade is

to be the salvation of the court, I wish, sir, it could be shewn to be equal to any such effect, the profits of the China trade may possibly be equal to the annual dividends, but we are here speaking of the Indian trade. That there are no profits upon the exports is admitted, and I have many doubts as to the returns from India. I have a right to entertain these doubts, from your own reports and accounts given at different periods, but I will mention one circumstance that possibly may make every man who hears me doubt also. In the calculations made by the directors, no interest of money is charged on the capital employed, yet a great part of the Company's Indian investment is made with money borrowed at Indian interest, and the course of the business is this: it is borrowed early in the year to be advanced to the native manufacturers, the goods are delivered in the course of the year, they are shipped the beginning of the next year, at the end of it they are sold in England, and in the beginning of the third year British manufactures are shipped in return, which may be sold in the course of that season so that it must be thirty or thirty six months before the money is realized to pay off the bond that was given for the first loan to make the investment. To this we may add 5 per cent consigned to be lost in the exports, so that it may truly be said 55 per cent is on this account to be added to the Company's expenses in making up the account. I will not stop to notice many other charges not estimated on by the directors. This alone is sufficient to raise very serious doubts, whether the Company can gain any thing by their Indian investments, but say, the director, "the surplus has not appeared so large

large as it ought to have been, from the Company's reluctance to the old forms of making up the accounts." Now, Mr Chairman, I contend the very contrary of this, and assert, that if they did not adhere to these old forms, the surplus would appear still less, instead of more, for the practice of the India-house is, and has long been, to value the rupee at two shillings, whereas they have bills upon them at rates of exchange much higher, which, of course, must reduce instead of augmenting their surplus profits.

In this part of the report, it is asked with some confidence, "Will the Indian agents and traders submit to a limitation of their profit, in the same manner as the Company? Will they pay what they get over and above 10 per cent into the public treasury, for the benefit of the State?" It may safely be answered, the Indian Company do no such thing. (Look to the act of 1793, sect. 111.) When the Company had a trade only to carry on, and no territory, the government knew them to be equal to but a very moderate contribution, and it was only when the Company appeared to have a surplus revenue of above a million, that they stipulated with them for 500,000*l.* per annum for the benefit of the Public, which the circumstances of the times have and will prevent them from paying during the whole of their present charter. It may, therefore, reasonably be asked—What great benefit the Public receive, except from the increase of the India trade generally?

On the subject of lascars, and the appeals which are here made to humanity concerning them—the cases are overstrained, and are few. Many ships have come with their

crews of lascars, as healthy as ships with Europeans, or we should have had more examples. But, Mr Chairman, the fair way of deciding where the difficulty rests, is by giving a comparative account of the number of lascars and English seamen lost in this trade altogether. I sincerely believe it would be found, that as many British sailors die on the Ganges as lascars do on the Thames, or, why are your regular ships so often obliged to take black seamen to assist in your homeward bound voyages?

It is not a matter of any surprise to me, but it is deserving of attention, that the directors take so little notice of the cotton trade, and the large supply of tonnage it would require. It is a trade so precarious, that the directors know they cannot attempt to furnish British tonnage for it, yet they would rather leave it to the Americans than to private merchants in India. Ten or twelve thousand tons of cotton shipping have come here with this article in one season, but a bad harvest may prevent any coming, when the directors have sent shipping to bring it. Those ships may only be just returned, when the next harvest shall have increased the stock in such a degree, that the merchants would wish to export it to England in as large a quantity as ever. Nothing but shipping on the spot can suit such a trade, in opposition to the vigilance and enterprise of America, who has at this time 300 vessels engaged in the trade with India and China, and who had lately several ships on the Malabar coast, wanting cargoes of cotton, as they declared, to supply the English manufacturers on this island.

I now come, I confess, to a part of this report, and it is the only part,

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part, very flattering and gratifying to myself; so is that which the directors express a hope that the same thing will be done which I recommended to them to do last May, I mean, to employ the late governor-general of India. They would indeed, added, that the question then proposed to be put to these high characters was, "Whether the exclusive trade shall remain in the hands of the Company, or be transferred to a few Indian traders?" But fortunately the motion stands on record, and bears the clearest evidence of the contrary. At that time, Mr. Chairman, such a reference, the directors said would have been "unconstitutional in itself." I hope it will be explained how that is possible. "It would have degraded the dignity of the proprietors, and would have proved humiliating to the directors." All these objections are now got over, and I am happy to find it is so, I am ready as ever to abide that test, confident that they are the proper parties to advise with on such an important subject.

In this part of the report, there is a paragraph which I hardly know how to describe; perhaps it may be intended for the profound—it is short, and I will read it. Speaking of the private merchants and their destructive propositions, the report (page 100) proceeds—

"But they (the merchants) are not aware, that, whilst they contend to destroy the part of an ancient, firm, extensive fabric, over which they have no legal right to claim whatever the solvent, real proprietors, finding themselves deprived of that broad shield, which has hitherto protected and preserved themselves, under the British constitution, all corporate bodies may spin at the ruin, which will remain."

Mr. Chairman, I really do not

[Here Mr. Boscawen (a director), got up to say, "that this should be interrupted." Mr. Henchman, when, Mr. Henchman turning to him, said—"Sir, if you are the author of this part of the report, and wish to explain it, it will readily take not less than thirty days."—Mr. Boscawen made no answer, but sat down. Mr. Henchman went on—]

Other reasons, besides the want of time, prevent me from following this report through every part, and from comparing it with other opinions which the directors have given there are, however, contraries so very apparent, that they must strike every reader. The private merchants are too often accused of wishing to ruin the Company, and to exclude every body from the trade but themselves. It is sometimes said, that they cannot make the trade to answer, that two short years will expose their errors, and shew that their plans are not practicable, yet in that short space of time these adventurers are to acquire fortunes, and the Company's charter will be destroyed. All this is to happen, although we have already the experience of a few years, and no single instance is produced to shew that they have deviated from the rules laid down for them; that any persons have got to India that ought not, through their means; or that any thing has occurred to make colonisation more apparent. If any complaint can be made against these traders, whilst using real ships, I beg it may be brought forward, and that we may have proof, instead of supposition, according to the doctrine laid down early in this report itself.

[Mr. Henchman having now, for upwards of half an hour, expe-

a continued noise in the court, and a call for the question, it was absolutely impossible for him to proceed. The Chairman retired without effect. Mr Henchman, however, persevered; and when the clamour and noise was very loud, he stopped entirely, and waited until it subsided. Mr Twining interposed sometimes with effect, but oftener without it. Sir Francis Baring, during the confusion, exclaimed, "that if there were time enough, he would pledge himself to refute every argument advanced by the honourable proprietor, who had risen to speak at a late hour of the day, and was continuing to speak, till it was so late that no one could answer him, and then he would fill the newspapers with what he had said." Mr Henchman bore all this interruption with remarkable patience, attending to nothing but the question, and proceeding from time to time, as silence could be obtained.]

Mr Henchman said, he was sorry for the lateness of the day, but it was not his fault, the subject was so copious, that it was not so be gone through in an hour. He said he was perfectly ready to adjourn, and meet again at twelve tomorrow, if gentlemen preferred it.

The Chairman said, No, no. We had better have it all out now. The proprietors would not be pleased at having such another long day tomorrow.

Mr. Henchman continued. I now, sir, continue a part of the report, which I am exceedingly sorry to find treated in the manner it is. I mean the attack upon the late minister for India, Mr Dundas—

[The clamour and noise in the court was now renewed, some called out, that was the question,

that Mr. Henchman was disorderly; that the question was private trade; and one director said, that for the last ten minutes Mr. Henchman had been speaking from the position.]

Mr Henchman replied, I trust I am in order, I mean to be so; and I am speaking to nothing but the contents of the third report. [Clamour renewed, and question loudly called for.] I am sorry I cannot yet come to a conclusion, I may be an hour longer, and these interruptions will make it still later. I appeal to the chair, if the chair shall declare that I am not to be admitted to speak to certain parts of the report, I shall submit. I beg the chair to declare whether I am in order or not.

[The Chairman at last was heard, and declared Mr Henchman was perfectly in order, and ought to be allowed to proceed.]

Mr Henchman continued. Sir, I thank you for your candour, I repeat, that I am exceedingly sorry to find in the report, this wanton, unmerited, and disrespectful attack upon Mr Dundas, and I more particularly regret to find, among the gentlemen who sign it, the name of an honourable baronet and friend of mine (Sir H. Inglis), who so lately, and so creditably, filled the seat you occupy. Sir, that very gentleman, about a twelvemonth since, brought forward certain resolutions of a very different complexion, respecting the same right honourable character. I beg, Mr Chairman, that the papers relative to the pension granted to Mr Dundas, may now be read. [Here considerable interruption occurred, and much dissimulation appeared within the bar to the production of the papers.] I think I have a right to the papers; they

are in possession of the court of proprietors, they are on their own records, but as the objection seems to be still maintained, I will do without them, though I beg the refusal may be marked: I have the resolution in my memory, and I will repeat it. In Feb 1801, upon Mr. Dundas's resignation of the office of president of the board of commissioners, the directors came to a resolution highly flattering to Mr Dundas putting high encomiums on his administration; and begging that he would accept a pension of 2000*l.* per annum, as some acknowledgement of the great services he had rendered to the Company, during the time he had filled the post of president of the board of commissioners; and, not content with this liberal offer, they requested further, that he would condescend to accept of the use of a house during his life, at the expense of 200*l.* per ann more to the Company. I remember well with how much zeal my honourable friend recommended to the court of proprietors to confirm this proposition which the directors had made to Mr Dundas and I do not recollect, at that time, that any one director offered a single objection, or said that he dissented from it. The right honourable gentleman has been out of office from that time to the present day; he can therefore have done nothing since, to induce the directors to alter their opinion of him, except it be, having manifested, that he entertains the same sentiments which he did before he went out of office, respecting the employment of rank ships in private trade and which sentiments particularly appear in his letter of the 2d of April 1800. Sir, these sentiments are now so offensive to the directors, that in discussing the sub-

ject, they cannot forego an opportunity, however indiscreet, to introduce irrelevant matter, to take away from the weight of an opinion to which both sides of the bar have been long used to pay so great a share of respect. A review is therefore to be taken of the general state of the Company's affairs, although you, Mr Chairman, so earnestly deprecated all such inquiry, as extremely dangerous, in your famous letter of the 7th of November last, addressed to Mr. Addington, and which has been so fully commented on by my learned friend (Mr Impey) this day. How can the present dissertation be justified, if what you said in that letter was reasonable? However, the fact is, that in this report we find the late president, whose administration was so much extolled last year, and so amply rewarded, is now charged with being the author, or accessory of almost every thing that has brought the present imminent distress upon the affairs of the Company, and that has reduced their affairs to such a state, according to your opinion, that it would be dangerous to look into them. He has increased our establishments to a ruinous extent; he has allowed our political resources to be absorbed; he has given assistance to deprive the Company of the resources they actually possessed, under pretence of contributing towards the prosperity of the Indian empire. And a comparison is gone into between the period of distress in which he began his administration, and the state in which he has left the Company's affairs, on retiring from office; and after this comparison is drawn, it is said, "These discussions and comparisons are painful to the extreme, but when the Company find that attempts are made

and supported by such powerful interest, to deprive them of the only means to restore their affairs, under unfounded pretences, it is indispensable for your committee, and for the court, to divest themselves of their private feelings, in order to do justice to the Company and the Public."

Sir, this paragraph from the report speaks too plainly for itself. I do not wish to give it an interpretation, it is too clear who is meant by this powerful interest, that is acting thus extraordinary part under unfounded pretences. But I must ask, if all this objection lay against Mr. Dundas, where was the justice towards the Company in unanimously recommending for him the pension of £1000 per annum? And where was the duty towards the Company in keeping all these opinions secret? For I believe I may venture to state, that hardly an instance occurs, for many years past, of the directors communicating to the proprietors, that the late president had suggested any one thing which threatened injury to the Company's affairs. It may also reasonably be asked, whether many of the arrangements alluded to, were not the acts of the directors themselves, and only passed in review before Mr. Dundas from his presiding in the board of control? I will not at present take up more time in inquiring who is responsible. I will only repeat, that the introduction of this matter in the present report appears to have arisen from a motive that I am sorry should influence a public body, and that it is probable, that had not been for that influence, the directors would not even now "have divested themselves of their private feelings to do justice to the Company." But, sir, this examination having been gone into by the com-

mittee of directors, and the state of the Company represented as deplorable, comparatively with what it was in 1783—at becomes necessary to look at their circumstances at that period, and at present. Abroad, in 1783-4, the Company was indebted ten or twelve millions sterling, at present they are twenty millions sterling. But, sir, in these twenty millions, there may be five millions with which the Company charge the government of Great Britain, for military and other services, including the expedition to Egypt, undertaken on their account. If so, sir, it is doubtful whether your debts abroad at this time exceed what they were in 1783-4, more than three or four millions. But, Mr. Chairman, I have no objection to looking at the comparison between the two periods, with all the assumed difference between a debt of ten millions in 1783-4, and twenty millions at the present day, which is stated to occasion such infinite distress. If we look to the distress abroad in 1783-4, it will be seen that the Company's credit was quite exhausted, their bonds and other securities were at the enormous discount of 65 per cent. at Bombay of 50 per cent. at Madras, and of 30 or 35 per cent. at Bengal. Bills of exchange were never regularly paid, the civil and military were greatly in arrears, and the army at last in a state of absolute mutiny for their pay. In 1801, the army is paid up; the civil servants are paid in paper without murmuring, the discount on bonds and securities is very low, not exceeding 7 or 8 per cent. except on paper that bears the lowest interest, that is 5 per cent. and upon that only 28 per cent., and so far from the Company's credit being exhausted,

haunted, the governments in India have, within these few months, borrowed more money than usual, in particular at Madras, they have negotiated one loan for 1,200,000l a thing unheard of till now. This is not a state for despair, it may require a system of reform and economy both abroad and at home, and peace, which is now accomplished, affords the fairest opportunity of entering upon both. As to the situation of the Company in Great Britain, it has been repeatedly stated from behind the bar as very prosperous, and I hope we are not in any error on that subject. The sales have been very large, the treasury has been very full, bills of exchange have been paid in advance, you have not been obliged to go to parliament in *for na pauper*, or in any form, unless it may be to desire they will discharge the long bill you have against the government. Your credit is so perfectly good, you could circulate a million more bonds, you could purchase to any amount of exports on credit. The bank will lend you, you have 1,200,000l of annuities you can sell in short, you have assets at command, if government will but be just to wards you, of at least eight millions sterling. You may, therefore, I hope, go on without calling for any additional capital and, I believe, you owe in England at this time one million and a half less than you did in 1783-4, at which time the Company's credit and ability was so very low, that you were obliged to go to parliament to solicit that you might have a longer time allowed for the discharge of 900,000l arrear of duties, and that you might be protected against the holders of bills from India, and be authorised to defer payment of them for two or three years after they became due.

Now, Mr Chairman, if there is any truth in this state of the Company's affairs at home and abroad, taking into the consideration whatever the present debt may exceed the former, I do not think there is reason sufficient to conclude, that things are now so infinitely more alarming and desperate than they were in 1783-4. All this is open to the observation of every man who will take the trouble of examining such accounts and documents as are published but, as it is possible we do not yet "know the whole truth," I do not pretend to offer any decisive opinion on the real state of the Company's affairs. Perhaps we may be allowed, one day or other, to go into a complete examination of them, and I differ, I confess, Mr Chairman, so far from you on the subject, that the sooner that is done, in my opinion, the better.

But, sir, condemn no man, and especially a man like the late minister for India, whom you have so uniformly praised, without a very different review and examination of your affairs, than what is given in this report common justice would require it for any man respect for past and acknowledged services requires it for the ex minister.

There are many other parts of this report which challenge observation.

[Here was a violent call for the question, and Mr Heichman could not proceed for some time. At last silence was obtained.]

Mr Chairman I have still much to say, particularly about shipping, and in answer to the assertions which are made to convince that Indian ships are the dearest. But I shall not trouble the court further on that subject at present than to observe, that I still retain the opinion I have long entertained of teak

‡ B b j ships

ships being upon the whole the cheapest. That they are the best suited for the trade, the directors themselves confess in their former report, when they say, "Indian ships would have a clear advantage over others, because the equipment would be adjusted with certainty to the number and times of the year, goes procurable." But, sir, there is a matter which the directors carefully keep out of sight, that I must bring into view, and that is, their memorial to the lords of the treasury in 1797, containing statements and principles diametrically opposite to what they contend for at present. It is reasonable to ask, why the court of directors have not in any one place attempted to show how their opinions declared in 1797, are to be reconciled with their opinions in 1801? even after they had been so often reminded of the contradictions, this third report is as cautiously silent upon that point as the two preceding. My learned friend (Mr. Hume) has handled this point with his usual ability, and I ask with him, what answer can be given to this memorial? how can it be reconciled with the later conduct of the court of directors?

Neither do the report of directors point out any of those *gross errors* they say exist in opinions that have been published in opposition to their reports, although they express considerable anxiety, that nothing but proofs should be paid any attention to by this court. I wish, sir, they had abided by their own rule; and it may not be ascribing too much to conclude, that they would have done so, if they had been satisfied of any proofs satisfactory to themselves.

The last part of the report that I shall this evening take notice of, is the repeated assertion, that the surplus trade of India cannot be

brought to the river Thames; and that a short time would show the erroneous principles and plans of the merchants. If so, why not allow an experiment to be made on equal terms? If the merchants will so soon be lost and bankrupt by the trade, why all this anxiety to prevent them from making a trial, that, by the declaration of the directors, must so shortly afford proof, that they (the directors) are right, and their opponents wrong? The violent opposition that is made to any such experiment, affords a very strong presumption, that the directors are not so confident in the event as they are in the assertion. However, sir, be the error on which side it may, (and I have great and most respectable encouragement still to think it does not lay with those whose sense I espouse), I do trust the court will discern, that no good consequences can result from their confirming, as is proposed, the intemperate resolution of the court of directors of the 26th of last month. Is it reasonable, is it respectful, is it true, that the government of the country has "demonstrated a decided and unequivocal intention of invading and destroying the commercial rights and privileges of the East India Company?" What can the East India Company gain by making this violent declaration of war with the administration? and where have the directors shown this to be the fact? they have not pointed out in what part of the correction system this intention is manifested, and the motion before you will only lead to the consummation of that predicament in which the directors have been for many months, in consequence of a resolution equally imprudent, passed by the court on the 26th of May. or is such lead to a consequence which all have

professed a desire to avoid, that is, the subject going into parliament, where, for my own part, if the amendment is rejected, and the original motion is approved, I think it impossible to prevent its going; and it is indeed true we had done with it, if intemperance is faster to prevail, that his majesty's ministers are treated with marked disrespect, and if common decorum and civility can no longer be preserved in the course of our debate, even towards the person and character of the respectable noblemen who now presides at the board of commissioners. Too much heat, animosity, and influence of private interests, is got amongst us; it is true, therefore, that the discussion should come to an end in this place, and be referred to another, where it will be entered upon coolly and dispassionately, where the examination will proceed upon public principles, and where clamour and uproar is not admitted, where those who are to decide will not be under the influence of favours received or expected, but will, after a candid and thorough investigation of the merits, come to that decision which shall be just towards the India Company, and most beneficial to the general interests of the kingdom at large.

Sir FRANCIS BAXTER rose immediately after Mr. Henchman sat down, and was proceeding to speak, when Mr. Innes and Mr. Johnson rose to object, as Sir Francis had spoken already. After some little contest, the Chairman said he had called to Sir Francis upon leaving his seat, and that he was undoubtedly satisfied to explain.

Sir Francis then said he rose to explain, and took notice of several parts of Mr. Henchman's arguments; his, in particular, stated the number of ships stated to be in

Bengal river, which, he said, ought to be recollected came from three points, Great Britain, America, and China. Sir Francis also observed on two or three other matters; but Mr. Henchman told twice to assure him, that he had clearly misunderstood him, repeating that his words on those subjects had been. Sir Francis readily yielded, and after one or two other remarks, sat down.

Sir HUGH INGLES rose to reply to a question put to him by an honourable friend of his (Mr. Henchman), relative to the strong sentiments he had professed about a twelvemonth ago, in respect to Mr. Dandas, on that right honourable gentleman's resignation of the office of president of the board of commissioners for India affairs, in February 1801. His honourable friend had asked him, whether he had changed the sentiments with which he accompanied his motion to desire Mr. Dandas to accept a pension of 2000*l.* per annum, as an acknowledgement of the great services he had rendered the Company during the time that he had filled the post of president of the board of commissioners, with high encomiums on his administration of Indian affairs? Sir Hugh assured his honourable friend, that he had not changed all his sentiments on Mr. Dandas's eminent services to the Company, he still thought as highly of those services as he ever did; but when that right honourable gentleman sent them his pamphlet, which he wrote upon his resignation, and which was soon after printed, he forced the directors to act on their defence, and to hold forth the facts stated in the third report which implicated Mr. Dandas. Sir Hugh said, as he was upon his legs, he would speak to two or three other points. He then answered what

had been said about the opinions of the Company's servants in India, as to the bringing home the private trade in Indian built ships, and cited the speech of Mr Lebb, who had given his opinion upon that point, much in concurrence with that held by the court of directors, and that honourable proprietor, Sir Hugh, said, was an authority of no small weight, considering the many years he had sit at the board of trade in India, in a manner so honourable to himself and so beneficial to the interests of the Company. Sir Hugh also said, he was a little surpris'd at the arguments advanced that day by his honourable friend, the learned gentleman, and other proprietors, in censure of the conduct of the court of directors, recollecting the objections these gentlemen made to the vote of the 28th of May 1801, he owed he did not expect what had been said to-day would have come from that quarter.

Mr TWINING requested, in compliance with the indulgence usually shewn to the mover of any question, that he might be permitted to say a few words, and he assured the court, that at so late an hour, they should be but few. It appeared, he said, that the honourable proprietor (Mr Hemchman) who had taken such an active part upon the present occasion, was well acquainted with the proceedings of the court of directors, and equally well acquainted with every thing that had passed at the other end of the town. The opinion entertained by the honourable proprietor, in consequence of all this knowledge, was, that every thing which had been done by the court of directors was wrong, and that every thing which had been done by the board of control was right.

The directors had been particularly blamed by the honourable proprietor, for their conduct respecting the motion which Mr Twining made last year and, if their conduct had been improper, there was not, perhaps, any person who had a greater right to censure them than himself, who made that motion. For their conduct relative to it, they were, undoubtedly, accountable to the proprietors as they were for every part of their conduct. But so late were they, upon the present occasion, from delivering blame, that ever since the period in question, they had been anxiously endeavouring to give off a total spirit of that motion.

In drawing up the present motion Mr Twining said he had been extremely desirous of so framing it, that it might be approved by the proprietors in general. But, to his great surprise that part of it which he thought most secure from opposition, had been opposed the most. He meant that part of the motion which approved the conduct of the court of directors. Mr Twining observed, that from his age, and from the number of years he had attended general courts, he might be called an old proprietor, but never had he witnessed, upon any occasion, such conduct towards the directors as he had witnessed that day, nor, in his opinion, had there ever been an occasion on which such conduct was so little justifiable. It was well known, that gentlemen in the direction were not usually in the habit of thinking alike upon those subjects of importance which were offered to their consideration. But whatever differences of opinion might in general subsist, they had all, in the present instance, given way to a de-

a desire and a determination to support those interests and those rights of the Company, which were endangered by the plan of the private traders and their advocates.

Another honourable proprietor had told Mr. Twining of want of strength of some occasion which related to the present question. Mr. Twining said, if the proprietor had known how ill he was when he came into that court, how unfit he was to remain in it so many hours, and how ill he was even at that moment, the honourable proprietor, whatever other charges he might have brought against him, would not have accused him of a want of zeal.

Mr. LAW observed, that in reading over the papers lately published, it had occurred to him that the subject of this day's deliberation divided itself into two parts: that the first might be confined to the consideration of the abstract rights of the Company, and that the second would embrace the different plans of arrangement which offered for the trade of the private merchants, that the former question ought to be discussed and settled before they could proceed to the other point, inasmuch as it is necessary to know what they can properly call their own, before they could to any effect determine what might be conceded to others. In looking back to the several encroachments which had from time to time been made on the rights and property of the Company, since the establishment of the new system, he should date their commencement from the year 1784, when the court had given way against their own expressed opinion and the clear direction of an act of parliament, in the case of the creditors of the nabob of Arcot. They had

since been obliged to submit to several encroachments on their military establishment, and to a refusal of permission to recruit their army in various other instances. He lamented that any difference should arise with the present president of the board of commissioners, of whose honour and integrity he had the highest opinion, but yet it was absolutely expedient that the rights of the Company should be freed from doubts and invasion, at the same time he recommended, that this work should be proceeded on with a temper and moderation in the executive body equal to its firmness. He spoke against the novel claims of the private traders, as extremely dangerous, if not altogether incompatible with the existence of the Company. The industry and ability exhibited by the directors in their several reports he commended, and thanked them for, and notwithstanding the censure of the Chairman's letter of November last to the minister, by the gentlemen on the other side, and in various publications, at rest with his approbation. Though he should rather have wished for a resolution more defined in its object than that presented by Mr. Twining, yet as he came there to discharge his duty to the Company, and to support their rights and privileges, the motion, as it now stood, should have his decided support.

Those gentlemen present who had not held round stock a twelve-month, were desired to withdraw, and the court divided.

Yes (for the original motion) 134
Noes 8

Majority 126

The amendment was negatived, and the court then adjourned.

SUP.

SUPPLEMENT

70

THE STATE PAPERS.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

AFFAIRS OF THE CARNATIC

HOUSE OF LORDS.

DECEMBER 3, 1802

The EARL of MORRA called to the recollection of their lordships what he had stated towards the close of the last session relative to the transactions which had taken place respecting the nabob of Arcot, and the notice he had given of his intention to come forward early in the present session on that occasion. In pursuance of the latter he now rose, and though the events which had since taken place rendered the object for which he had principally intended to come forward unattainable, yet he thought a consideration of the subject might still prove of public utility. In this view, he then gave notice, that on Friday next he should bring forward a motion for the production of some papers relative to the subject, particularly a copy of the orders transmitted to India, by the court of directors, since 1797, relative to the succession to the musnud of the Carnatic. With respect to those noble lords who so worthily filled the highest official situation in India, and for whom he had great personal respect, he had observed, that he by no means considered them as respondents in the present question, in his opinion

they acted thereby as instruments. Alluding to the absence of some noble lords, who seemed to take an interest in the proposed discussion, the noble earl seemed to say, he did not think, in the present instance, to vers material and with respect to what he should have to advance on Friday, it was so much narrowed, so plain, and reducible into so small a compass, that he deemed it superfluous even to move to have the house summoned on the occasion. However, it was competent to any other noble lord that thought proper to move for that proceeding.

This not taking place, and no farther business being before the house, an adjournment, on the motion of lord Walsingham, took place till Friday.

DECEMBER 7

The EARL of MORRA, in pursuance of his notice on a former evening, now rose to bring forward his motion relative to the recent important transaction in the Carnatic. He repeated, that since he had originally given notice of his intention, circumstances had occurred in that quarter which precluded the attainment of the object originally in view. The opportunities of

of personal restitution were passed by—the unfortunate prince, who was principally to be affected by what he otherwise should have had to propose, was now beyond the reach of present calamity, and of all future anxiety—All care respecting him was at an end—

After life's ill full fever, he sleeps well
 Treason has done it worst, nor steel, nor
 poison,
 Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing
 Could touch him further!

Fate had so ordered it, that no claim with a view to relieve him from injury to his personal rights, could now be made a question of with any sort of advantage. He begged leave again to repeat what he had declared when he gave notice of his intention to make the motion with which he meant to conclude, that he had not the least intention to impute blame to the two noble lords who presided at Calcutta and Madras. He was aware that the transactions which had taken place in the Carnatic, and which had challenged the attention of all Europe, originated with the court of directors, and were part of a system determined upon, before either of the noble lords to whom he had just alluded went to India. They therefore had no share in the business to which he meant to call the attention of their lordships, although he had observed, in a recent dispatch from the Governor general to the secret committee of directors, that the Governor general congratulates the directors on the success of their enterprise in the Carnatic, meaning the affair of the deposition of the nominal heir of the late nabob, and the seating of another prince on the musnud. In order, however, to justify himself for presuming to bring the subject under their lord-

ships attention, he said it was necessary for him to remind them, that many years since it was felt that the interests of the East India Company were so intimately involved with those of this country, that parliament found it necessary to interfere and pass occasional bills of regulation on several important points that affected the concerns of the Company; but at length, in consequence of the great acquisition of territory, and the investment of sovereign power by the Company, parliament had discovered, that an adventitious and occasional interference of the legislature was not adequate to a due correction of the growing evils that arose in consequence of the extended authority of the East India Company. The evil most dangerous to the public, and likely to be productive of most important mischiefs, was universally agreed to be, the acquisition of territory, with a view to aggrandizement, and the gratification of false ambition. In order, therefore, to check and correct this evil, the board of control was instituted, with a view to restrain the court of directors from pursuing such an unwieldy object. Since the institution of that board, the instructions relative to the Carnatic, to which he had alluded, had been sent out, and therefore, however wise he might think the giving to that board the power of the directors, he did not wish to make the board of control sharers in the vices of the director. It became, on these considerations, the duty of their lordships, to have the papers that he meant to move for before them, in order to see whether the principal cause for instituting the board of control had not been, in the instance of the Carnatic, wholly departed from, and whether the

court

court of directors had not been permitted to achieve an acquisition of territory, contrary to the declared wish and intention of the legislature. His lordship took occasion to refer to the motion in cause of complaint against the French Republic, viz. that it was the practice of that power to invade and oppress all the free states about her. This had been a constant theme of reprobation in parliament, and now, in consequence of the conduct of the East India Company in respect to the Carnatic, the opprobrium was retorted upon us, and it was pleaded to the whole assembly, that we had suffered that to be done in India which we had been so loud in complaint about in Europe. Was it wise, he asked, in us to shake the public opinion to the necessity of equity of nation, and to take the lead in avowing that justice which was wisdom and humanity, calculated to shackle the hands of the powerful, and protect the weak from the encroachments of power and ambition? His lordship thereupon moved, "That there be laid before this house, copies of all the instructions sent out, on the part of the honourable the East India Company, from the 1st of January 1707, to the 1st of January 1800, from the court of directors, to the Governor or general, also to the governor of Madras, relative to the assumption of the government, &c. of the Carnatic."

Lord HOWART said, he would trouble their lordships only with a very few words. As the noble lord had prefaced his motion with a full explanation of his object, and a declaration that he meant not to impute any blame to the noble lords who presided in Calcutta and Madras, he saw no reason to object to it. He would

therefore merely say, that whenever the transactions of the Carnatic alluded to, should be fully investigated, he was persuaded that it would be found that the measure in question was founded in a due sense of policy, and an ample attention to the interests of the Company and the Country.

Lord GRENVILLE said, that, from the manner in which the noble lord had opened his motion, there appeared to him no necessity to object to it, he would therefore only declare his thorough conviction, that the noble lord who had just sat down was perfectly warranted in his opinion—that when the measures in question came to be properly understood, they would be found to have originated in what the noble lord rightly termed a due sense of policy, and a just regard to the national interests.

The question was put, and the documents ordered to be laid before the house accordingly.—After which they adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

DECEMBER 16, 1802

Mr. SHERIDAN rose in pursuance of a notice he had given yesterday, to move for certain papers relating to the affairs of the Carnatic. He did not intend to ask for any information beyond what would strictly apply to his object, and should leave the quantum of the discussion of persons in office. If he thought it before a matter for parliamentary investigation, he was not inclined to suppose it less pressing on the justice, dignity, and honour of the house from the unexpected and critical death of the person supposed to have been treated with injustice. The impossibility of now redressing him

did not take the matter altogether out of the reach of parliament, and he should therefore confine himself at present to the mere statement of his motion, which should be for an address to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to give orders that there be laid before the house, copies of all the correspondence since the 26th of March 1800, between the Governor general and the governor and council of Madras, relative to the deposition of the late nabob of Arcot, the minutes of the proceedings of council on the same, the instructions from the ministers at home respecting that event, a copy of the will of the late nabob's father, faithfully translated from the Persian records, the correspondence between the late nabob and the English government, &c. &c.

Mr WALLACE said, that as the correspondence was not very nu-

merous, he saw no great objection to the motion. Convinced that any inquiry into the affairs of the Carnatic would redound highly to the honour and credit of the noble marquis and the noble lord engaged in those transactions, he was willing to leave the matter to the justice, honour and wisdom of the house.

Sir T METCALFE expressed his conviction that it would reflect equal honour on the directors of the East India Company, who had no disposition to withhold any thing the house might think proper to call for.

Mr WALLACE explained, that he meant not to recommend any inquiry, and only alluded to what he thought would be the result, should the house determine that it should be instituted.

Mr Sheridan's motion was then put and agreed to.

CHARACTERS.

*Some Account of the LIFE and ADVENTURES of JELALEDDEIN, Sultan
of Khwarizm one of the most distinguished Characters in Asiatic
History, chiefly collected from D HERBELOT, LE CROIX, and
ABULGUZI KHAN*

JELALEDDEIN was the eldest son of Sultan Mahommed Shah, prince of Khwarizm. After the death of that monarch the young prince retired to the province of Garna, a property which had been assigned to him by his father. On his first setting out, he fell into an ambuscade, designed for him by the Tartars, but he extricated himself from this with great dexterity and valour, and arrived safely at Garna, where he was met by Seifeddin Arak, at the head of forty thousand horse, and by Jemin ul Mulk, prince of Herat, who likewise brought him a very considerable reinforcement.

Jelaleddin thus armed did not fear attacking the Moguls, who ever since the defeat of Mahommed his father, had constantly harassed him until his arrival at Gazna. He gave them battle six or seven times successively, and always was conqueror; but unhappily for him there arose dissensions amongst the general officers of his army. Jemin ul Mulk having struck Seifeddin with his whip, Seifeddin complained to the sultan, who was afraid to do him justice while he had such powerful enemies on his hands. Seifeddin, irritated by this refusal, left the army the same night, and went to the mountain of Sarak, where he encamped.

Jelaleddin's army being thus weakened by the desertion of this general, was no longer able to stand against the Tartars; he resolved to go to Hindustan, and had marched his army to the borders of the Indus, and was just going to pass that river, when he saw that the Moguls were pursuing him, and were very near up with him, for Gunghez Khan having heard of the retreat of the sultan, left the province of Tiberistan, where he was encamped with the chief part of his army, and came up with him, marching with great rapidity by way of Cabul.

The Moguls attended his troops, according to the account of an historian, above and below the river Indus, making an arc of his army, the river forming the cord of the arc; thus shutting up so completely the arms of the sultan, that he seemed to have cut off all hope of escape.

The sultan perceiving at break of day the immense number of troops who besieged him on all sides, did not, however, lose courage; but, on the contrary, his desperate situation seemed to have given him fresh vigour, he harassed the enemy on all sides, and performed such extraordinary feats of valour, that he surpassed all the heroes that had been seen since the days

days of Asfendiār and Rostam so much so, says Abulgazi, that if these two great heroes had lived in the time of this sultān, it might have been said with truth, that they would have glori-
ed in being enrolled in his stand-
ard

A Persian poet describing this ac-
tion, says of him "When his lance was raised, the bravest was obliged to lower theirs when the weight of his arm fell, there re-
mained an everlasting mark, he broke the helmets on the heads of the warriors, as another would break things the most fragile, he tore to pieces coats of mail, with the same facility with which another would tear the cloth which covers them

All this valour, however, could not have saved him from perishing, for he had, as may be said, as many soldiers to combat, as there were grains of sand on the shore of the Indus, and the could not could not even have lasted as long. It did, had not Genghiz Khan, who wished to take the sultān prisoner, ordered his soldiers not to touch his person. Jelaeddin was going to make one last effort with seventy men, who were all that remained of his army, and just as he was throwing himself into the thickest of the battle, he was stopped by Agā Mulk, his nephew, who taking hold of the bridle of his horse, repeated the following verses

*Do not engage yourself rashly
amongst those who slay, as you so
much outnumber*

*For you will be accused of folly,
like unto one who strikes the edge of
a razor with his fist*

At these words the sultān turn-
ed his horse, and, having gained an
eminence of difficult access, he took
leave of his children, and plunged

into the Indus, with the bravest of
his soldiers who would not abandon
him. He swam boldly across this
wide river, in the sight of Genghiz
Khan, and all his army, who shot
a number of arrows at him without
once wounding him. The Tartars
were going to follow him across the
water, but Genghiz Khan prevent-
ed them

When the sultān had passed the
great current of the river he was
obliged to go a considerable way
further to find a part of the shore
which he could ascend, the banks
of this river being almost every
where very high at last he landed
safely, and spread his clothes and
the trappings of his horse in the sun
to dry he then had time to observe
that the Tartars were pillaging his
camp and particularly the harem,
(which is the place where the women
are kept,) and that Genghiz Khan
was biting his fingers with vexation
that the sultān had escaped him

The conqueror, however, did
not the less admire the great courage
of the sultān, but turning to his
children he spoke these words "there
is a son worthy of his father's
happy who has such children!"
Ajāk, of him "one has never
seen a man of his stamp in
this world, and one has never yet
heard of one like him in past ages.
He was as invulnerable as a lion in
the field, and he was not less terrible
than a crocodile in the water

This memorable action of Jela-
eddin happened in the year of the
Hijrah 618, (A. D. 1221.) There
were but seven of his people saved
with him, all the rest were either
drowned or killed by the arrows of
the Tartars in that famous passage.
He, however, with only these seven
men began collecting troops together,
and at the end of two years made
head with a powerful army, with
which

which he invaded Hindustan, and subjugated the greatest part of the provinces of Lahore and Moultan. This fact is confirmed by Ferishta. When he heard that Genghiz Khan had repassed the Gihon with his Moguls, and that he had taken the road to Tartary, he repassed the Indus, and re-entered Persia the year of the Hejrah 621, by the southern provinces of Katzan, and of Makran.

As soon as he returned to Persia, all governors of the provinces of Fars and Persian Irac came to salute him, and do him fresh homage. The people received him with loud acclamations, and went all about singing the following verses —

*We see by this glimpse a certain
presage of happiness which returns
to our land, a new light which re-
solves to the world, plung'd in the
darkness of profound night, the
wonted splendour it had lost.*

Kemaleddin Imael, an excellent poet, composed a very fine ode, to celebrate Jelaleddin's return, the public joy, and his own in particular. The following verses appear to me most remarkable —

*All the earth is restored to its former
condition, the cities are rebuilt,
the plains are cultivated, as soon as
the pavilions of the sultana are
put up, and that even their shade
falls upon them.*

*It is this great Emperor Jelaleddin,
the glory and the support of the
state, and of religion, whom God
has chosen to govern the universe,
because he respects more the maxims
of the Koran, than those of the Cross,
and that he has not permitted the
found of the bells of the Christians
to echo in our mosques.*

*It is his arm which has fortified
that of the law, and has executed
what the divine decree had or-
dained concerning the destruction*

*of the Barbarians and of the In-
fidel.*

We may learn, says D'Herbelot, by these verses, that many of the Tartars were Christians, and that God had made use of them as a scourge to punish the pride of the Mahommedans, and revenge the injuries the christian religion had sustained, and thus appears still more by the miserable termination of the life of Jelaleddin.

The year of the Hejrah 620, the sulau delivered from the fear of the Tartars, undertook the conquest of Gurgistan or Georgia. The king of that country was well prepared to give him battle, and marched to meet him with an army greatly superior to his. Jelaleddin ascended an eminence, in order to reconnoitre the camp of the enemy, and perceived that the advanced guard were Khorasanians, the people of the open country which extends from the Indus to the northern shore of the Caspian sea.

These people had revolted during the reign of the sulau Mahommed, and were forgiven at the intercession of his son prince Jelaleddin. They had not forgotten this favour, and the sultana, wishing to profit by their gratitude in this conjuncture, sent them some bread and salt, to remind them of the alliance he had formed with them. This succeeded so well, that the Khorasanians abandoned of fighting against their benefactor, abandoned the Georgians, and went over to him.

It may be here remarked, that the ceremony of presenting bread and salt is common in the East, and is a testimony of friendship and hospitality. The Arabs have a custom peculiar to themselves, which is that of giving drink to those who have any suspicion of them, thereby to assure them of the sincerity of their friendship.

When

When the Khorosians came over to the sultaun, he sent an express to the Georgians, signifying that he did not wish to avail himself of the defeat of the Khorosians, and that he granted them a truce of a day, in order to negotiate a reconciliation. In this interval, some of the bravest in both camps appeared at the head of the troops, and defied each other to single combat.

The sultaun, wishing to strike off this military glory without being known, disguised his person as much as possible, and then taking the habit of a simple cavalier and going by another road, he arrived amongst the other chiefs belonging to his army, without being recognized. As soon as Jekaladdin appeared, a Georgian well mounted advanced towards him, but the sultaun, with the first stroke of his lance, threw him from his horse, and three more blows were sufficient to do the same thing to the three sons who succeeded their father in the combat.

After this, a man of unusual height, and of wonderful strength, presented himself, he might have been taken for a giant, and gave the sultaun repeated and severe blows, these he either sustained or parried with marvellous force and address, but his horse, which was extremely spirited, was very near tumbling with him.

This accident determined him to dismount, and he boldly waded on foot for the assault of his enemy, — at the same moment that the Georgian came on, meditating another blow, the sultaun hit him with his lance in the middle of the forehead, and threw him dead at his feet.

At the sight of this last action, the troops of both armies, who were silently looking on at the combat, gave loud shouts of wonder and ap-

plause, every one acknowledged, that this valiant champion had an *arm te l'asther*, that is to say, an arm able to overthrow an elephant; but the sultaun was not content with the empty prize given to his valour, he wished to avail himself of the person to which he had thrown the enemy's troops. He commanded his men to charge, and gained so complete and decisive a victory over them, that he became master of the whole country.

The sultaun having entered Teflis, the capital city of Georgia, heard that Borak, governor of the province of Kermi, who was formerly commander of his guard, had shewn symptoms of disobedience, he had been accustomed, during the war with the Tartars, to act independently, and the sultaun feared this disobedience would break out into open rebellion, he therefore resolved to set off immediately and take him by surprise, this he did, taking only three hundred horse, he arrived at Kerman in seventeen days, before Borak knew he had left Teflis.

This extraordinary diligence of the sultaun surprised Borak, as to unite him for making any defence, so that he was obliged, says our historian, to deliver his head up to his master, who chafed from it all those fumes of pride and presumption which had filled it. Kemaluddin Ismael, speaking of this expedition to the sultaun, said, "What other king but you, of all the kings in the world, ever led his horses at Teflis, and then gave them to drink of the waters which run into the Oman?"

"Why would Borak, who knew that your valour had carried you from Hindustan to Georgia, think you return from the north, to conquer him in the south?"

The

The year of the Hejrah 624, the army of the sultaun, and that of the Tartars, met near Isfahan, but retired without any engagement, as if by mutual consent. The Tartars retired to Khorosan, and Gait ed din, brother to the sultaun, took flight, abandoning his equipage, and the baggage of all the army. The inhabitants of Isfahan seeing this confusion run to pillage, but the Cazy Rochnoddin prevented them, promising them, at the same time, that if the sultaun did not appear in a very short time, which he named, he would leave them at liberty to do as they pleased. The sultaun arrived at the time named by the Cazy, having come with incredible dispatch, and thus saved his baggage.

The year of the Hejrah 627, Jelaeddin took Khalar, a town of Armenia, by surprise, but the sultauns, Mulk-al Ashrof, Allaeddin, and Kaikobad, attacked the sultaun, who came out of Khalar with forty thousand men, and gave

them battle. He was, however, unsuccessful. The two armies having kept their stations the whole night, the battle was renewed in the morning, but the sultaun lost the whole of his army, and was obliged to fly to Isfahan.

In 628, the sultaun hearing that Giarmagun, who had succeeded, in the year 624, to Genghis Khan his father, had passed the Gihon with a powerful army of Moguls, and was coming into Persia sent to the kalif, and to Mulk al-Ashrof and Kaikobad, for assistance, but all these princes refused to give him the least help. He therefore went into Mesopotamia, where he gave himself up to debauchery. There he was surprised by the Moguls, and obliged to fly, accompanied by only two or three of his servants. It is said in this slight he was despoiled and killed by a Kurd, who found him asleep.

Such are the principal particulars related of this celebrated hero.

An Account of the RANAH of GOHUD

GOHUD was about fifty years ago a small village in the pergunnah of Kiltouky, and chudlah of Gualior, which composes the southern division of the Agra soubaship. The ranah's ancestors were zemindars of this village and some others, but of no note, till within the last thirty or forty years they were Jauts of the Bumrowly tribe, and khan, now become a little more respectable, was only a nick name, which took its rise from one of the family who had the misfortune to be blind of one eye, which is signified in the Hindu language by the word *kaunnah*: there are two

accounts of the fixing this appellation, both which are equally ridiculous, but serve as proofs that the title of ranah is not an ancient honour in the Gohud family.

One of the ranah's ancestors, blind of one eye, had the fidelity and courage to rescue his master a principal rajah, from the claws of a lion, which attacked him when hunting, the ranah, among other praises for such a service, observed, that though a kaunnah, he was worthy to be ranah.

The other account is, that the kaunnah was ploughing his field when one of the emperors, then

resident at Gualior, on a hunting party, in the heat of the chase out-rode his attendants, and left them behind at a considerable distance, the game taking away across the kaurnah's ground, the emperor followed, but was stopped by him, and abused by him for injuring his property. The emperor, amused at the novelty of such behaviour, stopped to talk with him, but the rough Jaut continued his abuse, till the prince's attendants came into sight, whereon they were disrespectful for which they would have punished him, but were ordered to desist by the emperor, who praised him for his boldness in defending his property, observing that though a kaurah he was worthy to be a ranah—such are the accounts of the origin of this title, in the reign of the Gohud zemindars.

Beem Sing, paternal uncle to the present ranah, for some crime against the state, was deprived of his land by the imperial aumil, the rajah of Bindwar, into which he entered, with his followers, into the service of Bajerow, the Mahratta, and behaved so gallantly as to attract the notice of that chief, who employed him, as best acquainted with the country, in plundering the frontiers of his old enemy, the rajah of Bindwar.

On this service he gave so much satisfaction to the Bajerow, that, as a reward, he restored him to his zemindary, to which he also added some villages. Beem Sing's first care was to strengthen the Gohads, and he accordingly fortified it as it now stands. For some years he continued a faithful vassal to the Mahrattas, but his acquisition of the fort of Gualior, in opposition to their attempts to gain it, lost him their friendship, and

occasioned an enmity, which still subsists between them and his successors.

In the reign of Ahmed Shah, when the weakness of the empire became universal, and each chief assumed independence, the lands round the fort of Gualior, from the revenues of which the garrison was supported, were seized upon by the Mahrattas, and distributed among zemindars. The kullidar Fulkar Ali Khan, distressed for money to pay his troop, and receiving no assistance from the court, notwithstanding his frequently repeated demands, found it vain to stir the Leind walls with him in the end he must be obliged to quit. The Mahrattas offered him a large sum, and an ample jaghire, to give up the fort, but these he refused, from a small remaining principle of loyalty.

He thought, if the Mahrattas got possession, that they had power to keep it against any army the emperor might send to retake it, but that if he surrendered it to the Gohud zemindar, and the empire should, at a future period, be somewhat settled, he might at any time be forced to restore it by the royal force.

This idea, with an offer from Beem Sing to settle a firm in perpetuity upon his family, occasioned his giving up Gualior to him, in preference to the Mahrattas, who, enraged at this important fortress being snatched from their hands by a creature of their own raising, vowed severe vengeance against him. Buttul Row led an army against it, and the Ranah Beem Sing was slain in a sally which he made upon the enemy's camp. Biljoo Sing, his brother, and father to the present ranah, succeeded to the zemindary, and fixed his

his residence at Gualior, but imprudently left his family at Gohud, which occasioned the loss of this important fortress.

The Mahrattas, finding they could effect nothing against Gualior, thought the surest way of obtaining it, still to be to besiege Gohud, and it was accordingly surrounded by a large army, but defended with great gallantry, for six months, at the end of which period several practicable breaches being made, the Mahrattas sent a message to Biljoo Sing, that if he did not immediately surrender Gualior, Gohud should be stormed, and all the inhabitants put to the sword, not excepting *brute* and *family*, with these threats, and also sent an offer of peace, and a promise, if Gualior was given up, to protect him in his zemindary to which should be added one hundred villages. Biljoo Sing, alarmed for his family, accepted the terms, evacuated Gualior, of which the Mahrattas took possession, but religiously performed the promise they had made. Ranah Biljoo Sing remained in quiet possession of Gohud, and its dependencies, and dying about four years after the loss of Gualior, was succeeded by his eldest son, Potal Sing, who lived only one year afterwards, and was succeeded by his brother, Chutter Sing, now on the stage.

The decisive action of Panniput having to much weakened the Mahrattas, as to prevent their supplying their possession, on this side of India, properly with troops, many of the tributaries shook off their allegiance, and among these the ranah Chutter Sing was the most forward and successful: he drove their *tannas* from places in the Nurwar and Bhind territories, great

part of which he seized from those rajahs, and affixed to his own. The Mahrattas sent various chiefs against him, some of whom he defeated, bribed others to quit the country without coming to action, and, in short, he became so formidable that the Poonah ministry judged it advisable to send against him a large army, which might at once crush the power he had assumed, and settle the other part of their dominions.

Rogonaut Row, in 1766, entered his court with an army of eighty thousand horse, and the ranah, unable to appear in the field, took shelter in Gohud, which was surrounded soon after by this vast army. The ranah made a very gallant defence for near seven months, but all the provisions in the place being exhausted at the end of that period, he was on the point of begging to capitulate, when, contrary to expectation, Rogonaut Row himself offered, for a sum of three lacks of rupees, to raise the siege, and leave him unmolested in his zemindary. The cause of this extraordinary clemency was intelligence the chief had received from Poonah, that his enemies had usurped his authority at that place, and were plotting his destruction, so that he thought it necessary to return immediately to the Deccan with his army.

The ranah received this gracious and unhop'd for offer with joy, paid the money, and visited Rogonaut Row, who received him graciously, exchanged turbans with him, (a mark of friendship,) and adopted him as his son, after which he marched from Gohud, and proceeded to the Deccan. Chutter Sing, released from his long blockade, and elated with the credit he had acquired by resisting

so principal a chief as Rogonaut Row, with so capital an army, immediately on the enemy's quitting the country, put himself at the head of his troops, and laid siege to several of the smaller forts in which tannas guard had been left, those soon fell into his hands, the enemy being so much alarmed at the sudden retreat of their chief, that they made but very little resistance.

In 1771, when the emperor marched from Allahabad to Delhi, Chutter Sing sent his majesty a buzzer of a lack of rupees and it is said obtained the royal sanction from his conquest, and an al tumgah, or free gift, of his zemindary soon after, by the interposition of Nujeeff Khan he was honoured with patents of nobility, and the title of Mirza Ryah Kanah, Serree Sewa, Loke Inder Chutter Sing, bahader, Dillier Jung. Nujeeff Khan was at this time planning his design to root out the Jauts, and wished for the present to make the ranah his friend, in hopes that he would assist his ambitious views.

On the other hand, the Jauts endeavoured to gain him over, and represented that his ruin must follow theirs. Chutter Sing promised Nujeeff Khan to stand neuter, but privately assisted the Jauts with troops. Nujeeff Khan however became the ranah's secret enemy, but his hands were too full for him to find leisure to act against him.

In 1773, luckily for the ranah, the vizier drove the Mahrattas from the chucklah of Fttawa, and all their possessions north of the Jumnah. his success led him to entertain the idea of pushing his conquests as far as the Nurbuddah, in prosecuting which, he thought the ranah might be serviceable. he

invited him to an interview at Fttawa, where he distinguished him by much favour and additional honours, among which was permission to use the fish in his colours, and to ride in the fringed palankeen. In short, Surah ul Dowlah omitted nothing to bind him to his interest, and concluded to adopt him for his son, gave him muskets for two battalions of sepoy, and promised to secure him in his possessions.

In return for all these favours, the ranah gave the nabob a buzzer of one lack and twenty thousand rupees, also a permit to fight him with his whole force, in extending his conquests beyond the Nurbuddah. a plan of operations being decided, they parted mutually pleased with each other, and Surah ul Dowlah soon after sent Nour Khan to attack the Mahrattas on the south of the Jumna, and the ranah was desired to act in concert, but he only sent a small party of his troops, under pretence that his own territories were in danger. Nour Khan had no military abilities, and though at first he seized many places, yet he was defeated by the first troops sent against him. he patched up a disgraceful peace, and retreated in confusion across the Jumna.

This happened in June 1774, and, in the following year, Surah ul Dowlah died, which put an end to further projects. the intruders of the Ghosains being more on their own accounts than their masters, From this period, the ranah, engaged in war with the Mahrattas, must soon have fallen, had no Col Leslie's detachment drawn off his enemies, to attend to his manoeuvres. He thought this a fit period to attempt the recovery of Gualior, and accordingly marched from Gohud with his

CHARACTERS

his army, and encamped about a coss from the place, which he endeavoured to cut off from receiving supplies, but the kelladar, a gallant young man, made repeated sallies on his camp, in which he was generally very successful, so that during five months the rana was able to effect nothing: he did indeed one night surprisè the town, but was obliged to retreat a few hours after he had entered it. Prior to this siege he had concluded a treaty with Nujeph Khan, who agreed, for an annual subsidy of six lacs of rupees, to put him in possession of Gadhur, but on a sent five hundred horse to his assistance, and they, after two months, not receiving the stipulated pay, quitted his camp and returned to Agra.

During this period the rana's brother, Mirjood Sing, carried on a conspiracy against him, but the rana, having timely intelligence, returned suddenly to Gohud, and, by confining the heads of the conspiracy, and imprisoning his brother put an end to the plot. At the end of five months the rana patched up a treaty with the Mahrattas, and quitted his design against Gadhur: and this was the last effort he was able to make against his enemies.

In the latter end of 1778, an army of Mahrattas, consisting of about twelve thousand horse and two thousand nuggars, or fakiers, under the chiefs Hindoo, and Row Appa, souldiers of Bishah, Ambajee, and Kumbut Row,

marched against him, the rana, whose troops, from being long in arrears, were grown numerous and disciplined, sensible of his inability to cope with the enemy viewed with horror his approaching ruin, but his good fortune once more assisted him, in pointing out a path, by following which his affairs were retrieved, and acquired a splendour unknown to him before.

Meer Muzir Ali, a servant of the rana, by his correspondence at Calcutta, obtained intelligence of the government's wish to unite the forces of the different rajas with those of the English against the Mahrattas in the present war: he made known this information to his master, advised him to ask an alliance with the English and offered himself to go as ambassador and negotiate a treaty at Calcutta: the rana gave him the necessary credentials, as his envoy, with power to conclude a treaty on the best terms he could obtain from government.

Meer Muzir Ali, on his arrival at Calcutta, found the disposition of Mr Hastings favourable to his hope, and he lost no time in forwarding the business: he magnified the perils and losses of the rana, representing the long war he had supported against the Mahrattas in the most favourable light, for his conduct and courage, and exaggerated on his influence with the rana of Odipore, the raja of Jolepnoor, Jessoor and all the princes whom Mr Hastings wished to unite in carrying on the war.

A CHARACTER of the SIEKS From the Observations of Colonel POLIER and Mr FORSTER

THE SIEKS are in general strong and well made, accustomed from their infancy to the most laborious

life, and hardest fare, they make marches and undergo fatigues that really appear astonishing. In their

excursions they carry no tents or baggage, except perhaps a small tent for the principal officer: the rest shelter themselves under blankets, which serve them also in the cold weather to wrap themselves in, and which, on a march, cover their saddles. They have commonly two, some of them three horses each, of the middle size, strong, active, and mild tempered. The provinces of Lahore and Multan, noted for a breed of excellent horse in Hindustan, afford them an ample supply, and indeed they take the greatest care to increase it by all means in their power. Though they make merry on the demise of any of their brethren, they not on for the death of a horse: thus shewing their love of an animal so necessary to them in their professional capacity. The food of the Sicks is of the coarsest kind, and such as the poor depend on Hindustan use from necessity. Bread baked in ashes, and soaked in a mush made of distilled corn of pulse, is the best diet, and such as they never indulge in but when on full leisure: otherwise vegetables, and rarely pastry, is all they can for. They abstain from tobacco, for what reason I do not discover, but in intoxicate themselves freely with spirits of their own country manufacture. At the close of the last they never fail taking after a fatigue it might. Their dress is extremely scanty, a pair of long blue drawers, and a kind of chequered plaid a part of which is fastened round the waist, and the other thrown over the shoulder, with a muslin turban, form the clothing and equipage. The chiefs are distinguished by wearing some half gold bracelets on their wrist, and sometimes a chain of the same metal bound round their turbans, and by being mounted on

better horses otherwise, no distinction appears amongst them. The chiefs are numerous, some of whom have the command of ten or twelve thousand cavalry, but this power is confined to a small number, the inferior officers maintaining from one to two thousand, and many not more than twenty or thirty horses, a certain quota of which is furnished by the chief, the greater part leaving the individual property of the owner.

From the spirit of independence so invariably fatal amongst them, the Sucka, the Kun, and rapacious roving to prey, the Sicks at this day are divided into two co-operating nations, connected but actuated by the influence of an undivided and not of private distrust, they pursue but few only as considered their motives. An example of their forces being engaged in opposite interests, has been noticed in the case of Wajah Sing, who succeeded the rajah of Junag in the Suck party who had invaded his country. Before the chief of the mountaineers country, or the head of the Pariah, were reduced to a tributary state, several expeditions were committed on the Sucka, who plundered and destroyed their habitations, carried off the cattle, and, if strong and well formed, the male children, who were made converts to the faith of Nimrod. But since the payment of tribute has been imposed, which does not amount to more than three per cent. on the revenue, the mountaineers are little molested, except when the Sicks have been called in to adjust their domestic quarrels.

The extensive and fertile territories of the Sicks, and their attachment and application, in the midst of warfare, to the occupations of

of agriculture, must evidently produce a large revenue. The districts dependant on Lahore, in the reign of Aurungzebe, produced, according to Mr Bernier, a revenue of two hundred forty-six lacks and ninety five thousand rupees, and we are naturally led to suppose, from the industrious skill of the Sikhs in the various branches of cultivation, that no great decrease of that amount can have taken place since the Panjab has fallen in to their possession.

An extensive and valuable commerce is also maintained in their country, which has been extended to distant quarters of India, particularly to the provinces of Bengal and Lahor, where many Sikh merchants of opulence at this time reside. The Omichund, who took so active, though unfortunate, a share in the revolution which the English effected in Bengal, was a Sikh, as is his adopted son, who is now an inhabitant of Calcutta. Merchants of every nation or sect, who may introduce a traffick into their territories, or are established under their government, experience a full protection, and enjoy commercial privileges in common with their own subjects. At the same time it must be noticed, that such immunities are granted only to those who remain amongst them, or import wares for the immediate supply of the Sikh markets. But the foreign trader, or even travellers, who attempt to pass through the Panjab, are often plundered and usually ill-treated. In the event of no molestation being offered to people of this description, the escape is ever spoken of with a degree of joyful surprise, and a thanksgiving is offered to Providence for the singular escape. This conduct, inimical to the progress of civilization, and an

impediment to the influx of wealth, proceeds from an extreme jealousy of strangers, added to a rapacity of temper, which make them averse to the encouragement of any scheme in whose success they do not immediately participate.

The Sikhs are not rigorous in their stipulations with the Mahomedan profelytes, who, if they abstain from beef & flesh, (which is held in equal abhorrence by the Sikhs as by the Hindus,) and perform the more ostensible duties, as burning their dead, and preserving the hair of the head, an indulgent latitude is granted in all the other articles of the creed of Nanock. The Mahomedans who reside in the Panjab are subject to occasional oppression, and often to the insult of the lower classes of the people, among whom it is not an uncommon practice to defile the places of worship, by throwing in the carcasses of hogs and other things held impure by the Mussulman law. The Mahomedans are also prohibited from announcing their stated time of prayer, which, conformably to their usage, is proclaimed in a loud tone of voice. A Sikh who in the case shall have slain a wild hog, is frequently known to compel the first Mahomedan he meets to carry to his home the body of the animal dead, on being initiated into the rites of their religion, the Sikhs will sometimes require a Mahomedan convert to bind on his arm the tail of a boar, that by this act of national impurity he may the more avowedly testify a renunciation and contempt of his former faith. These facts will sufficiently mark the haughty and insulting demeanor, which, with few deviations, forms a prominent feature in the character of the military Sikhs. but we may also ascribe a certain

certain portion of their severe and contumelious treatment of the Mahomedans, to a remembrance of recent injuries.

The disordered interests which agitate the Siak nation, and the constitutional genius of the people, must incapacitate them, during the existence of these causes, from becoming a formidable, offensive power: nor are they assisted with that species of executive strength which is necessary to advance and establish a distant conquest. In the defence and recovery of their country, the Siaks displayed a courage of the most obstinate kind, and manifested a perseverance, under the pressure of calamities, which bears an ample testimony of native resources when the common danger laid out

ed them to action, and gave but one impulse to their spirit. Should any future conflict forth the combined efforts of the Siaks to maintain the existence of empire and religion, we may see some ambitious chief, led on by his genius and success, and, absorbing the power of his associates, display from the ruins of their commonwealth the standard of monarchy. The page of history is filled with like effects, springing from the like causes. Under such a system of government I have little hesitation in saying, that the Siaks could be soon advanced to the first rank amongst the native princes of Hindustan, and would become a terror to the surrounding states.

An Account of the JAITS

From the Chumbul, about twenty coss south of Agra, east to the Jumna, west to the J. poor, a ship, and northward to the D. his boundary, being about eighty coss in length, and from twenty to twenty-five in breadth, lie the territories of Nagpoh Khan, lately wrested by him from the Jaits, from whom these countries are called the Birge and Jaitwarre.

The Jaits were of no note, as a people, until the reign of the emperor Ferrokseer, but placed governors of small zemindaries. During the reign of the emperor Aurungzebe, Churamau, a Jait of the Sewanee tribe, put himself at the head of a body of banditti, and plundered such travellers as passed near his zemindary, having by this means acquired money, and being generous to his followers, able fellows of no principle stocked

to be enlisted among them, so that he became a terror to the country round which, from the emperor's absence in the Deccan, was but rather lightly guarded, wherever he wished pushed by the troops of the empire, he took refuge in the Necwar hills, flying from place to place, till the patience of his pursuers was tired out, or they were called away by other duty.

In Aurungzebe's last march towards the Deccan, Churimona had the audacity to plunder the baggage following the imperial army, by which he acquired much wealth, with part he bribed the subahdar of Agra to connive at, and with the rest built the fortress of Bhirt-pore, as an asylum for his family.

On the death of Aurungzebe, in the disputes which happened concerning the succession, Churamau, with his followers, hung on the rear

rears of the contending armies, plundering from both. At length the nabob Joool Fucear al Dowlah, prime minister to the emperor Jehander 'nah' entrusted him in his service, and he behaved with great gallantry in the engagements between that prince and his rival, Ferrokjee, who, however, proving victorious, Churama lost his court-patron, but retired with much plunder to Burrporee round which, to a considerable distance, he had established his authority, which he enjoyed until led to his death, the cabals of the omrahs at court forbidding no time to retrieve the internal economy of the empire, which was now beginning to totter on its base.

Churama was succeeded by his son, Mahommed Sing, who first added to his possession, but was in the end obliged to become tributary to Jey Sing, the founder of the city of Jesspore. Mohur Sing was succeeded by his brother, Bodun Sing, who first assumed the title of Rajah, and during the growing instability of Mahommed Shah's reign, spread his ravages to the very walls of Agra. He secured his country from the tribute imposed by the Jesspore rajah, and left to his son and successor, Sooraje Mull, a very rich, extensive and flourishing country.

Sooraje Mull modelled his government into a proper form, and procured titles from the weak emperor Mahommed Shah, who now became a mere pageant, was forced to accept of the nominal submission of those rebels, who were praying on the very vitals of his authority, and only courted honours from him as a grace to their plunders. Now he became an omrah of consequence, from the territories he possessed to near the capital, Sooraje Mull was

much caressed by the various parties formed in it. He embraced that of Sudder Jung, the vizier, and joined him in his rebellion against Ahmed Shih, who had degraded him from the vizierat, for assassinating his favourite, the nabob's favourite.

Sudder Jung being defeated in his treachery, by the spirited conduct of the great, but wicked, Ghaze ud Deen, and the gallant Rehullah, Nuzer ul Dowlah, retired to his own government at Oude, leaving his friends to make peace for themselves. Sooraje Mull, unable to keep the field, fled to his new fortress of Combeere and Akebu Mahommed, the tutor and adviser of the young ghaze, ravaged his country with a powerful army, took Bileengur, a strong fort, and at length set down before Combeere, against which he was not able to effect anything.

Ghaze ud Deen, upon this took the field himself, and brought with him an additional army of fifty thousand Mahrattas, under the command of Mathar Kow and Rogonut Row, whom he had taken into pay. Combeere was reduced to the greatest extremities, when the omrahs at Delhi, envious of the reputation of Ghaze ud Deen, and countenanced by the emperor, in whose cause he was engaged, conspired against him. Hearing of this, he broke up the siege, and hastened to Delhi with his whole army, which destroyed the plot intended against him.

Sooraje Mull now soon recovered what country had been taken, and, except the city of Agra, the fort of Gualior, and a few other places, seized most of the districts of the subahdary. In Ahmed Shah Abdallee's second invasion of Hindustan, his possessions were again over-run, but the numerous for-
he

he had constructed preserved his power, and admitted only of predatory incursions from the Duranne army, whose only aim was present plunder.

Soon after this, a vast army of Mahrattas, after plundering Mitha, Enderbun, and Bind, invaded Delhi subahship, and it was thought had intentions of entirely subverting the Mogul empire, and placing on the throne Bimas Row of the Boulla family, whom they had brought from Bittarah for that purpose.

Sooraje Mull joined the Mahrattas chiefs, and was treated by them with great distinction. But on Ahmed Abdallie's marching against them and their fortifying themselves at Paniput, he judged it more politic to take part with the Mahrattas, who, forgetting all the animosity, had flock'd in crowds to Abdallie's standard, in order to oppose the common enemy. Sooraje Mull left the Mahratta camp, under pretence of going to secure them supplies of grain from his country, but no soon had he gotten out of reach, than he wrote a petition to the emperor Abdallie, expressing sorrow for his past error, and requesting leave to wash out the stains of his offences in the blood of the Mahrattas, under his standard.

Ahmed Abdallie complied with the request, and Sooraje Mull joined the allied army, which soon after defeated the Mahrattas effectually, that few of them escaped from the field of battle, and, decisive victory blow, that for the succeeding ten years, the Mahrattas brought no army into the province of Agra, or Delhi, with a view of subverting it themselves.

Sooraje Mull was rewarded by Abdallie with a grant of the city

and subahdary of Agra forced from the impatient Allumgeer Sans, who had been raised to the nominal possession of the throne by Ghaze ud Deen, when he deposed Ahmed Shah. On the Shah Abdallie's departure from Hindustan, Sooraje Mull raised a very considerable army, with a view to possess himself of Delhi, and depose the army of Sujah ul Dowlah, who then acted as a plain-general to the ruined empire, being too confident of success, and despising his competitor, he forgot his usual political caution, which occasioned his ruin, having quitted his camp on a hunting party, with only three hundred attendants, he was attacked by nearly the same number in the course of his diversion, under Atzul Khan, detached for the purpose by Nujeeb ul Dowlah. Sooraje Mull was slain in the skirmish, and upon his death his army dispersed.

Histon, Jowaher Sing, succeeded him in the rage, and, soon after accession, he, with Ghaze ud Deen and Mulhar Row, the Mahrattas, led an army against Delhi to revenge the death of his father. This city was reduced to the greatest extremity, when Nujeeb ul Dowlah, by bringing Mather Row, prevailed upon him to draw off his troops, after which Jowaher Sing thought proper to enter into a treaty.

Nujeeb ul Dowlah evacuated Delhi, and retired unmolested to his own jaghirs, upon which Ghaze ud Deen Khan again took possession of the city and charge of the affairs of the shahow of a monarch, whom he shortly after assassinated for treating privately with the Duranne Shah.

Jowaher Sing next led his army against the territories of Jeypoor, the rajah of which, named Rortee Rajah, sent against him one of his chiefs,

chiefs, with an inferior force, but of chosen men Jowahier Sing received a total defeat, and would have been taken prisoner but for the gallant behaviour of Sumroo. The deserter and his troops, who on this occasion shewed a valour becoming a much better cause, the Jeypooore Rajah looking only to the safety of his own territories, did not follow his victory, so that Jowahier Sing only suffered the disgrace of a defeat, without losing any part of his country, he was soon after assassinated by a Mogul to whom he had offered some injury.

Jowahier Sing was succeeded by his brother, Rattan Sing, who did not rule long, being stabbed by a fakier, whom he had taken into his service, to learn him the secret of the philosopher's stone. The murder was committed in a lone room, into which no one was ever admitted but the rajah and his tutor, so that the assassin escaped unhurt, and the fact was not discovered until some hours afterward.

Kisfree Sing, his son, an infant of one year, was placed upon the musnud by the friends of his father, but the other chiefs disliking minority, acknowledged the authority of Nawil Sing, third son of Sooraje Mull, who, however, took only

the title of regent for his nephew.

Najeeph Khan had by this time made some progress in the invasion of the country, and Nawil Sing, though a very able prince, distracted as it was by intestine division, was unable to stem the torrent of ill fortune. After suffering several defeats in the field, he took shelter in the fort of Deeg, where he died of a dropsy, brought on by grief, while Najeeph Khan was besieging it in the year 1773 of our era.

Ranjeet Sing, his brother, was raised to the raj, but Daan Shah, a disaffected chief of great power, usurping his authority, he quitted Deeg, and retired with his followers to Combeere. The government being thus divided, Najeeph Khan soon conquered the country, drove Daan Shah from Deeg, and then marched to Combeere after the capture of which place, the Jaut raj was entirely subverted, and the rajah Ranjeet Sing reduced to the possession of Bhurtpoor, and a small district round it, of about 1000 square annas.

Combeere was also given up, with a trifling territory, by Najeeph Khan, to the widow of Jowahier Sing. The only Jaut chief now independent is the Rajah Ranah Chutter Sing, our ally.

CHARACTER of the MALAYS in General By H. H. LYMORE, Esq.

[This Account of the Malays merits Attention, as it is written by a gentleman who had a constant intercourse with them for upwards of sixteen years.]

As the Malays have the character of a treacherous set of men, I would advise all people to be on their guard while in any of their ports, and when on shore never to be without a hanger in their hand. Every one of them go armed with a *craye*,

(hanger), or a weapon something like a chopper, and very sharp. When you are prepared, they will not be so apt to insult you, which the vulgar are ready enough to do.

It is in the power of any man

to kill his own slave with impunity, and they are such a dastardly set, that they have not courage to resent an affront personally, but will dress their slaves, and give them orders to kill any man they pitch upon, who, after being intoxicated with opium, is insensible of any danger he runs into, being equally, at the risk of his life, to return without executing his master's orders, or to be cut to pieces in the attempt.

Rice, fish, and fruit, are the common food of these people, who eat very little flesh or animal food. They drink water toddy, (a distillation from the palm tree,) and coffee, and they chew beetle constantly. They eat but twice a day, one in the morning, and the other about sun set, the latter of which is the principal. In the intermediate space, they refresh themselves by chewing beetle, or smoking tobacco mixed with opium. They sit cross-legged on the floor at their meals, and the better sort have very low tables for their provisions, which are set on them in Chinese plates, or dishes made of wood highly japanned, but they use neither knives or spoons. They have vessels for the purpose of spitting in when they chew beetle, or smoke tobacco, and are particular in keeping their persons and the inside of their houses clean. They have but little furniture except the necessary utensils for cooking their provisions, and carpets to sleep and sit upon, but they are very ostentatious of displaying a great number of pillows, the ends of which are richly embroidered, and the whole covered with the richest silks. These people are so little addicted to litigious disputes, that they have neither lawyer, attorney, nor bailiffs. If any disputes or differences arise, the parties apply personally to the judge,

(or *carrangue*), who determines the matter with expedition and equity.

In some matters, particularly of a criminal nature, they are permitted to do justice to themselves. If a man detects another in the commission of adultery, murder, or robbery, he has a right to execute justice himself, by destroying the culprit with the weapon in these cases is invariably the crease or dagger.

The Malays are all strict Mahomedans, which religion they are particularly tenacious of infringing. Many of them are great pretenders to magic, and carry charms about them, on a supposition of their securing them from every danger.

The common people have no other covering than a small piece of linen fastened round the waist, but the better sort wear a kind of waistcoat, made of silk or broad-cloth, over which they throw a loose garment of silk that reaches to the knees, they also wear a pair of drawers, but wear neither shirt, shoes, or stockings, and when they go abroad, they always wear a crease or dagger, and a handkerchief tied in a peculiar way round the head.

The *salaam*, or lifting the hands to the head with the palms joined together, until the thumbs touch the forehead, and bending the body, is their mode of salutation. When they appear before their superiors, they raise their hands above the forehead, and if before a prince, they prostrate themselves on the ground, with the forehead resting on their hands, which are still joined, and retire backwards on their knees.

The natives pay great homage to their princes and rajahs, and it is difficult for a stranger to get access to them: the readiest means to effect

fect this is, by complimenting them with some valuable present, and the stranger will be treated with respect according to the present he makes, avarice being their ruling passion. The return is generally made in fruit, and a few towels, but if the stranger, at the time of making the present, is a great distance from his ship, or living on shore near the palace, for the convenience of trade, he is sent for rice, pillow, and fish from the prince's table.

It is an universal custom, both

with men and women, to bathe in a river, at least once a day, this makes them all expert swimmers, which not only promotes health, but prevents that contraction of flesh which would be otherwise unavoidable in a hot climate.

They are so proud and revengeful, and so indolent, that they will neither endeavour to improve themselves in arts, sciences, or husbandry, but suffer their manufactures to be neglected, and their lands to lie without cultivation.

CHARACTER of the INHABITANTS of the MALDIVY ISLANDS By a Gentleman who has visited those Islands

THE Maldivy islands are supposed to have been peopled from the island of Ceylon, though I do not find that the Maldivians resemble the Cingalese for they are black, and not so well shaped as the Maldivians, who are of an olive colour. Though the manners of the Maldivians be rude, they are nevertheless an ingenious people, sagacious and expert in many manufactures, and skilled in astrology, which science they probably acquired by the intercourse which has immemorially subsisted between them and the natives of Hindostan. They are discreet and prudent, clever in trade, and discerning in the affairs of life. They are brave and resolute, dexterous at their weapons, and orderly in their manners.

Their women are beautiful, though of an olive colour, some, however, are as white as Europeans. Their hair is black, which they admire, and they keep their children shaved from the eighth day of their birth, till they are nine or

ten years old, leaving a small edge of hair on the foreheads of the girls to distinguish them from the boys; they suppose that this makes the hair grow blacker. Indeed they consider their hair as their greatest ornament, and take great pains to make it grow thick and black, when it is not naturally thick, they add false to it, and to make it blacker, wash it with a sort of lye twice or thrice a week, they then rub it with a very sweet oil, and afterwards fasten it all back with a sort of hoop, resembling in shape a tailor's thimble, this hoop is either of gold or silver, and those that can afford it have it in jewels. When the hair is thus bound back, to finish the head dress, they twine round it sweet smelling flowers. All this is done with great exactness, though without a comb, for they have none.

Both men and women wash their bodies every day, and afterwards rub themselves with the same oil used for the hair.

The men are not allowed to

wear their hair long—this is a privilege granted only to gentlemen, the king's servants, and soldiers, who wear it as long as the women, and take equal pains in perfuming and dressing it, with this difference only, that the men bind their hair on one side, or on the top of the head, and not behind the head like the women. They shave themselves, for they have no barbers by profession—use, I suppose, renders their skins hard, for they wet their faces with cold water, and then shave with razors which have very little edge, nor do they set any value on our sharp razors—they shave their beards close, but the churchmen and those who have been at the pilgrimage of Mecca and Medina Talnaby, wear long beards, shaving just round their lips, that what they eat or drink may not touch the hair—of this they have so great a horror, that I have seen them throw away a dish they were eating, on finding a hair in it.

They carefully preserve the parings of their nails, and clippings of their hair, and bury them in their church-yards.

The men go naked from the waist upwards, letting the hair grow on some parts of their bodies, and shaving others. The women are clothed from the age of nine or ten, till then, they wear no garment, nothing but a coarse calico cloth, reaching from their waist below the knees, this they wear from the time they begin to walk. The boys wear the same sort of cloth from the age of

seven, after they have been circumcised.

The Maldivy islands lie in length from eight degrees of north latitude to four south, being about 200 leagues in length and 15 from Cape Comorin—these islands are divided into 17 clusters of islands, called Atollons—these clusters are most of them round, some oval, they are about 90 leagues in circumference, lying in a row from N. W. to S. E. separated from each other by narrow channels, not navigable by ships of burden. Each of these clusters of islands is surrounded by rocks, which form a wall all around, and admirably defend them from the sea, which, when it runs high, rises with great fury against these rocks.

There is a great intercourse carried on amongst these clusters of islands, not only because each of them affords something peculiar to itself, but likewise from the custom they have that each different trade is confined to a distinct cluster of islands—as the weavers in one, the goldsmiths in another, the locksmiths, mat makers, potters, turners, joiners, each of which live on the several clusters of islands. These different traders go from island to island in boats with a small deck, they are some times a year absent from their own island, they seldom land, but live entirely in their boats, carrying with them their male children from four or five years of age, to accustom them to this sea life, and to teach them their trade, and the management of their boats.

An Account of Various HABITS and CUSTOMS of the JAPANESE PEOPLE. By Dr THUNBERG

In the multiplicity of the articles of food, Japan may, perhaps, be said to surpass most other countries hitherto known to us. The Japanese not only make use of such things for food and aliment, which are in themselves wholesome and nutritive, but take in almost the whole of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, not excepting the most poisonous, which, by their mode of dressing and preparing them, may be rendered harmless, and even useful. The meat that is served up in every dish, is cut into small pieces, thoroughly boiled and stewed, and mixed with agreeable sauces. By this means all the viands are extremely well dressed, and the master of the house is not harassed at his table with the trouble of cutting up great pieces, or of distributing the provisions round to the guests. At meal time every one seats himself upon the soft floor-mats, facing each guest is placed a small square table, that serves for the purpose of holding the different dishes, which already in the kitchen have been portioned out to each person, and are served up in the hottest vessels, either of porcelain or japanned wood. These cups are tolerably large basins, and always furnished with a lid. The first course consists generally of fish, with fish soup, the soup they drink out of the cup, but eat the solid part, which is chopped into small pieces, with two lacerated pegs, which they hold so dexterous between the fingers of the right hand, that they can with the greatest nicety take up the smallest grain of rice with them, and these pegs serve them for the purpose both of

fork and spoon. As soon as one course is finished it is taken away, and another served up in its room. The last course is brought to table in a cup of blue porcelain, and this likewise is furnished with a lid. The victuals are carried in by a servant, who kneels down as he places them upon the table, and takes them away after dinner. When several persons eat in company together, they all salute each other with a low bow, before they begin to eat. The ladies do not eat with the men, but by themselves, between each dish, they drink a warm *sacki*, or rice-beer, which is poured out of a tea kettle into shallow tea saucers, made of lacerated wood, and during this they sometimes eat a quarter of an egg, boiled hard, and very frequently they drink at the same time to somebody's health. In general they eat three times a-day, about eight o'clock in the morning, two o'clock at noon, and eight in the evening. There are some that observe no regular time for their meals, but eat whenever they are hungry, for which reason the victuals are obliged to be kept in readiness the whole day. Rice, which is here exceedingly white and well tasted, supple, with the Japanese, the place of bread, they eat it boiled with every kind of provisions. *Miso* soup, boiled with fish and onions, is eaten frequently by the common people three times a day, or at each of their customary meals. *Misos* are not unlike lentils, and are small beans gathered from the *des-hi* *has* *so*, a dish is likewise a very common dish with the Japanese, both boiled and fried in oil.

Fowls, of which they have a great variety, both wild and tame, are eaten in great abundance, and the flesh of what is, though coarse, is in several places, at least among the poorer sort, a very common food. It has a red and disagreeable look, and was often exposed for sale in the streets of Nagasaki, when I passed by in order to go on board a ship.

In preparing their victuals, they make use of expressed oils of several different sorts. These oils are made chiefly from the seeds of *Sesamum*, of *Tsuhaki* (the *Camelina sativica*), *Kir*, (the *Bignonia tomentosa*), *Aburagi*, and *Dryandis cordata*, and several others, some ones from the *Kin ju da* and *Tan ba wa*, and *Cak*. In their victuals they make a very plentiful use of mushrooms and the fruit of the *Solanum nigrum* as well as the roots of the *Solanum elaeagnum*, (*stratata*), carrots, and several kinds of bulbous roots, and of beans. For the desert they have kakie figs, chestnuts, water nuts, and persimmons, which are possibly often exported hence to Batavia, besides lemons, Seville and China oranges, shaddocks, grapes, &c. Among their valuable fishes is what they call the ray (by the Dutch called *steen braajem*), which is frequently sold at a very high price, and purchased for holidays and festive occasions. The *per sephiusa* (*Squilla*) ranks among their finest fish, and their *Clupea Thrylla* is so fat, that it is equal to the best herrings that are caught in Europe. Salmon is only found near the Fagou mountain, and is neither so large nor so well tasted as those of Europe. Of oysters, and other shell fish, several different sorts are eaten, but always boiled or

stewed, as likewise shrimps and crabs.

Tea and sack beer constitute the sole liquors of the Japanese, which fall infinitely short in number of those which the thirsty Europeans can exhibit. Wines and distilled liquors they never make use of, and can hardly be persuaded to taste them when offered them by the Dutch.

Coffee is scarcely known, even by the taste, to a few of the interpreters, and brandy is not within the number of the necessaries of life. They have hitherto never suffered themselves to be corrupted by the Europeans that have visited them, rather than adopt any practice from others, which might be actually both useful and convenient, they have chosen to retain their ancient primitive mode of life, in its original purity into which they would not even indirectly introduce any usage or custom, that in the course of time might become useful to them, or detrimental.

Sack is the name of a kind of beer, which the Japanese prepare from rice. It is tolerably clear, and not a little resembles wine, but has a very singular taste, which cannot be reckoned extremely pleasant. This liquor, when it is fresh, is more inclined to a white colour, but after it has lain in small wooden casks, it becomes very brown.

This drink is vendid in every tavern, in the same manner as wine is sold in all cellars in Europe, and it constitutes their cheer at entertainments, and looser hours, and is likewise used as wine by the more wealthy at their very meals.

It is never drank cold by the Japanese, but is warmed in a common tea kettle, from whence it is poured into flat tea-cups, made of lackered

lackered wood and in this manner it is drank quite warm, which in a very short time heats and inebriates them, but the whole intoxication vanishes in a few minutes, and is generally succeeded by a disagreeable head-ache. To Batavia *sicki* is exported as an article of commerce but it is often drank there out of wine glasses before meal, to provoke an appetite, on which occasions the white *sicki* is generally preferred, which is less disgusting to the taste.

Tea is drank throughout the whole country, for the purpose of quenching thirst for which reason they keep in every house, and more especially in every inn, a kettle upon the fire all day long, with boiling water and ground tea from this the brown decoction is poured out for immediate use, and another kettle, filled with cold water, affords them the means of diluting and cooling it. In the houses of people of distinction, visitors are always presented with green tea, with which the Dutch are entertained whenever they wait upon any of the privy counsellors, or other persons in office. This tea is freshly gathered, and ground to powder boiling water being first poured into a can, they put in the tea in it pulverised state, and stir it round with a stick, in the same manner as is usually done with chocolate, and then pour it out into tea cup, it must be drank immediately, otherwise the green powder settles at the bottom. No person of distinction undertakes a journey of any length, without carrying with him a lackered chest, which is borne by a man servant, and in which water is kept boiling all the way, ground tea, tea cups, and every other necessary appendage, are ready prepared and at hand.

The tea shrub grows wild in every part of the country, but I met with it most frequently growing on the very borders and margins of cultivated lands, or upon such mountains or downs as did not very well answer the trouble of cultivation. This plant grows from the seed, in the course of six or seven years, to the height of a man, but it adds, in the third year of its growth, it yields some produce of its leaves. Those who are somewhat accustomed to this kind of harvest, can gather, in the space of one day, ten or twelve pounds weight of them. The older the leaves are, and the later in the year the gathering is made, the greater abundance, it is true, they yield but then the tea is so much the worse, as the smaller leaves, and those which have but just shot forth, furnish the finest and most valuable. The tea therefore is gathered annually at three different seasons the first harvest commences (at the end of Songvats,) the beginning of March, or the end of February, at which season the leaves begin to push forth, possess a virtuous quality, and are gathered solely for the use of the emperor, or for people of rank and opulence whence it takes the name of imperial tea. A month after this the second harvest takes place, when the leaves are full grown, but are still thin, tender, and well flavoured. Again a month, and the principal harvest commences, when the greatest quantity is gathered, the leaves having all pushed forth completely, and become very thick and stout. Young shrubs always yield better tea than old ones, and some places produce it in greater perfection, and more delicious than others.

The tea leaves are afterwards,
 ‡ D d 2 for

for the sake of drying them spread upon thin plates of iron, which are made hot. During this operation they must be continually stirred with both hands, as long as ever the fingers can support the heat. They are next rolled to and fro upon mats, till they grow perfectly cool, and in case they are not sufficiently dry, they are roasted and rolled over again, once, or as many times as may be requisite.

Smoking tobacco was in former times not customary in this country, but it is probable that the Portuguese were the first who introduced this practice. The Japanese have no other name for tobacco than *tobacco*, which is smoked in a manner nearly by both sexes. The tobacco used for this purpose is planted in the country, and is by the Japanese called *tabacco*. They eat better tobacco than very fine dried, as most is here, as human hair. The pipes which they use are very fine, seldom more than an inch and a half long, and are made of black ebony, with a small round pipe and bowl. The stem is of all that it does not break at a third part, or one third of the length of tobacco which is rolled up and crumpled in with their fingers. These pipes are turned round in a cry few half an hour, upon which the ashes are beaten out, and the pipe is filled again with tobacco. The smoke is puffed out each time both through the nostrils and the mouth. Persons of distinction have always the following apparatus for smoking: an smoking box, eighteen inches long, four broad, and three finger's high, decorated with a brown or black colour, is placed before each person, in this box are laid pipes and tobacco, and three cups are

placed, which are used in smoking. One of these round cups, which is generally made of thick and stout porcelain, or lacerated wood, is lined with brass on the inside, and is filled with ashes, in which a live coal is placed, for the purpose of lighting the pipe, the second serves to receive the ashes of the tobacco after the pipe is smoked out, when this latter is struck with force against the edge, and sometimes it is spit upon, in order to quench the sparks. The third supplies the place of a spitting pot, at the time of smoking. At visits, this apparatus is the first thing that is placed before the guests. One of these boxes is sometimes furnished with a lid, which is tied tight with a ribbon, and is carried by a servant whenever they go to such places. Here they do not expect to have tobacco presented to them. The poorer class generally carry both their pipe and their tobacco with them, when they go out, the pipe is then put in a case, and worn on the right side in the girdle. On the back of their loins, the tobacco pouch is hardly of the breadth of a hand, and somewhat shorter, furnished with a flap at the top, which is fastened together with a little ivory hook, this pouch is likewise slung to the girdle by means of a silk cord, and a head of coral, or a piece of agate, it is made for the most part of a particular kind of silk, with interwoven flowers of silver and gold.

Although gravity forms the general character of the Japanese nation, this serious disposition, however, does not prevent them from having their pleasures, their sports, and festivities. These are of two kinds, occasional or periodical, and constitute part of their worship. the

the latter in many respects may be compared to our plays. Their chief festivals are the Feast of Lanterns, and what is called the *Matsuri*. The Lantern Festival, or Feast of Lamps, is celebrated towards the end of August, and is called by the natives *Bong*. It lasts three days, but the second afternoon, with the following night, are kept with the greatest festivity. It was originally instituted in memory and honour of the dead, and they believe, return annually to their kindred and friends on the first afternoon of these games. Every one visiting his former house and family, where they remain till the second night, when they are to be sent away again. By way of welcoming them on their arrival, they plant stakes of bamboo near all the tombs, upon which they hang a great number of lanterns with lights, and those to close to each other, that the whole mountain appears illuminated. These lanterns are kept alight till nine or ten o'clock at night. On the second evening, when the spirits of the departed are, according to their tradition, to be sent away again, they fabricate a small vessel of straw, with lights and lanterns in it, which they carry at midnight in procession, with vocal and instrumental music and loud cries, to the sea shore, where it is launched into the water, and left to the winds and waves, till it either catches fire and is consumed, or is swallowed up by the waves. Both of these illuminations, consisting of several thousand fires, exhibit to the eye an uncommonly grand and beautiful spectacle.

The feast of *Matsuri* is celebrated upon some certain festival day, and in honour of some particular god. Thus for instance, in

the town of Nagasaki, where I was present at one of these festivals, it is celebrated in memory of *Susano*, the tutelar deity of the town. It is celebrated on the ninth day of the ninth month, which is the day of this idol's nativity, with games, sports, dances, and dramatic representations. The festival commences on the seventh day, when the temples are frequented, sermons are preached, prayers are offered up, and public spectacles are exhibited, but the ninth day exhibits in pomp and expenditure on fire, which they vary every time in such a manner, that the entertainments of the present year bear no resemblance to those of the last. In this are the same arrangements made. The expences are defrayed by the inhabitants of the town in such a manner that certain streets exhibit and pay the expences of certain pieces and parts of the entertainment. I together with the rest of the Dutch, had an invitation sent me to be a spectator of this festival, in 1776, which was celebrated in a large open spot in the town of Nagasaki. A capacious house, resembling a large booth, raised upon posts, and provided with a roof and benches, was erected on one side for the convenience of the spectators. These consisted not only of the magistrates and ecclesiastics, but likewise of foreigners, and a guard was placed to keep off the crowd. First of all appeared the priest carrying the image of the idol *Susano*, and took their places, habited in black and white. A company of ten or twelve persons played upon instruments of music, and sang the exploits of their gods and heroes, in the mean time that a party of virgins dancing, displayed the most enchanting elegance in their ges-

tures and deportment. The music consisted in a mere rattling noise, which might perhaps sound more grateful in the idol's than in human ears. A large parasol was next introduced, inscribed with the name of the street, and emblazoned with its coat of arms, followed by a band of musicians in masks, with drums, flutes, bells, and vocal music. These were succeeded by the device itself, which was different for every street, then followed a band of actors and, lastly, the inhabitants of the street, in solemn procession, with an innumerable and promiscuous crowd at their heels. This progressive march lasted nearly a whole hour, after which they marched back again in the same order, and a second procession succeeded in its place, this was followed by a third, and so on during the whole forenoon. The inhabitants of each street vied with each other in magnificence and invention, with respect to the celebration of this festival, and in displaying, for the most part, such things as were characteristic of the various produce of the mines, mountains, forests, navigation, manufactures, and the like, of the province from which the street derived its name, and whence it had its inhabitants.

Plays I had an opportunity of seeing acted several times, both in Nagasaki, and during my journey to the imperial court at Osaka. The spectators sit in houses of different dimensions, upon benches, facing them, upon an elevated but small and narrow place, stands the theatre itself upon which seldom more than one or two actors perform at a time. These are always dressed in a very singular manner, according as their own taste and fancy suggest, inasmuch, that a

stranger would be apt to believe that they exhibited themselves not to entertain, but to frighten the audience. Their gestures, as well as their dress, are strangely uncouth and extravagant, and consist in artificial contortions of the body, which it must have cost them much trouble to learn and perform. In general they represent some heroic exploit or love story of their idols and heroes, which are frequently composed in verse, and are some times composed in music. A *curtain ma*, it is true, be let fall between the actors and the spectators, and some necessary pieces be brought forward upon the theatre, but in other respects, these small theatres have no machinery nor decorations, which can entitle them to be put in comparison with those of Europe. I did not observe that public spectacles contributed any more in this country than in other places, to reform the manners of the people, as the design of them appears to be the same here as in other parts of the world, and as they tend rather to amuse the idle frivolity of mankind with jugglers tricks than to amend the heart, rather to fill the pockets of the actors, than to be any real benefit to the spectators.

When the Japanese wish at any time to entertain the Dutch, either in the town of Nagasaki, or more particularly during their journey to the imperial court, they generally provide a band of female dancers, for the amusement of their guests. These are generally young damsels, very superbly dressed, whom they fetch from the inns, sometimes young boys are likewise mixed among them. Such a dance requires always a number of persons, who turn and twine, and put themselves into a variety of artificial postures,

postures, in order to represent an amorous or heroic deed, without either speaking or singing their steps are however regulated by the music, which plays to them. The girls are in particular provided with a number of very fine and light night gowns, made of silk, which they slip off one after the other, during the dance, from the upper part of their body, so as frequently to have them, to the number of a dozen together, suspended from the girdle which encircles their loins. These dances therefore correspond, in some measure, with our country dance, although, upon the whole, they widely differ even from these.

Their weddings and funerals may likewise claim a place among their festivals, although they do not celebrate them with the same pomp as do the Europeans, and other nations.

Marriages are solemnized upon a pleasant eminence without the towns, in presence of the relations and the priests, when the following ceremonies are observed. The bridegroom and the bride advance together to an altar erected for that purpose, each holding a torch in their hand, whilst the priest is employed in reading a certain form of prayer, the bride, who occupies the right hand place, first lights her torch from a burning lamp, and then holds it out to the bridegroom, who lights his torch from hers, upon which the guests with the new married couple joy.

In this country the men are not allowed a plurality of wives, as in China, but each man is confined to one, who has liberty to go out and show herself in company, and is not shut up in a reclusive and separate apartment, as is the custom with their neighbours. Instances of di-

vorce sometimes occur among them, but these cases are not very common. The more daughters a man has, and the handsomer they are, the richer he esteems himself, it being here the established custom for suitors to make presents to their father-in-law, before they obtain his daughter.

Fornication is very prevalent in this country, notwithstanding which chastity is frequently held in such high veneration, both with married and single, that when they have been injured in this point, they sometimes lay violent hands upon themselves. In this country likewise the dishonourable practice of keeping mistresses obtains with some, but the children they bring into the world cannot inherit, and the mistresses are considered as servants to the house. The Japanese either burn their dead to ashes, or else bury them in the earth. The former method, as I was informed, was in ancient times much more customary than it is at present, though it is still practised with persons of distinction. This ceremony is not always performed upon a funeral pile in the open air but takes place at times in a small house of stone, calculated for that purpose, and furnished with a chimney.

The ashes are carried away in a costly vessel, and preserved for some time in the house at home, after which they are buried in the earth. Both men and women follow the corpse in norimon, together with the widow and children of the deceased, and a numerous train of priests, who sing all the time. After one of the priests has sung the eulogy of the deceased, he waves thrice over the corpse a burning torch, and then throws it away; upon this it is picked up by

the children or other relations, and the pile set on fire with it. Those who are interred without being first burned, are inclosed in a wooden chest, after the customary manner, and let down into the grave. The children are very much attached to their parents even after their death. During the interment, and after the same, fragrant spices are cast into the grave, and the finest

flowers are planted upon their tombs. The survivors continue to visit the mansions of the dead for several years, and not unfrequently, during their whole lives, repeating their visits at first every day, then every week, after that once a month, and at last once a year, exclusive of the Lanthorn festival, which is celebrated every year in honour of the defunct.

A CHARACTER of the CHINESE Translated from the French of the ABBE GROSIER

THE Chinese are, in general, a mild and affable people, polite even to excess, circumspect in all their actions, and always attentive to weigh the consequences of every thing they are about to attempt, more careful not to expose their prudence to danger, than to preserve their reputation, suspicious of strangers, & they are ready to take advantage of them, too much prepossessed with a notion of their own importance, to be sensible of their defects, and entertaining too high ideas of their own knowledge, to seek for instruction from others. We must consider this nation as an ancient monument, respectable by its duration, admirable in some of its parts, defective in others, and which, according to tradition, has existed four thousand years.

This base, so solid, is supported by one single pillar—that progressive submission, which rises gradually from the bosom of a family, even to the throne. In other respects, the Chinese have their passions and caprices, which even the law does not always attempt to repress. They are naturally listless, and in China, as well as in other countries, a man may, if he chooses,

run himself by too often giving employment to the tribunals. They are fond of money, and what in France or England would be accounted usury, is only a retribution, authorised in China. A Chinese is vindictive, though not fond of pursuing violent means to satiate his revenge, these are prohibited, but he generally gains his end by craftiness or stratagem, and consequently with impunity. Great crimes are very uncommon among the Chinese, vices much less so, and the law neither searches after nor punishes them, but when they offend against, and violate public decency.

The manners of the Tartars, who subdued China, differ considerably from those of the conquered nation. They have borrowed its customs, but they still retain their original character. A Tartar is obliging and liberal, an enemy to every species of dissimulation, and more desirous of enjoying his fortune than of increasing it. In all affairs, even in those of the cabinet, he discovers a penetration and acuteness, which greatly lessen their difficulty, and in transactions of smaller moment, he displays that expeditious

expeditious activity, which may be justly called the soul of business. His ready and quick judgment accomplishes its purpose better, and more in season, than the profound and slow meditation of the Chinese

In a word, the superiority which the Tartar have over the Chinese in point of arms, is not the only thing which distinguishes them, they can even dispute the prize with them in other respects

*An ACCOUNT of the LIFE of the celebrated and unfortunate COUNT
DE LALLY By the VISCOUNT DE VAUX*

THE count de Lally was the son of a captain in the regiment of Dillon, who passed into France after the capitulation of Limerick, and a French lady of distinction. Soon after his birth, which was in 1699, he was entered, as was the custom of the French army, a private soldier in his company. He made very considerable progress in those sciences which formed a principal part of the education of the French nobility. Being the son of an officer of distinguished merit, it was natural for him to make early acquaintance, and being, by his mother's side, allied to some of the first families of France, he had more favourable opportunities than the generality of his companions, to form connexions of the first class. These advantages, superadded to a fine person, advanced young Lally, at the age of nineteen years, to a company in the Irish brigade.

Though he was but a private soldier, he possessed those qualities that form the soldier, he was equally qualified to succeed in civil employments, for at a period when young men are seldom more than equal to the inferior departments of the state, he was suddenly elevated to one of the most important situations that belong to political government. At the age of twenty-five, he was sent by the court of France, to negotiate some

important affairs at the court of Russia, where his address and fidelity secured to him the confidence of the King his master, and won the esteem of the Czarina. On his return to France, he was considered as one of the most distinguished men at Versailles, and was soon promoted to the rank of colonel of a regiment, in which situation he conducted himself with uncommon distinction wherever he was employed.

In the year 1745, when the young Pretender made a descent in Scotland, M. Lally came into England, under the pretext of claiming some lands which his father had possessed in Ireland, and to which he pretended to have a legal title. Though, in fact, the real object of his errand was to serve the cause of the Pretender as a spy, to assist him with his counsels, and to excite mal contents in the northern parts of Great Britain, by promise of money and other inducements. He was very successful in these dangerous attempts, when his plans were discovered to the duke of Cumberland, who gave immediate orders for his arrest. But M. Lally was, by the kind interposition of the Prince of Wales, preserved from a prison, and permitted to return to France, in direct opposition to the sentiments of the duke.

Such, however, was the obstinacy

nary of M. de Lally, that he quitted England with great reluctance, though, as the expedition of the Pretender entirely failed, he had every reason to be thankful to Providence for his escape. From that time, till he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general and commander in chief in the East-Indies, his life does not offer any circumstance that merits particular attention. As to his history in that part of the world, to the period of his death, we shall refer our readers to the following papers.

Journal of Expeditions in India, under the command of Count de Lally

In the month of August 1756, Count de Lally was appointed to the command of an expedition in India, to support which the court had destined six millions of livres, six battalions of troops, and three ships of war, which were to be joined by such as the company could prepare for the occasion.

The Chevalier des Soupirs, who was to command as Major-general under him, set sail from L'Orient, on the 30th of December following, with two millions of livres, and two battalions.

On the 20th of February 1757, the Count D'Ache set sail from Brest, with Count de Lally, having two millions of livres and two battalions on board his squadron, but an accident which happened to one of their ships in going out of the port, obliged him to return, and contrary winds detained him till the 2d of May.

The Count D'Ache was near a year on his passage, a circumstance which gave Admiral Stephens sufficient time to reach the coast of Coromandel, though he did not leave England till three months

after the French squadron set sail from France. The Chevalier des Soupirs waited some time at Mauritius, and disembarked at Pondicherry eight months before Count de Lally arrived there. At this time the English could not bring a hundred men into the field, and he had two thousand. Madras was an open town, Fort St. David was in ruins, with a garrison of sixty invalids. Three weeks would have been sufficient to have taken both these places, but the Chevalier des Soupirs, who was entirely ignorant of the manner of carrying on war in that country, suffered himself to be influenced by M. de Levrit, the company's governor of Pondicherry, who kept him all this time in a state of inactivity, and at the expense of all the money, which he had brought from Europe.

Six months previous to his arrival in India, the English had driven the company from all its settlements in Bengal, which were the most valuable of their possessions.

On the 25th of April 1758, the Count D'Ache landed the Count de Lally at Pondicherry, with some of his principal officers, and several chests of money. On the following day, as he was preparing to cast anchor in the road of that place, he was surprised by the English squadron, and lost a vessel of 74 guns, but, availing himself of a favorable wind, he contrived to escape. Within a few hours after he had disembarked, Count de Lally invested Cuddalore, a place situated about five leagues from Pondicherry, and made himself master of it in three days, the garrison consisted of ten invalids. In a short time after, he besieged Fort St. David, and entered into that place.

place on the 2d of June, after seventeen days of open trenches. On the 10th of the same month, the count returned to Pondicherry, and, having determined to make an attack on Madras, he dispatched a vessel to Count D'Aché, who had retreated sixty leagues to the windward, with orders to return M. de Leyrit at this time signified to Count de Lally, that he was not in a condition to subvert his troops for more than fifteen days, and that there was no other resource but to march them into the kingdom of Tanjore, which was about fifty leagues to the south of Pondicherry, to claim a debt due from the Rajah of that country. Thus he was obliged to seek for subsistence in Tanjore, till the stormy season approached, which would oblige the two squadrons to take refuge in some distant ports.

The Rajah of Tanjore having refused the debt demanded of him, Count de Lally marched towards his capital, and, in order to intimidate him, levelled five pieces of cannon against that place.

At this time he received an account that the English were marching, with a body of eight hundred men, against Pondicherry, and that the Chevalier des Boufflers, who had not an equal force, was preparing to abandon the surrounding country. He accordingly evacuated Tanjore, after having levied four hundred and forty thousand livres in money, and lived during two months at the expense of the inhabitants.

On his approach to Pondicherry, the English retired towards Madras. He now renewed his entreaties to Count D'Aché not to quit the coast, and, in order to induce him to remain there, made him an offer of half his army, to recruit his

squadron, but the latter, deaf to his entreaties and arguments, set sail for Madagascar, on the 1st of September, which was the day after Count de Lally's return to Pondicherry.

He had sent also for M. M. de Buffly, and Moracin, with the troops that they commanded, the one in the Deccan, and the other at Masulipatam. These officers brought with them but one third of their forces, and on their arrival demanded a reinforcement of a thousand men. But M. de Lally, having received information that the English had made a descent in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam, ordered M. Moracin to return thither, which he refused, and that place was afterwards surprised by the English.

M. de Lally having remained at Arcot for five days, returned to Pondicherry, having refused the incredible offer of M. de Buffly, to give him four hundred thousand livres in three hours, if he would let him return with a body of troops into the Deccan. The army was at this time without pay, though M. de Buffly had informed Count de Lally that he had 400,000 livres at the service of the company, if he would be responsible for them, which he absolutely refused, as he would have no commercial concern whatever with that body. M. de Lally, on his return to Pondicherry, renewed his design of attacking Madras, during the absence of the English squadron, it was, however, opposed by M. de Leyrit, for want of funds to pay the army, and procure them subsistence. The other members of the council were of the same opinion, but four or five of them, with Count D'Aché at their head, offered their plate, to the value of eighty

eighty thousand livres, as a contribution towards the enterprise. M. de Buffi did not offer a single sol, and M. de Lally gave one hundred and forty thousand livres, which he had placed in the treasury.

In consequence of these aids, he arrived in the plain of Madras, on the 12th of December 1758, and, after a few skirmishes, encamped there the following day.

At a very early hour on the morning of the 14th, the black town was attacked by M. de Rillon, at the head of his regiment; and in a very few hours he made himself master of it, with little loss.

M. de Laquille, who commanded a squadron, had in the mean time arrived at the island of Mauritius, with four ships of war, and three millions of livres, destined for the service of Pondicherry, and he was about to quit that island, when unfortunately the Count D'Aché arrived there, and prevented him from proceeding. He also took upon himself to send to Pondicherry no more than one million of the money, by a small frigate, which anchored before that place on the 21st of December 1758.

On the arrival of this money, Count de Lally determined to besiege Madras in form. He paid both his European and black troops a portion of what was due to them, and opened the trenches on the 6th of January 1759. He attacked the town with two thousand seven hundred Europeans, but the black troops were of little use in a siege. The garrison consisted of five thousand men, sixteen hundred of which were regular troops, four hundred servants of the English company, and three thousand sepoys. The

English army that was in possession of the country, made four different attempts to raise the siege, but was as often repulsed with loss. Count de Lally had already made a breach, and was preparing an assault, when six English vessels, laden with all kinds of refreshments, and six hundred men of Colonel Draper's regiment, came to an anchor in the road, and determined Lally to retreat to Arcot.

Six weeks after the siege of Madras had been raised, the English received another reinforcement of six hundred men from Europe, and immediately took the field against the Chevalier des Soupiers, who abandoned to them the post of Concarven, and all the conquests that had been made on the left bank of the Palar.

After an absence of thirteen months, the Count D'Aché at length arrived at Pondicherry, on the 17th of September 1759, having had a third engagement with the English fleet, in which, as usual, he had been worsted. On that very day he wrote to M. de Lally, with an offer of four hundred thousand livres in pressies, and about as much more in diamonds, the produce of an English vessel which he had taken, in part payment of the two millions he had stopped the year before at Mauritius, one of which would have secured the conquest of Madras. He also notified that he should set sail the following day for Madagascar. This unexpected message threw the whole colony into the greatest consternation. M. de Lally was so ill as not to be able to quit his house, but he sent a deputation of all his principal officers to engage him to suspend the execution of his design: nothing, however, that was said or done could avert his purpose. M. de

de Lally, therefore, assembled the council, who unanimously signed a protest against the sudden departure of Count D'Acbe, rendering him alone responsible for the loss of Pondicherry, and threatening to appeal to the justice of the king against his conduct. This protest was unanimously signed in the hall of the council in Fort Lewis, in Pondicherry, the 17th of September 1759, as follows: Lally, Duval de Leyrit, Renaut Barthelemy, Chevalier des Soupirs, Michel Lally, Bussy, Du Bois, Carriere, Verdieres, Dure, Gaddeville, Du Passage, Beauclerc, Renaut, De la Selle, Guillard, Porcher, Pere Dominique, capucin pretre de la notre dame des Anges, F S Lavacer, superieur general des Jesuites, Francois dans les Indes, L Rathon, superieur general des missions estrangeres, Notier des Lorme, Duchatel, Andouant, Aimar, Combaut d'Authenil, Goupil, J C Bon, De Wiltz, Banal, Rauly, Termehet, Saint Paul, J B. Launay, Delhayes, Fitcher, Du Laurent, Audoyer du Petit Val, D Arcey, Medip, Diore, Bertrand, Legris, Miran, Bourville, F Nicolas Du Plan, De Laval, Boree, D L Arche, Boyelleau, et Guellere.

M D'Acbe had already set sail, but the winds and currents having driven him to the north, the protest overtook him at sea, in consequence of which he returned to Pondicherry, where he remained seven days, and once more departed for Madagascar; promising, however, to return at a very early period of the following year, but from that time, which comprehends a space of sixteen months, nothing more was heard of him.

M de Lally, who had now recovered his health and strength,

daily expected the arrival of Basselet Zinqué, brother of Basile Zinqué, sovereign of the whole country, with a body of twelve thousand men. This prince was not more than thirty-five leagues from the French army, when he demanded an officer of distinction, and a detachment of European troops, to facilitate their junction, and M de Bussy was accordingly sent on that service. The army was now assembled under the walls of Arcot, from whence the French bat alion was detached, as it began to foment a second revolt, on account of the pay due to the soldiers, from the not being able to dispose of the diamond.

The absence of M de Bussy, which did not require more than ten or twelve days, continued for two-and forty, and the English, availing themselves of the impracticability of the French to begin the campaign without cavalry, made themselves masters of Wandewash.

Being disappointed of the arrival of Basselet Zinqué, M de Lally concluded as soon as possible, in concert with M de Leyrit, a treaty with a Mahratta chief for a body of two thousand cavalry, which, joined to another of eighteen hundred blacks, belonging to M de Bussy, and bearing his name, he encamped opposite the English, from whom he was separated only by the sandy bed of the Poliar, which was then entirely dry. Having got possession of some magazines which were in the rear of the English, the latter were prevented from keeping the field for some days. The French, therefore, fell suddenly on Wandewash, but, on the appearance of the English to relieve it, M de Lally found himself obliged to retreat to Pondicherry,

Pondicherry, or to hazard a battle, and he determined on the latter; he accordingly attacked them, but was repulsed and beaten on the 22d of January 1760. The loss was nearly equal on both sides, and the only officer of rank who was taken prisoner was M de Bussy. M de Lally, who was now reduced to the necessity of defending, as long as possible, the passage to Pondicherry, encamped with his army about four leagues from that place, on the road which the English must take in their approaches to attack it.

Admiral Cornish appeared on the coast, with four ships of the line from Europe, in about a month after this battle. On the 24th of February he came to an anchor in the road of Madras, and on the 17th of March, he appeared with his squadron before Pondicherry. In the mean time the English army gradually approached nearer to that place, while M de Lally, in order at the same time to protect it from the attack of the fleet, and obstruct the march of the army, necessarily retired from one position to another, till at length he occupied an advantageous post on the march of the English, and about the distance of two leagues from the town.

While the English army was occupied in possessing itself of the small French posts to the north of Pondicherry, the squadron of Admiral Cornish attacked Karikal on the South, which was defended by the same officer, in the company's ser-

vice, who had given up Chandernagore, after a very short bombardment. He soon surrendered that place, which wanted nothing, and was the only European fortification which the French company possessed in India. In a short time after this operation the English took Valadore. At the same time M de Lally maintained his post during three months, and thereby gained time sufficient to victual Pondicherry for half a year.

While M de Lally held the English in check, he concluded a treaty with the chief of Mysore. The object of this treaty was to supply Pondicherry with provision; but he did not fulfil the conditions of it, and accordingly gave up the fort of Thiar, which was the stipulated price. In a few days after the departure of the Mysore people, M de Lally determined to strike a great stroke, by attacking the English on the night of the 3d of September. This enterprize accordingly took place and failed. At length, after a siege of two months, and a very gallant defence by M de Lally, Pondicherry surrendered to the English army, commanded by General Coote, on the 10th of January 1761. M de Lally requested to be sent to Cuddalore, where he might have the advantage of being attended by French and English surgeons, but the governor of Madras insisted on his being removed from that place, and sent him in his own palankeen to convey him thither.*

The

* *Extract of a Letter, dated Fort St George, Feb 1 1761*

"M de Lally is arrived here, and notwithstanding his melancholy condition, is as proud and haughty as ever. Gracious, understanding, and military knowledge, observed by very ferocious manners, and a perfect contempt for anyone beneath the rank of a general, characterize this extraordinary man. When he quitted the citadel of Pondicherry, the officers and soldiers treated him with the most marked disapprobation and insult, while his commissary, who attempted his justification, was instantly murdered, and the same fate would have awaited M de Lally, if he had not retreated."

The English batteries were not opened but a few weeks before the reduction, and though they were served with great skill, and were employed with extraordinary effect, the want of every necessary of life within the town was the most important circumstance in favour of the besiegers. The inhabitants had for some time subsisted on elephants, camels, and horses. It is well known that a dog had been sold for twenty four rupees and of this wretched provision they had not more than would have sustained them for one day, when the place surrendered.

*Extract from the Report of the
Condemnation and Execution of
the Count de Lally*

In consequence of the very weighty conclusions which the procureur-general had given against Count de Lally, he was removed, during the night of Sunday the 4th of May, from the Bastille to the Conciergerie, which communicates by several staircases with the different apartments belonging to the court of parliament. Though it was but one o'clock in the morning when he arrived at the Conciergerie, he refused to go to bed, and about seven he appeared before his judges. They ordered him to be divested of his red ribband and cross to which he submitted with the most perfect indifference, and he was then placed on the stool to undergo a course of interrogation. At this moment, clasping his hands and lifting up his eyes, he exclaimed, "Is this the reward for forty years

faithful service?" The interrogatory lasted six hours. at three in the afternoon it recommenced, and the marquis De Bussy and count D'Ache were successively confronted with him. They remained but a short time in the court, and were conducted by officers of justice. The sitting lasted till nine at night, when the count was taken back to the Bastille, surrounded by guards, and several companies of the city watch.

The following day, at six in the morning, the judges began to give their opinions, and they were not concluded till four in the afternoon, when they pronounced an arret, which contained only a simple recital of the proceedings against him, and other persons accused of abuses and crimes in the East Indies, with their acquittal or condemnation, but without specifying the facts or reasons on which they were respectively founded. The sentence stated, that he had been accused and convicted of having betrayed the interests of the king and the India company, of abusing his authority, and of exactions, &c &c from the subjects of his majesty, as well as the foreigners resident in Pondicherry, for the reparation of which, and other crimes, it was declared that he should be deprived of all his titles, honours and dignities, and have his head separated from his body on a scaffold on the Place de Grève. His goods and property were also confiscated to the king, &c &c and the arm of the executioner terminated the career of the Count de Lally.

the English camp. To have maintained, therefore so long a siege amid the detestation of those whom he commanded, is a decided proof of his firmness, activity, and bravery."

An AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT of the late ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN, during the Time he commanded in COROMANDEL, and of the Transactions of the FLEET and ARMY under his command

THE honourable Edward Boscawen was the third son of Hugh Lord Viscount Falmouth, by Charlotte Godfrey, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Charles Godfrey, and of Ariella Churchill, sister to John Duke of Marlborough. He was born the 10th of August 1711. He entered into the navy at the age of twelve, and after passing through the subordinate ranks of the service with great credit, was, in March 1757, appointed to the command of the *Leopard*, a fourth rate of 40 guns. In 1759, he accompanied admiral Vernon to the West Indies, and in the expeditions against Porto bello and Carthagena, under the command of that officer, he distinguished himself equally by his nautical skill and enterprising spirit.

On his return to England, he was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and was shortly after invested with a command, which shows the very high estimation in which both his integrity and abilities were held. He was appointed admiral and commandant of a Squadron of six ships of the line, ordered for the East Indies, and along with this appointment, received, a commission from the king, as general and commander in chief of the land forces employed on that expedition, the only instance (except the earl of Peterborough) of any officer having received such a command since the reign of Charles the second. The impropriety of investing a naval offi-

cer with this double command, is so obvious, that it is unnecessary for us to point out the multiplied inconveniences to the public service, which in almost all cases it cannot fail to produce, and which greatly counterbalance the advantages that are likely to result from it, however capable the person may be to whom it is given. In Boscawen's case, it gave rise to much public censure on the conduct of ministers, as well as to many private jealousies, if not animosities; yet, though the expedition proved unsuccessful, we have not learned that the troops employed on that service ever expressed any dislike, much less any discontent, at their being commanded by a naval officer, but this forbearance proceeded from their personal respect and esteem for admiral Boscawen, a circumstance that reflects high praise on the private virtues that adorned his character.

As the earlier part of the transactions of this expedition to India has been related by an officer who accompanied it, and as he was an eye witness of the following circumstances, we shall give his account in his own words:—

On November the 4th, 1747, the Squadron sailed from St Helen's, with a fair wind, which only served for that day, but admiral Boscawen, anxious to get out of the Channel, chose rather to turn to windward with the fleet than to put back. Meeting with hard gales of wind, they were obliged to anchor in Torbay, where the fleet arrived

rived about eleven o'clock, on November 15; but at four o'clock in the evening, the wind falling, sailed again, and proceeded to the Land's End, when it turned again, but struggling with the winds, came to an anchor in the road of Madeira, on December 18th. Hard gales of wind had separated several ships, which, however, on the 17th joined the admiral, who used all possible means to get the fleet in a condition to sail, this being completed on the 22d, they sailed on the 23d. On March 20th, 1748, the fleet came to an anchor in Table Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope. On the 30th, the ground was pitched on to encamp, and men were ordered on shore to clear it, but the wind blowed so fresh, that the forces could not land till April 6th, when the whole embarked in good order and discipline, being three battalions, with artillery, on the right were 400 marines, making one battalion six English independent companies, of 112 men each, were on the left, and six Scotch companies were in the centre. The men made a good appearance, and no pains were spared, as to discipline and refreshment, in order to fit them for their better performance in action. The admiral, by his genteel behaviour, gained the love of the land officers; and never was greater harmony among all degrees of men than in this expedition, every one thinking they were happy in being under his command. The time they stayed at the Cape was of great service to the land and sea forces, who had fresh meat all the time: but their stay was longer than was intended, occasioned by five India ships, with forces on board, parting from the fleet, purposely to get first to the Cape, in order to sell their private

trade to better advantage, but they were mistaken, as they did not arrive till April the 14th, and those India ships that were with the admiral had supplied the Cape with all that was wanting.

On the 1st of May, admiral Boscawen sailed from the Cape, with the squadron under his command, together with six ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company, on board of which were 400 soldiers. After a fatiguing and tedious passage, occasioned by a series of contrary winds rather unusual in those seas at that season, the whole fleet made the French island of Mauritius at day break, on the 22d of June, except three of the Dutch ships, which had parted company, in the stormy weather they had encountered. This island admiral Boscawen was ordered to attack on his way to the coast of Coromandel. As soon, therefore, as the fleet came opposite to the east point of the island, he drew up the ships in line of battle ahead, and proceeded along the northern coast of the island. Before night they had advanced within two leagues of Fort Louis, at which distance he brought his fleet to an anchor in a bay that lay between the mouths of two small rivers. The party which was sent in a rowing boat in the dusk of the evening to reconnoitre the shore, had discovered only two places, where, from the lowness of the fort, it seemed practicable to make a descent, and these were defended by two false batteries of six guns each, which fired on the ships as they passed. All the rest of the shore was defended by rocks and breakers.

The next morning the French opened upon the English squadron two other false batteries, raised at
 † H. C. the

the entrance of the two rivers, between which it was at anchor. This fire was returned by one of the fifty gun ships, but little execution was done on either side. Boscawen now sent a sloop with the two principal engineers, and an artillery officer, to reconnoitre the coast the whole way up to the entrance of Port Louis: these officers reported, on their return, that they had been fired upon by no less than eight different batteries planted along the shore, as well as by the forts at the entrance of the harbour, across which lay moored a large ship of two decks, and there were, besides, twelve ships at anchor within the harbour, four of which were of considerable force, and ready for sea. When night approached, the barges of the six line of battle ships, with the most experienced officers of the fleet, were sent to sound. On their return, they reported that a reef of rocks, which extended along the shore, at the distance of 20 yards from it, rendered it impossible to effect a landing, except at the entrance of the rivers already mentioned. With respect to the harbour itself, they discovered that the channel leading into it, was only 100 fathoms wide, and that from that circumstance, as well as from the opposition of the fourth wind, which blew directly down it, the getting up to the mouth of the harbour, any part of the fleet, would be attended with almost insuperable difficulties. Up on receiving this intelligence, Boscawen called a council of war, composed of the principal land and sea officers, at which it was resolved, that as they were ignorant of the strength of the French, three armed boats should be sent to endeavour to land in the night, and

to take by surprise even a single man, that some certain information respecting the actual situation and numbers of the enemy might thereby be obtained. This project, however, proved abortive, and the following morning the council of war assembled again, when they came to this decision, that although they thought themselves sufficiently powerful to reduce the island, yet the loss they would probably sustain in the attack, and the number of men which would be requisite to garrison the fortifications, would necessarily so much weaken their force, that it would certainly retard, and might, perhaps, entirely prevent them from undertaking the siege of Pondicherry, which Boscawen was instructed to consider as the principal object of his command. It was, therefore, resolved, to proceed to the coast of Coromandel without delay, so that the fleet might arrive there in time to act, before the change of the monsoon in October. Boscawen accordingly sailed from the Mauritius the next day, the 27th of June, when the Dutch ships parted with the fleet, and steered for Batavia, and the English pursued their course to the coast of Coromandel. On the 29th of July, he arrived at Fort St David, where he found the squadron under admiral Griffin, who resigned the command of it to him, and soon after returned to England.

The junction of these fleets formed the greatest marine force belonging to any one European nation that had ever been seen in the Indian seas, it consisted of more than thirty ships, of which thirteen were of the line. The English at Fort St David, and all the native powers attached to their cause, be-
held

held this formidable armament with a joy proportioned to the success which was naturally looked for from its operations.

Anxious to strike a decisive blow before the French had time to call in their ally, the rajah of Tanjore, to their assistance, Boscawen determined to proceed to Pondicherry without a moment's delay. He accordingly landed the necessary stores, and the whole of his troops, who had been in perfect health throughout the voyage; a circumstance attributed by the officer, from whose narrative we made an extract, to the great benefit derived from the air-pipes, by which the ships of the fleet were ventilated. After the troops were landed, three line of battle ships, and a sloop of war, were dispatched to Pondicherry, in order to blockade the place by sea.

On the 8th of August, the army marched from Fort St David, under the command of admiral Boscawen. It was composed of twelve independent companies of 100 men each, 800 marines from the fleet, eighty artillery men, a battalion of the East India Company's, of 700 men, together with seventy artillery men, 120 Dutch Europeans, and 1000 seamen from the fleet, who had been trained to the manual exercise during their passage from England, the whole amounting to 3780 Europeans, besides which, there were 2000 sepoy's, and 800 topasses, paid by the Company. The nabob Awar adien Khan still wavering, as he found the French or English gain the ascendancy in the politics of the Carnatic, promised to send a body of 2000 horse to co-operate with the English army, but he was cautious in not fulfilling his promise until he could judge of the probable termination

of the campaign. His troops, therefore, did not join Boscawen till towards the conclusion of the siege. The heavy cannon and stores were laden on board the squadron, which proceeded before the army, and anchored two miles south of Pondicherry.

The Company's agents at Fort St David had been shamefully negligent in gaining the information necessary to direct Boscawen in his operations, inasmuch that, when the army came in sight of the small fort of Ariancopang, situated near the confines of Pondicherry, there was not a single person who could give a description of the place. Boscawen, however, thought it expedient not to leave it in his rear, and therefore determined to reduce it before he proceeded on his march. One of the Company's engineers was ordered to reconnoitre it, but either from fear or treachery, he did not approach sufficiently close to the place to enable him to make his observations with any tolerable degree of accuracy. He reported, though the fort was covered by an entrenchment, it was of very little strength. A deserter farther reported, that it was garrisoned only by 100 sepoy's, and Boscawen on this information resolved to storm it. Accordingly a detachment of 700 men marched at day break against the east side of the fort, to attack what they supposed to be the entrenchment described by the engineer, which, on a nearer approach, they discovered to be a heap of ruins, they likewise perceived, to their great disappointment, that the fort itself was a triangle, regularly fortified with three cavaliers, a deep dry ditch full of pitfalls, and a covered way. These works were sufficient to protect the

place from any sudden assault, even had it been garrisoned as the deserter had reported, but instead of that it was defended by 100 Europeans and 800 sepoys, under the command of a captain Law, an active and experienced officer. The English troops had no sooner approached the works than they were instantly assailed with a shower of musket and grape shot. They nevertheless persisted in their attack with much more bravery than skill, and although they had carried with them no scaling-ladders, and had consequently no means of succeeding in their rash attempt, they obstinately kept their ground for a considerable time, and did not retreat until 100 of their number were either killed or wounded.

This disaster, so obviously the result of ignorance and temerity, greatly affected the spirits of the men, and seemed to damp the ardour of the enterprise. But Boscawen was not to be disconcerted by any misfortune of this sort, which, however, could never have happened, had his experience in military operations been equal to his other qualifications for the command, with which he was entrusted. Inflexible in his purpose, he determined to persist in reducing Arranecpong, and with a view to facilitate as well as expedite its reduction, he ordered the disciplined sailors, with eight pieces of battering cannon, to be landed from the ships. The French, on the other hand, aware of the advantage of gaining time at this season of the year, prudently resolved to defend the fort as long as possible. To give effect to this resolution, they erected a battery of heavy cannon, on the opposite side of the river, which runs to the north, and close by Arranecpong, that they

might thereby enfilade and obstruct the approaches of the besiegers. The English at the same time erected a battery on the plain, on the south side of the river, to oppose that of the enemy; but such was the neglect, or ignorance of the engineers who were employed in throwing up this work, that, when at day break they opened the battery, most of the guns were found to be intercepted from the sight of the enemy, by a thick wood. The artillery officers, on the discovery of this egregious oversight, offered their service to raise another battery, which they completed with sufficient skill before the next morning, and for greater security, they threw up an entrenchment before it, in which a detachment of soldiers and sailors was posted. At day break the English battery began to play on that of the enemy, and the fire was continued for some time on both sides, but with little execution on either. The French, in the mean while, had posted without the fort, under cover of the works, a body of sixty European cavalry.

This cavalry supported by infantry, advanced towards the entrenchment, and attacked with great impetuosity that part of it where the sailors were posted, who, unaccustomed to this sort of service, were thrown into confusion, which, disconcerting the regular troops, they were compelled to abandon the entrenchment, and retreat to the battery, whither they were pursued by the French cavalry, whom, however, the heavy fire from the English artillery soon repulsed. The gallant major Lawrence, so justly distinguished in Indian history, commanded this entrenchment, and rather than take flight with the troops, he and a few officers defended themselves

in the trench until they were disarmed by some of the enemy's dragoons, and forced to surrender.

The same day a quantity of gun powder taking fire in the enemy's battery, it blew up, and near 100 men were either killed or disabled by the explosion. And this disaster struck so much terror amongst the French troops in the fort, that a few hours afterwards they set fire to the chambers with which they had undermined the fortifications, blew up the greatest part of the walls and cavaliers, and then retired with the utmost precipitation to Pondicherry. As soon as Boscawen observed the explosion, he gave orders to take possession of the fort. But unfortunately, instead of following up the advantage which this accident had given him, he remained five days longer at Ariancopang, deeming it expedient to repair and garrison that fort, before he made his approaches against Pondicherry, from an apprehension that, during the siege, a detachment of the enemy might again take possession of the former place, and from thence be enabled to intercept convoys, and otherwise harass the English army.

The town of Pondicherry was situated about seventy yards from the sea shore: its extent from north to south was about a mile, and from east to west about 1100 yards. On the three sides towards the land, it was fortified with a wall and rampart, flanked by eleven bastions, the north and south extremities nearest the sea were defended by two demi bastions, and the whole of these works were encompassed by a ditch and an imperfect glacis. The eastern side was defended by several low batteries, capable of mounting upwards of 100 pieces of cannon, which commanded the road,

and within the town was a citadel, though too small to make a long defence. The greatest part of the ground in the vicinity of the town was inclosed at the distance of a mile from the walls, by a hedge of large aloes and other thorny plants peculiar to the country, intermixed with numbers of cocoa nut and palm trees, which together formed a defence impenetrable to cavalry, and which even infantry could find it very difficult to break through. This inclosure began at the north side, close by the sea, and continued for five miles and a half, describing a large segment of a circle, until it joined the river of Ariancopang to the south, at a mile and a half from the shore, and in this part the course of the river served to complete the line of defence. There were five roads leading from the town to the adjacent country, and at each of the openings in the hedge through which these roads were cut, there was a well-built redoubt mounted with cannon. Such was the situation of Pondicherry, and the manner in which it was fortified and defended, when Boscawen commenced his operations against it.

On the 20th of August, the English army marched from Ariancopang, and took possession of the village of Ulagurry, situated about two miles from the south east part of the town. From hence Boscawen sent a detachment to take possession of the north west redoubt of the bound hedge, which the enemy abandoned without resistance, although it was capable of a defence that might have cost the English many lives, and perhaps much trouble as well as time. Shortly after the evacuation of this redoubt, the garrisons in the other redoubts in the bound hedge were withdrawn.

By the advice of the engineers, Boscawen determined to make his approaches on the north-west side of the town, and in order to facilitate the communication between the fleet and the camp, the ships were stationed to the north of the town.

On the night of the 30th of August, the besiegers opened ground, at the distance of 1500 yards from the works, a circumstance in itself sufficient to prove the deplorable ignorance of the English engineers, on whose plan and by whose advice this siege was conducted, for, according to the art of war established amongst the military nations of modern Europe, it is the universal practice in sieges, to make the first parallel, at *least* within 800 yards of the covered way. The next morning 150 men were detached from the trench first thrown up, and ordered to make a lodgment about 100 yards nearer the town, and being supplied with working tools, they were not long in throwing up a mound, which sufficiently covered them from the fire of the enemy's cannon. Towards the afternoon of that day, 500 Europeans and 700 sepoys made a sortie from the town, attacking both the trenches at the same time, from which, however, they were repulsed with the loss of 100 men, and seven officers.

The celebrated lord Clive, then an ensign, served in the trenches on this occasion, and by his gallant conduct gave the first prognostic of that high military spirit, which was the spring of his future actions, and the principal source of the desperate intrepidity and elevation of mind, which were his characteristic endowments.

The approaches were continued, but from a total inexperience in such operations they advanced very

slowly. Two batteries of three guns each were raised within 1200 yards of the town, in the supposition that they would operate as a check on the enemy's fortifications; but parties still sallied every day in defiance of those batteries, and made successful attacks on the detachments employed to escort the stores and cannon from the ships to the camp. Whilst the army was thus engaged, a bomb ketch was ordered to bombard the citadel night and day, but the enemy returned the fire of this vessel with such effect, that she was compelled to desist from bombarding during the day, and the firing which she kept up at night proved of little annoyance.

After much hard labour and great fatigue, the trenches were advanced within 800 yards of the walls, when it was found impracticable to carry them on any nearer, having now discovered a large morass which presented an insuperable barrier to any farther approaches before this part of the town, more particularly as the French had preserved a back water, with which they not only overflowed the morass, but also all the ground lying between the trenches and the foot of the glacis. The English were, therefore, obliged to raise their batteries, on the edge of the morass where their working parties were much exposed to the enemy, who, by keeping up a constant and well directed fire, killed a great many men, and thereby frustrated their operations, and retarded the progress of the siege.

On the 26th of September, however, two batteries were completed, one of eight, the other of four pieces of cannon, of eighteen and twenty four pounders, a bomb battery of five large mortars and fifteen royals, and another of fifteen

teen cohorts were likewise erected; and all of these batteries now began to play on the town. The French, on the other hand, opened several embrasures in the curtain, and at the same time commenced a heavy fire from those batteries on the crest of the glacis inasmuch, that the fire of the besieged was double that of the besiegers. Boscawen upon this resolved to bring his whole naval force to batter the town, and consequently ordered all the line of battle ships to be warped within 1000 yards of the walls, the shallowness of the water not permitting them to be brought nearer. The cannonade which was now opened upon the town was incessant and tremendous, but the French soon found that it was only terrible in appearance, and produced little real effect owing to the distance of the ships from the town, and the heavy swell of the sea, the shot never struck successively the same object, so that it neither made any breach in the works, nor did much damage to the town. The besieged at first withdrew a considerable number of their artillery from the land side, in order to open their batteries against the ships, but perceiving the fortifications sustained hardly any injury from the fire of the fleet, they resumed the vigour of their defence on that side, and renewed on the land side with increased activity and ardour.

The cannonading from the ships was kept up without intermission until night, when Boscawen, finding that a vast quantity of ammunition had been expended to no purpose, ordered them to weigh anchor in the night, and to move beyond the reach of the enemy's shot, but the execution of this order was prevented by the wind setting in

from the sea. Being, therefore, under the necessity of keeping their stations, they recommenced the cannonade at day break, which the enemy returned with still greater spirit and briskness, than that with which they had so successfully maintained the conflict on the preceding day, but at noon the wind changing, the ships moved from the shore, and the firing ceased on both sides. The fire from the batteries continued three days longer, during which time that of the enemy was supported with augmented vigour, and nine pieces of cannon of the assailants were dismounted.

The weather had now changed, the rainy season had set in earlier than usual, sickness began to prevail in the English camp, and hardly any impression had been made on the fortifications of Pondicherry. In consideration of these circumstances, Boscawen thought it prudent to call a council of war, which was summoned on the 30th of September, and at which it was unanimously resolved to raise the siege without delay, being justly apprehensive that the rains which at their commencement generally overflow the country, might render the removal of the cannon and heavy stores impracticable, and likewise that the ships might be driven off the coast by the severe gales of wind, which at the setting in of the monsoon invariably prevail.

In conformity with this decision the batteries were immediately destroyed, the battalion of sailors, the cannon, and heavy stores reembarked; and on the 6th of October, the troops began their march to Fort St. David, where they arrived the preceding evening, having demolished the fort of Ariancopang in their way.

On a review of the army it was
 ‡ E c 4 found,

found, that during the siege these had perished in action and by sickness 757 soldiers, forty-three artillerymen, and 265 seamen, in all 1065 Europeans of the sepoys very few were killed, for they had only been employed to guard the skirts of the camp, and being altogether undisciplined, generally took flight on the approach of danger. The French garrison, commanded by M. Dupleix (a man justly distinguished for his spirit and sagacity), consisted of 1800 Europeans and 3000 sepoys, of which 200 Europeans and about fifty sepoys were killed.

The causes to which the failure of this siege is to be attributed, are so plainly discernible in the preceding account, that any enumeration of them would be unnecessary. The total incapacity of the engineers, through which the lives of so many brave men were unprofitably lost, was, if possible, still more discreditably to government than to themselves, since we do not find that they were ever brought to an account for their shameful misconduct. Boscawen's consciousness of his own disqualifications as a soldier, might, conformably with his candid and amiable disposition, have deterred him from calling for an inquiry into the conduct of these officers; but this apology amounts to a tacit censure of his rashness, in accepting a command for which he was not qualified either by any knowledge of military science, or any sufficient experience of military operations, and for the want of which, neither his skill and judgment in nautical affairs, nor his zeal, enterprising spirit, and irrepressibility, could at all compensate. We make these observations with the impartial freedom of history, and we hope without offence.

Soon after the return of the army to Fort St David, intelligence arrived from England of the peace of Aix la Chapelle, and an immediate cessation of hostilities between the French and English in India consequently took place. Some circumstances, however, rendered necessary for Boscawen to remain in India with the fleet a few months longer, a necessity which accidentally proved very unfortunate for on the 13th of April following, a violent hurricane arose, in which the *Namur*, of 74 guns (the admiral's flag ship), the *Pembroke*, and the *Apollon* hospital ship, together with the greatest part of their crews, were unhappily lost. When the gale commenced, the *Namur* was at anchor in the road of Fort St David. The admiral was on shore but the officer in command of the ship, immediately cut the cables and put to sea, though the impetuosity of the tempest and the uncommon height of the sea were such, as to offer little prospect of being able to save the ship; and, after struggling for some hours in an endeavour to get off the coast, she foundered in nine fathom water, captain Marshall, Mr Gilchrist the third lieutenant, the captain of marines, the surgeon, purser, chaplain, boatswain, and about forty seamen, being all that were saved out of six hundred.

The town of Madras being delivered up by the French, and taken possession of by the English, and every other stipulation being fulfilled by the enemy according to the Treaty of Peace, Boscawen sailed from Fort St David on the 19th of October 1749, and arrived at St Helens on the 14th of April following.

On his return to England, he obtained a seat in parliament, and was appointed

appointed one of the lords of the admiralty. During the war, which broke out in 1756, he was variously employed in the line of his profession. In 1759 he was appointed to the command of the Mediterranean fleet, and on the 17th of August, in that year, gained a decisive victory over a French fleet of superior force, nearly one half

of which he either captured or destroyed.

This was the last public service of consequence in which he was employed. Being in a bad state of health, he retired in the autumn of 1760 to his country seat, at Harcourt's Park, Surry, where he died of a bilious fever on the 10th of Jan. 1761, in the 54th year of his age.

An AUTHENTIC MEMOIR of the late Colonel GILBERT IRONSIDE

[Written by a Friend of that Gentleman.]

COLONEL GILBERT IRONSIDE, whose decease is recorded in the Obituary of this Register, was born in December 1707. He was the second son of Edward Ironside, banker and alderman of London, who filled the office of its chief magistrate in 1753, and died during his mayoralty.

Having completed a classical education at Winchester, under that able preceptor Doctor Warton, he determined to embrace the military profession, and proceeded to India as ensign in an independent company, commanded by the honourable captain Delaval, in 1730, under the patronage of lord (then colonel) Clive, whose relation, George Clive, afterwards a banker in Fleet-street, had been a clerk in the house of Ironside and Co. The father of lord Clive and alderman Ironside were intimate friends. There he remained but a short time, believing that as the banking house in which his family still held a principal share, was supposed to be in the most flourishing state, he should from that fund acquire independence, and returned to England by way of China. Finding, however, soon after his arrival, that his expectations were entirely frul-

trated, that his talents were his only possession, and that he must rely on his own exertions for his future success in life, he resolved to resume the profession he had set out in, and re-embarked for Bengal in 1759 as an ensign in the honourable Company's army on that establishment. Here his abilities, his attainments, and his assiduity, immediately introduced him to those able discerners of merit, lord Clive, Mr Vansittart, and Mr Hastings, by whom, and by successive commanders in chief, he was constantly employed on the staff in the first offices of confidence and importance. In the discharge of these various duties, acquiring the esteem and approbation of his respective patrons, he remained till the year 1774.

The rank of colonel, which he attained that year, gave him the command of a brigade. In this situation a field was opened to him for displaying those military talents he so eminently possessed, and so assiduously cultivated, and the state of discipline in which he invariably kept the troops that were placed under his command, and the regularity and strictness with which he invariably performed the duties

of his own station (inciting thus, by his own example, a similar spirit and attention in those who served under him) will be his best, because a just, eulogium. By the secession of all his superior officers he became, in 1786, the senior officer on the Bengal establishment, but an alteration at that time taking place in the constitution of the Company's army, by depriving its commander in chief of the power and consequence hitherto annexed to that station, and finding also that his health was somewhat impaired by so long a residence in that climate, frequently insalubrious to European constitutions, he determined to proceed to Europe, and seek that relief which is sometimes experienced from native air. Here he led entirely the life of a private gentleman, and having always adhered to an unusual degree of temperance, enjoyed an almost uninterrupted course of health and cheerfulness till the last summer, when his constitution rapidly gave way, and a painful and lingering illness, which he sustained with the greatest firmness and resignation, on the 7th of October last, put a period to his sufferings. He was interred, by his express desire, in the most private manner, in the private chapel of Twyford.

The colonel, in 1765, married Letitia, the daughter of the reverend Robert Roberts, of Aldford, in Cheshire, but had no family.

Though few persons employed their pens more constantly than colonel Ironside, it should seem that he had done so chiefly for his own amusement, the only publication known to be his, and that also was printed without his name, being a military work, entitled, "Regulations of War," consisting generally of rules and regulations by the

first authorities, arranged under distinct heads. He had prepared, several years ago, when in India, a very comprehensive grammar of the Persian language, which he was on the eve of sending to England for publication, when the appearance of Sir William Jones induced him to relinquish his intention. He also printed a few copies, two or three years ago, for distribution among his friends, of many of his own productions, chiefly short and juvenile ones, and he has left a treatise on logic, a very copious and amusing advertisement, a treatise on tactics, and multifarious extracts from books, apparently, from the correctness of their arrangement, intended ultimately for publication.

Though colonel Ironside never became a member of any literary or public society, he did not fail to offer any means he possessed which he conceived could be conducive to public utility. While in India, he kept up a regular correspondence with the late learned doctor Fothergill, who had been the intimate friend of his father, and occasionally forwarded to him supplies of the seeds, and specimens of the various timbers, the produce of that country, accompanied by descriptions of their culture, and the uses they were applied to. He also sent specimens of some of the earthenware of Bengal to that eminent artist Mr Wedgwood, in the hope that, through his skill, they might be beneficially introduced into the various manufactures executed under his direction. Mr Wedgwood very politely acknowledged this attention, as well as the colonel's endeavours to benefit the manufactures of his country.

Nov. 10, 1802

An AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT of the LIFE and CHARACTER of the late ROBERT ORME, Esq F A S Historiographer to the Honourable the East India Company

ROBERT ORME was the son of Mr John Orme, a surgeon in the honourable East India Company's service on the Bombay establishment, a station in which he served for many years with considerable reputation. Being appointed to attend the factory at Anjenga, in the province of Travencore, he proceeded thither with his family, and at that place Robert Orme was born in the month of June 1728.

With a judicious attention to his health and education, his father sent him to England at an early age, and in 1786 he was placed at Harrow school, where he was equally distinguished for the quickness of his capacity and the assiduity of his application. At that seminary he continued till 1742, when he was removed to an academy in London, for the purpose of being instructed in the theory of commercial business, with which, as he was designed for the civil service of the India Company, it was deemed essential he should be thoroughly acquainted. His progress in this branch of knowledge was proportioned to the talents he had previously displayed, in more lively and attractive studies, and as he could not but have felt considerable regret on being obliged to relinquish those studies, his applying to others so little congenial, if not repulsive to a youthful mind, evinces uncommon vigour as well as diligence.

Having completed his course of study at the academy, he was appointed a writer in the Company's service, and in 1744, or 5, pro-

ceeded to Calcutta, where he had an elder brother already settled. He continued in Bengal until 1754, when he went to Madras, and in the following year returned to England, in company with captain (afterwards lord) Clive, with whom he lived on terms of the closest intimacy.

With a mind so acute and observing, he could not have resided for eight years in India, without acquiring considerable knowledge, not only of the manners, customs, and institutions of its inhabitants, but of the political condition of its different states. And possessing a good address, and a pleasing manner of communicating information, he was, soon after his arrival in London, much noticed by those who desired to obtain information on the affairs of India: and being by this means introduced to lord Holdernitch, then secretary of state, he received the countenance and support of that nobleman.

Such patronage naturally led to that preferment to which his abilities so well intitled him, and, in 1755, he was appointed fourth member in the council at Madras, whither he accordingly proceeded.

In the subsequent year he had an opportunity of showing much of that political sagacity and decision, which distinguished his conduct in the important station he now filled. When intelligence was brought to Madras of the capture of the English settlement at Calcutta, by Seraj-ud-Dowlah, the subahdar of Bengal, and of the dreadful sufferings of the captives on that occasion,

when, the governor and council, after some deliberation, resolved to avenge the injuries which their countrymen had sustained, to wrest Calcutta from the hands of its conqueror, and re-establish a settlement which was of such deep importance to the interests of the Company. An armament for that purpose was speedily equipped, in conjunction with admiral Watson, but a difference of opinion arose in the council, respecting the choice of an officer to command the troops. The commander in chief of the forces at Madras, who was colonel of his majesty's 89th regiment had certainly a prior claim to this appointment, but there existed sufficient reasons why he should not be entrusted with the chief direction of an expedition, on which the reputation of the British arms in India, and the consequent stability of the Company's possessions, so materially depended. Mr. Orme objected in forcible terms to the command being given to that officer. He represented the nature of the country which the expedition was destined to invade, the magnitude of the army which it would have to oppose, the numerous difficulties and dangers with which it would inevitably be surrounded, and the necessity, therefore, of vesting the command of it in an officer, who should not only be equally intelligent and active, but also accustomed to the peculiarities of Indian warfare, and acquainted with the character of the natives. This fact, in such an enterprise, he said, would depend not less on the able dispositions and decisive judgment, than on the personal valour and propensity of him to whom it might be entrusted. In this opinion he was supported by the celebrated colonel Lawrence, then a member

of the council, and commander in chief of the Company's troops and after much discussion lieutenant colonel Clive was finally chosen as the person in all respects the best qualified to command the expedition. The well known result was a glorious confirmation of the wisdom and propriety of the choice; and it serves to place, in a striking light, the penetrating sagacity and sound judgment of Mr. Orme, to whom his country is indebted for this hazardous enterprise having been placed under the guidance of Clive, whose intrepid and adventurous genius could perhaps have alone conducted it to the important conquest it achieved.

In the deliberations of the council of Madras, relative to the military operations in the Carnatic, between the years 1755 and 59, Mr. Orme took an active part, and, in some of the most critical conjunctures of that war, his abilities, as a politician and a statesman, appeared particularly conspicuous. So sensible were the court of directors of the benefit which the public service derived from his advice, and so highly was his general conduct approved of, that he was appointed the eventual successor to the governor of Madras,—(the late unfortunate lord Pigot.) He did not, however, continue long enough there to be elevated to that station.

In addition to his duty as a member of the council, he held the office of commissary general during the years 1757, 58, and 59, so that almost the whole of his time was occupied in public business. Yet fond of social pleasures, he found leisure to cultivate the friendship of those in whom he discovered the most estimable qualities. With admiral Watson and sir George Poc-

cock,

cock, he was in habits of great intimacy; and with captain Speke, who commanded the flag ship, then on the India station, he contracted a close friendship, which not only contributed to their own gratification, but tended to advance the public service, for by their cordial and united exertions many difficulties and impediments that obstructed the co operation of the land and naval forces, were either obviated or removed. He entertained a high esteem for Mr James Alexander, (late lord viscount Caledon) who was his deputy, as accountant general. About this time, too, he became acquainted with Mr Alexander Dalrymple, who has since acquired to much just reputation by his hydrographical works. Dalrymple was then under store-keeper at Madras, and Orme perceiving that he had capacity fitted for a higher station, was desirous of seeing him promoted to succeed Mr Alexander, as deputy accountant. His endeavours in this particular were unsuccessful; but he continued with a generous attention to cherish and befriend Dalrymple, whose good natural parts, he rightly judged, might be employed to the advantage of the public.

Though his official avocations prevented him from applying to the study of classical literature, for which he had in his youth entertained an ardent desire, they afforded him great facilities for cultivating those historical materials, the possession of which was necessary to him as a politician to gain ascendancy in the establishment. He was, however, obliged to relinquish these pursuits longer than he wished. His undivided attention with which he applied to these studies impaired his health, and an early and permanent

necessary to quit India; and return
to England with a very small for-
tune.

In the course of a year after this arrival, he began to digest the plan of his history of the military transactions of the British nation in India, a work of which he had long conceived the idea, and finding that the original documents which he had obtained would require considerable enlargement and illustration, he investigated with sedulous industry and diligence every source from whence information could be derived. By these means he procured a great mass of materials, of which a small part only had previously been communicated to the public; and that in a garbled state through the medium of partial narratives. In arranging these materials, and so forming them into an historical composition, he was occupied upwards of two years. In 1769 the first volume of his history was published, and the reception it met with was calculated to gratify his expectations of literary fame, though it did not reward his labours by a speedy sale. A second edition was not called for until 1778. To this volume he prefixed a concise historical dissertation on the Mahomedan conquests and establishments in Hindustan, comprising a review of the peculiar character and customs of the Hindoos, and the different languages of Asia, and the different modes of thought of the best authors of each of the important but complicated subjects he has treated with a fine imagination, a judicious selection, a happy and successful execution, and a didactic, as he would be wiser, and therefore more successful, manner of communicating the collected

share to the political history and civil institutions of Hindostan. His account of the Hindus appears to have been principally derived from his own actual observations, and is so general so accurate, and is written with such clearness and simplicity, that we consider it as better calculated to convey to European readers a distinct idea of the general character and habits of those people, than almost any of the more recent productions on that subject. With respect to the early Mahomedan conquests, his only guides were D'Herbelot, and Petat de la-Croix; and he is therefore, for the most part, correct, as far as relates to the Ghaznian and Tartar conquerors; but regarding the subsequent establishments of the Mogul dynasty, as well as the history of its progress, and the institutions of its most renowned princes, his account is sometimes erroneous, and often defective. His history of the wars in the Carnatic, has not been more celebrated than it deserves, for the faithfulness, impartiality, and uniform accuracy of its narration.

Having, by this publication, introduced himself to the world with so much advantage, he became solicitous to support and advance his literary reputation, by storing his mind with a competent knowledge of the ancient sciences, which he knew to be essential not only as the cultivation of a pure taste, but as the ornament of converse in the saloon. With this view he occupied himself with his usual diligence to the study of the Greek language, which he had almost forgotten, and which, in a few years, he is said to have completely mastered. The method which he chiefly applied throughout his habit of thinking, in the then

proportion that is informed and polished his understanding, and his conversation which had been always marked by strong sense, received additional vigour and vivacity. His company was therefore much solicited, and every day brought him new acquaintance.

About this period (1769) his friend, Lord Clive, finally returned from India, but soon after his arrival a coolness arose between him and Orme, which terminated in the total dissolution of their friendship, several years before his lordship's death. Of the cause of this disagreement we are not informed; but it is lamentable to observe the friendship of such men as these persons take that of the most frivolous characters.

In 1770 he began to prepare the materials for the second volume of his history, which the Court of Directors, with a just sense of the utility of his writings, enabled him to simplify and correct, by giving him free access to the records at the India House; and at the same time they appointed him historiographer to the Company, with a salary of 500*l*. a year. In order, however, to obtain all possible information respecting the operations of the French, in the Carnatic, he applied to Lieutenant-general Bussy, who had borne so considerable a part in those operations and that officer thought himself under Bussy's obligations to Orme, for the precision and impartiality with which he had recorded his actions in his first volume, that upon his going to France, he invited him to his chamber, where he treated him with singular hospitality, and furnished him with several authentic documents.

In 1776 he received the following letter from Lord Robertson and

and Sir William (then Mr.) Jones, with both of whom the publication of his first volume had brought him acquainted.

From Doctor Robertson.

College of Edinburgh,
April 23, 1773.

DEAR SIR,

I shall be happy to hear that you still enjoy that more confirmed state of health in which I had last the pleasure of seeing you. What progress do you make? I hope you do not relax your ardour in carrying on your work, and that if the present age may not expect to peruse the history of those extraordinary transactions you have seen, you will not deprive posterity of that satisfaction. I go on as usual, slowly I have got many useful and uncommon books from Spain, and expect some manuscripts by the interest of Lord Grantham. I flatter myself the work will turn out curious and interesting. Allow me to put you in mind of two promises, one that you would give me some criticisms or fractures upon style, in some parts of my history; the other, that you would send me a copy of the last edition of your first volume. I wish for the former, as I shall certainly profit by the ideas of one who has attended so much to the purity and elegance of language, and for the latter, that it may remain as a monument with my son of a connection of which I shall say no more, than that I am solicitous it should be remembered. In the mean time believe me to be with most sincere respects,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate and faithful

humble servant,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

Extract of a letter from the late Sir William Jones.

DUBLIN, June 26, 1772.

DEAR SIR,

I was never less pleased with the study of the law than at this moment when my attendance in Westminster Hall prevents me from thanking you in person for your most elegant and acceptable present, which shall ever be preserved amongst my literary treasures. Your history is not one of those books which a man reads once in a cursory manner, and then throws aside for ever: there is no end of reading and approving it, nor shall I ever desist giving myself that pleasure to the last year of my life. You may rely on this testimony, as it comes from one who not only was never guilty of flattery, but like Caesar's wife, would never suffer himself to be suspected of it.

It is much to be regretted that the historical pieces of Lucian are not preserved to us by a letter or two of his which are extant, he seems to have been a man of exquisite parts and taste. Cicero declares himself charmed with his way of writing, which makes me think that his works would have been far preferable to those of Sallust and Tacitus, whom I cannot help considering as the first corrupters of the Roman language and eloquence. As to our language, if yourself and perhaps Lord Lyttelton had not restored it to its native simplicity, we should soon have been seduced to talk a new dialect; and so, &c.

At the request of a lawyer,
you have been with three times and
indisposed to, and I find you will
return

reads as many rambling pages; but when friends cannot converse in person, they have no resource but conversing at a distance.

I am with great truth,

Most sincerely yours,

W. JONES.

Having procured all the materials he required, and having bestowed several years in the composition of his second volume, he published it in the beginning of 1776. It is written with no less ability than the former volume, and is more interesting and comprehensive. It embraces the whole of the military transactions of the English and French in every part of India, from 1756 to 1761, and commences with an historical survey of Bengal, from its subjugation by the Mussulman arms, to the conquest of Lord Clive, comprising a succinct account of the rise and progress of the English commerce in that province, and of the foundation of the settlement of Calcutta. During the fifteen years that elapsed between the publication of his first and that of his second volume, he gained much additional and more accurate knowledge of the history and institutions of the Mogul government, and the other native states. Colonel Dow's version of Ferdows's history of northern Hindustan, published in the course of that time, supplied him with many important particulars, that served to elucidate his researches, though being defective as a translation in several parts, it has occasionally misled him. But for adopting the mistakes of his authorities he can not justly be blamed, as there was no reason to suspect, and he possessed not the means to detect them. Thus he not only imparts the general accuracy of his narrative,

or lessens the credit which it has so justly obtained.

His talents as an historian, were now held in high estimation, and men, the most eminently qualified to judge of them, shewed him very flattering marks of their attention. On this occasion Dr Robertson sent him a present of his history of Charles the Fifth, accompanied with the following letter, expressive of his regard, and of the high opinion he entertained of his last volume, as well as of his writings in general.

MY DEAR SIR,

I do believe that no two persons who have reciprocal good will as you and I, are less disposed to break in upon each other by expressing it. I wish we both possessed a little more of the spirit of French *jealousie*, and then our letters would be as frequent as now they are rare. To the natural disinclination to writing of letters, I hope you will be kind enough to impute my neglecting to thank you in proper time for the present of your two new volumes. I perused them with great eagerness and much satisfaction. I can say nothing more expressive of my approbation, than that they equal the first. The context in the second part is between periods not so equally matched: the vicissitudes of fortune are less inglorious, but whenever the subject admitted of it, your narrative carries your readers along, with all that interesting and unwandering attention which distinguishes your mode of writing history. I incline to think that the war of Bengal, in books as unknown, is the most choice material in your work. When I see you, I will mention one or two criticisms,

cisms, for where there is so much to praise, you can afford something to be blamed

I am, with great truth
and attachment,
Your faithful humble servant,
WILLIAM ROBERTSON

During a short stay which the doctor made in London, sometime afterwards, they often met In conversation together one day, on the subject of history, Dr Robertson observed, "that he thought lord Clive must consider himself much indebted to him, for having placed his conduct in so conspicuous a point of view" Orme replied, "lord Clive is a man who travels post through the world, and changes shores at every stage" This answer at once shews the opinion he entertained of that nobleman's private character, and the striking and forcible manner in which he could express his thoughts

At this period he lived chiefly in London, and was much in the society of men of letters, where he sometimes met doctor Johnson, of whose wonderful intellectual powers and impressive wit he was struck with a just admiration Talking one day with Mr James Boswell of Johnson's journey to the western islands of Scotland, he thus strongly expressed his opinion of it "It is," said he, "a most valuable book besides extensive philosophical views and lively descriptions of society in the country it describes, it contains thoughts, which by long revolution in the great mind of Johnson, have been formed and polished, like pebbles rolled in the ocean."

Mr Boswell, in his interesting and entertaining life of Johnson, has preserved another conversation

which he had with Orme, relative to that extraordinary man "I do not care (said Orme), on what subject Johnson talks; but I love better to hear him talk than any body He either gives you new thoughts, or a new colouring It is a shame to the nation that he has not been more liberally rewarded Had I been George the Third, and thought as he did about America, I would have given Johnson three hundred a year for his *Taxation no Tyranny* alone" I repeated this (says Boswell) to Johnson, who was much pleased "with such praise from such a man

A man who can express himself in conversation with such precision and energy is naturally fond of company, and if he be of an ingenuous disposition takes delight in associating with superior minds Whilst Orme, therefore, enjoyed a good state of health, much of his time was spent in that agreeable and instructive way Yet he did not neglect his researches in Indian history for in 1782, he published his historical fragments of the Mogul empire during the reign of Aurungzebe; a work of great utility, as it contains within a narrow compass a variety of valuable particulars, both with regard to the native governments, and the European establishments in Hindustan, which, for the most part either lie buried in books that cannot be procured without considerable diligence, and that few readers would choose to peruse, or are locked up in the archives of the honourable Company During the time he was employed in compiling these fragments, he thought it useful to study the Portuguese language, in order to consult in the originals the numerous writers of that nation who have treated of India.

His constitution, naturally weak,
‡ F f was

was at last so much impaired by his unremitting application to these pursuits, and the sedentary life which he consequently led, that he was obliged to confine himself at home, and observe very regular habits but such was his love of society, that he seldom denied himself to any one who called on him.

In 1792 he left London, and retired to Ealing, where he resided during the remainder of his life, as well for the benefit of his health, as to reduce his expenditure, to which he then found his small income inadequate. He continued, however to take a warm and lively interest not only about his friends, but in public affairs, and the following letter to an intimate friend towards the close of the year 1794, gives a pleasing specimen of his epistolary style, and shews the sentiments he entertained respecting the political situation of the country at that period.

"I owe you an account of the reasons of my long silence since I received your letter of the 26th of last month, and why I have not come to town, although, when I wrote you last, I seemed so near it, of this I shall speak first, as of the less importance.

"With my fever, all the distressful circumstances which accompanied it were almost removed, yet the fever left me much weakened, but fortunately came on, I know not from what cause, a succession of better sleep for fifteen nights, than I have known these ten years. I could not bring myself to break through this belt of medical relief by coming into the rumble of Harley street; and to this was added the opportunities I have had of riding, which have generally happened every other day, for the by-roads about this place are better

than any near London, although the high road is perhaps the very worst. My good sleep was interrupted four or five nights, but it has returned for the last week, therefore I am not to be blamed for continuing here such neighbours as I am willing to be known to are very civil to me, but as I am never out in the night air, (a caution most necessary to all invalids in the months of November and December,) I cannot be much with them. I find very pleasant companions in my study (my books) with whom I can communicate my ideas with as much confidence as I do to you.

"Your letter of the 26th of November, combined with what little I picked up from papers and talk, gave me much matter of reflection, of which every result was ominous, none favourable and I will confess to you, that my mind was gradually getting into a gloominess, irksome, and unpleasant to the last degree, and therefore I determined to break through it, by applying myself to a literary pursuit, which should keep me from being absorbed in the politics of the day, of which every aspect is dismal. I knew, if I wrote my thoughts to you, you would have taken the trouble to have given me your's, which, from your situation, would have comprehended many points unknown to me, and I should have laid a burden on you, which however willingly taken up by you, I felt myself almost ashamed to expect, as it would be a return of ten for one.

"The approaching session of parliament will be more important than any this country ever knew. The question is, whether we shall make peace or continue the war? and each of these propositions branch

branch out into others that immediately spring from them. With whom shall we treat? the convention! Can they be trusted? Will they make peace with any other view than to gain two or three years to raise a navy stronger than ours, and then begin with us again? What guarantees either of local powers or sovereign states will be granted to them, or undertaken by their neighbours? What are we to give to induce them (who certainly have the advantage ground at present) to make peace with us? They have got all Flanders, &c. and we have only their West India islands, which it is most likely they think themselves able to reconquer from us.

"Supposing then that we are obliged to continue the war, in what mode, and in what points are we to continue it? Is Flanders to be attacked again? I think our strength quite insufficient. Lord Stair declared that attacking France through Flanders, was taking the bull by the horns. The emperor must join us with at least 120,000 men. Will, or can he? The other princes of the empire, will they do more than hire out their men to us?—and then, will they not do as the king of Prussia has done this year?

"If Holland will accept our support, instead of fraternizing with the French, she must by all means be supported by us. The alliance of Holland with France will be a great increase of naval force to the enemy.

"Should the French obtain Holland, they may probably attempt to invade us; but all that they can do, whilst we can meet them at sea in full strength, will be to make descents on our remotest

coasts,—but even these will greatly affect our stocks.

"These and many more points you will have to think on at the meeting of parliament. I am confident that you will judge right on all.

"I hope your health continues undisturbed, my respects I wish to be acceptable o———

Monday, 8th Dec 1794.

In his retirement at Easing, he was often visited by his friend, who appear to have loved him with great affection. Amongst these may be mentioned general Richard Smith, Mr Roberts, the present chairman of the court of directors, Mr Dalrymple, Sir George Baker, and the late Mr Oxen Cambridge, of Twickenham author of a book of some merit, intitled "An Account of the War between the French and English, on the coast of Comorandely, from 1758 to 1761." But, as he says himself in the letter we have quoted, his books were his chief companions, and such was the active curiosity of his mind, that at the age of seven y, he found in them a constant source of amusement. He continued his studies to the last month of his life, and a great many of his books bear interesting evidence of the strict attention with which he perused them, for their margins are filled with observations in his own hand writing.

In the beginning of January 1801, he fell into a state of weakness and languor, that prognosticated his speedy dissolution and he expired on the 14th of that month, in the 78d year of his age.

Mr Orme was not known to be married, even to those who were most in his confidence, but in a

† F 12

Letter

letter from him to a particular friend, which, agreeably to the directions he left, was delivered according to its address, after his death, he acknowledges his marriage and, in consequence of that acknowledgment, the court of directors settled a small annuity on his widow. He left no children.

Mr Orme was somewhat above the middle stature, and his countenance expressed much shrewdness and intelligence. In his personal habits he seems not to have had any striking peculiarities. His general manner was sensible, easy, and polite. Of the qualities of his heart, those who knew him long and intimately, talk very highly. He was zealous in the service of those whom he really loved; but as it was not his custom to make professions of friendship, his acts sometimes surpassed expectations. His powers of conversation, as we have already shewn, were very considerable, and such was the extent of his knowledge, the readiness of his thoughts, and the facility of his expression, that he generally illustrated in a pleasing, often in a forcible manner, whatever subject he talked on. Ancient literature was one of his favourite topics, and he conversed on it with no common degree of learning and critical exactness, without any sort of pedantry or affectation. He loved to talk of music and painting, and was a good judge of both.

With respect to his intellectual character it would appear, from his life as well as his writings, that the principal features were good sense, sagacity and judgment. These qualities were assisted in their operation by an active spirit, a solicitous curiosity, and a cultivated taste. A mind thus constituted, readily ac-

quired that power of combining circumstances in local order, and of relating them with compressive force, which distinguishes the writings of Orme. Few historians have connected the events of their story with more perspicuity, or related them with more conciseness. If he is sometimes minute, he is never redundant, and never tedious. Every incident is so distinctly stated and clearly arranged; every new nation, or individual, is introduced with so compendious an explanation, all the observations arise from the facts with so much propriety, and are in themselves so forcible and just, and the general style has so much simplicity and terseness, that every reader of discernment and taste must feel a strong interest in perusing his history. It is not indeed illumined with philosophical views of society, or manners, or civil institutions, or arts, or commerce, nor is it adorned with any fine delineations of character, but it is nevertheless a work of great merit, and must continue to hold a high place in the second rank of historical compositions.

* * Mr Orme bequeathed to his friend and executor Mr. Roberts, the present chairman of the court of directors, all his manuscripts, and a variety of other valuable historical materials, accompanied with a wish that his friend would present them to the honourable the East-India Company. This wish has accordingly been complied with. We subjoin an abstract catalogue of the whole, signed by Mr Wilkins, the Company's Librarian:

An abstract Catalogue of printed Books and Manuscripts, with Maps, Charts, Plans, Views, and Hindu Idols, the Gift of John

John Roberts, Esq to the Honourable the East India Company's Library, being from the Collection of their late Historiographer, Robert Orme, Esq FRS

PAINTED BOOKS

Fifty-one volumes, containing one hundred and ninety tracts on the subject of India, and the honourable Company's affairs, from about the year 1750 down to the year 1788

MANUSCRIPT BOOKS

Two hundred and thirty one volumes of various sizes, chiefly bound in vellum, containing a vast body of information upon the subject of India, in copies which Mr Orme had permission to make from the records, and collections of others, and in original documents, common place, &c with many useful indexes

Eight bundles of letters, chiefly from Madras and Bombay, upon

the subject of the Company's transactions in India.

PRINTED MAPS, CHARTS, PLANS, AND VIEWS.

Twenty rolls, consisting chiefly of foul and spare impressions of the plates, used for Mr Orme's history

Twenty rolls, containing sundry maps and plans

Thirty five books, containing maps, plans, and views

Four port folios, ditto ditto.

MANUSCRIPT PLANS AND MAPS.

Seventeen rolls of plans and maps, chiefly the originals of those engraved for Mr Orme's history

HINDU IDOLS.

Six figures in brass, representing some of the principal emblems of the divine attributes, according to their mythology

Library East India House,
26th May, 1802.

CHARLES WILKINS, Librarian.

An AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT of GEORGE THOMAS, an Irish Adventurer in India, a most extraordinary and enterprising Character Just received from a Correspondent at Lucknow

"GEORGE THOMAS, an Irish man, ran away from a ship, of which he was cabin-boy, on the Coromandel coast. He found his way to Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizam, where he served as a private soldier. He did not like this service, and, spurred on by the spirit of adventure, he crossed the Peninsula, and arrived at the Begum of Somroo's, who has a country about 150 miles N W, of Delhi. She took him into her service, and he obtained her favour and confidence. She married him to an adopted daughter of her own, and

appointed him to the management of a province, the revenues of which he very soon nearly doubled. The expenses of his mistress exceeded her income. He felt himself sufficiently established to attempt a reform. She had many Frenchmen in her service, whom she supported at a great expense, and who were entirely useless to her. These Thomas intended to have reduced. The Sicks at this time committing depredations upon the Begum's country, Thomas went to retaliate, which he had often before done with great advantage.

During

During his absence, the Frenchmen found means to make his mistresses believe that his plan was to take her country from her, and that for that reason he had wished for their dismissal.

"She took the first opportunity of shewing Thomas the change of her sentiments towards him, by insulting his wife while he was absent. He immediately returned, protected his wife, and left her (the begum's) service. Th was in 1795. He was then at Anopshire. He had not 500 rupees in the world, a proof of his honesty, for he had been many years collector of a province, which at first yielded 70,000 rupees, but which he doubled before he left it. He now went into the service of a Mahratta chief, named Appa Row Cunda. This man ordered him to raise and form some corps, and gave him some districts for the payment of them. The districts were unequal to the payment of his troops, but he managed to support them by the plunder he got during the continual state of warfare in which he was engaged. His chief was drowned and being considerably in debt to Thomas, he kept possession, and at last made a property of the districts under his charge. *He is a bold determined fellow.* He augmented his troops, he formed, in fact, an army for himself, and by conquest he added to his original territory. He has often been called in as an ally by the different contending powers in that quarter. On one occasion he was paid a subsidy of 50,000 rupees per month. His former mistresses, some time after he left her, went to ruin, was imprisoned, and treacherously deprived of her country. He marched to her relief, and reinstated her.

"During the last years he has been more bold, and made conquests upon a grander scale than before. His capital, which is one of the strongest places in India, is about 80 miles west of Delhi. It is called Harfee, and is laid down in some of the maps. From this point he entered the Seik country, beat them wherever he could find them, and took possession of a country upon the banks of the Sutledge, yielding near two lacks of rupees per annum. The Sutledge is in all the maps, it is the first of the five rivers which form the country called Punjaub. The Mahrattas could not with indifference view the success of this enterprising adventurer. He was in their neighbourhood. They at first offered to take him and his corps into their service, but they could not settle the terms. They then ordered general Perron, their commander in chief, to march against him. The general did not, it would appear, like his antagonist, for he settled with him upon his own terms. Thomas had then in the field 10,000 infantry, 1000 good cavalry, and 50 pieces of cannon, and he was not afraid of the Frenchman. Some friends of mine have been long in the habit of corresponding with him. He has always given them a detail of his different operations, they are wonderful. Our government cannot assist him, but I know the marquis Wellesley feels much interested for his success.

"In one of his letters he proposes that we shall attack the Seiks, and he says, that these people are the enemies both of the Mahrattas and the English. All he desires is, that our government will request the Mahrattas not to assist the Seiks. He wants no money,

CHARACTERS,

money, no arms, no troops, and he engages, in three years, to deliver to the Company his whole army, and all that country called the Panjab, yielding a revenue of two *crores* of rupees per annum — He will only require to be paid for his cannon. His ambition is to serve his country, and it is by this means he can do it.

“The plan may be thought wild and impracticable by those unacquainted with the Sikh nation and with Thomas. With the former I have done all I could to get acquainted, the latter, I believe, to be equal to any thing possible to be performed, and I am fully convinced he will accomplish all he has promised, if the Mahrattas will not interfere.”

OCTOBER 1801 — “George Thomas is now opposing the Mahrattas, and is nearly overpowered by the superiority of their resources, but he struggles hard, and hitherto victory has attended him. The last time I saw him he was not worth more than 500 rupees, exclusive of his horse. To his own vigorous conduct, to his own exertions and abilities, he owes every thing. He has been assisted by no

friend—alone, and always surrounded by enemies. The Frenchman who now opposes him, is high in the service of the Mahrattas. A few years ago he was a cook at Calcutta.”

FEB. 1802. I left George Thomas contending with the Mahrattas. He fought several battles with them, in all of which he compelled them to retreat, but they were too numerous for him to gain any thing but a name by the victories he had obtained. Finding that arms would not reduce him, they had recourse to means more certain, though less honourable, and they succeeded but too well. They bribed his chiefs, and deserted by his army, he was obliged to fly to his strong fortrefs. It was distant 100 miles. He reached it in one night, upon one horse. He was soon followed. The few men who remained with him fought bravely for some time, but his enemies subdued them with gold. He found it was in vain, and reluctantly he dictated terms of capitulation. He got 50,000 rupees for giving up his fort, and was besides permitted to carry off his property.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

An Account of the Tea-Tree — By FREDERICK PIGOU, Esq.

THE Chinese all agree there is but one sort or species of the tea-tree, and that the difference in tea arises from the soil and manner of curing.*

* Chow qua, who has been eight times in the bohea country, and who has remained there from four to six months each time, says, that many people, among their tea leaves, especially at Ankoy, near Amoy, put leaves of other trees, but that of these, there are but two or three trees, the leaves of which will serve that purpose, and they may easily be known, especially when opened by hot water, because they are not indented as tea leaves are.

He says, that bohea may be cured as hyson, and hyson as bohea, and so of all other sorts, but that experience has shewn, the teas are cured as best suits the qualities they have from the soils where they grow, so that bohea will make bad hyson, and hyson, though very dear in the country where it grows, bad bohea. However, in the province of Tokyen, which may be called the Bohea province, there has since a few years some tea been made after the hyson manner, which has been sold at Canton as such.

The bohea country, in the province of Tokyen, is very hilly, and since some years greatly enlarged, the length of it is four or five days journey, or as much again as it for-

merly was. The extent of the soil that produces the best bohea tea is not more than 40 li, or about 12 miles, in circumference it is from 100 to 120 li. Not only the hills in this country are planted with tea trees, but the valleys also, the hills, however, are reckoned to produce the best tea, on them grow congo, peko, and fouchong, in the valleys or flat parts of the country, bohea. As to the true fouchong, the whole place does not yield three peculs, Youngshaw says, not more than 30 catties. The value of it on the spot is $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 taels the catty, about ten or twelve shillings the pound. What is sold to Europeans for fouchong is only the first sort of congo, and the congo they buy is only the first sort of bohea. Upon a hill planted with tea trees, one only shall produce leave good enough to be called fouchong, and of those only the best and youngest are taken, the others make congo of the several sorts, and bohea.

There are four or five gatherings of bohea tea in a year, according to the demand there is for it, but three, or at most four gatherings are reckoned proper, the others only hurt the next year's crop. Of fouchong, there can be but one gathering, viz. of the first and youngest leaves, all others make inferior tea.

The first gathering is called tow-tchune

* A

* This fact is further confirmed by Lord Macartney and Sir George Staunton, who in their journey from Peking to Canton, passed through the center of the Tea country. — See Macartney's Embassy to China, vol. iii, page 296. Ed

The first gathering is reckoned fat or oily, the second leafy so, the third hardly at all so, yet the leaves look young. The first gathering is from about the middle of April to the end of May, the second from about the middle of June to the middle of July, the third from about the beginning of August to the latter end of September. Tea is never gathered in winter. The first gathering or leaf, when brought to Canton, commonly stands the merchants in

the 3d 0

When the leaves are gathered, they are put into large flat baskets to dry, and these are put on shelves or planks, in the air or wind, or in the sun, if not too intense, from morning until noon, at which time the leaves begin to throw out a smell, then they are tatché*, this is done by throwing each time about half a catty of leaves into the *satche*, and *flinging* them quick with the hand twice the *satche* being very hot, and then taking them out with a small short broom if the hand is not sufficient. When taken out, the leaves are again put into the large flat baskets, and there rubbed by mens' hands to roll them, after which they are tatché in larger quantities, and over a cooler or lower fire, and then put into baskets over a charcoal fire, as is

Souchong is made from the leaves of trees three years old, and where the soil is very good; of older, when not so good, congou is made. The leaves of older trees make better. The tea-trees last many years.

When tea-trees grow old and die, that is when the bodies of the trees fail, the roots produce new sprouts.

Peko is made from the leaves of trees three years old, and from the tenderest of them, gathered just after they have been in bloom, when the small leaves that grow between the two first that have appeared, and which altogether make a sprig, are downy and white, and resemble young hair or down. Trees of four, five, and six years old may still make peko, but after that they degenerate into bohea if they grow on the plains, and into congo if they grow on the hills.

Lintieffin seems to be made from very young leaves rolled up, and stalks of the tree the leaves are gathered before they are full blown. This tea is never tatched, but only dried. Were the leaves suffered to remain on the trees until they were blown, they might be cured as peko, if longer, as congo and bohea. This tea is in no esteem with the Chinese, it is only cured to please the sight the leaves are gathered too young to have any flavour.

Tea trees are not manured, but the ground on which they grow is kept very clean and free from weeds. Tea is not gathered by the single leaf, but often by sprigs. Tea in general is gathered by men, however women and children also gather tea. Tea is gathered from morning till night, when the dew is on the leaves as well as when it is off.

Ho ping tea is so called from the country where it grows, which is twelve easy days journey from Canton. This tea is cured after the manner of bohea, only in a more careless or slovenly way, on account of its little value, and with wood instead of charcoal fire, which is not so proper, and adds to the na-

tural bad smell the tea has, from the soil where it grows.

Leoo-ching (or Loochia), the name of a place eight days journey from Canton, it may produce about 1000 peculs of tea in a year. This tea is cured as bohea, or as green, as the market requires, but is most commonly made to imitate singlo, which suits it best.

Honan tea grows opposite to Canton, it is cured in April or May for the Canton market, that is, for the use of the inhabitants of Canton, especially the women, and not for foreigners. There is but little of it, about 200 peculs. The worst sort of it remains flat and looks yellow. It is tatched once to dry it, but not rolled, and is worth three candarines the catty. The best sort is tatched once, and rolled with the hand, and tatched again, it is worth twelve candarines the catty. These teas are not, like the bohea, after they are tatched, put over a charcoal fire. The water of Honan-tea is reddish.

Ankoy tea is so called from the country that produces it, which is about twenty four days journey from Canton. When gathered, the leaves are put into flat baskets to dry, like the bohea, they are then tatched, and afterwards rubbed with hands and feet to roll them, then put in the sun to dry, and sold for three or four candarines the catty. If this tea is intended for Europeans, it is packed in large baskets, like bohea baskets, and those are heated by a charcoal fire in a hot house, as is often practised in Canton. Bohea-tea is sometimes sent to Ankoy, to be there mixed with that country tea, and then forwarded to Canton.

The worst sort of Ankoy is not tatched, but Ankoy-congo, as it is called, is cured with care, like good

bobea or *congo* this sort is generally packed in small chests. There is also *Ankoy-peka*, but the smell of all these teas is much inferior to those of the *bobea* country. However, *Ankoy-congo* of the first sort is generally dearer at Canton than the inferior growths of *bobea*.

As tatching the tea makes it *swear*, as the Chinese term it, or throw out an oil, the tatche in time becomes dirty, and must be washed.

If *bobea* is tatched only twice, it will be reckoned slovenly cured, and the water of the tea will not be green, but yellow, so that fine *bobea*-tea must be cured as *congo*, the coarse is not so much regarded.

The ordinary tea used by common people in tea countries, is passed through boiling water before it is tatched, notwithstanding which it remains very strong and bitter. Thus, father Lefebvre says, he has often seen Tea is also sometimes kept in the steam of boiling water, which is called by some authors a vapour bath.

Singlo and *hyson*-teas are cured in the following manner when the leaves are gathered, they are directly tatched, and then very much rubbed by mens hands to roll them, after which they are spread to divide them, for the leaves in rolling are apt to stick together, they are then tatched very dry, and afterwards spread on tables to be picked, this is done by girls or women, who, according to their skill, can pick from one to four catty each day. Then they are tatched again, and afterwards tossed in flat baskets to clear them from dust, they are then again spread on tables and picked, and then tatched for a fourth time, and laid in parcels, which parcels are again tatched by four catties at a time, and when done put into baskets for the

purpose, where they are kept till it suits the owner to pack them in chests or tubs; before which the tea is again tatched, and then put hot into the chests or tubs, and pressed in them by hand. When the tea is hot it does not break, which it is apt to do when it is cold. *Singlo*-tea being more dusty than *hyson* tea, it is twice tossed in baskets, *hyson* only once.

It appears that it is necessary to tatche these teas whenever they contract any moisture, so that if the seller is obliged to keep his tea any time, especially in damp weather, he must tatche it, to give it a crispness before he can sell it.

It is to be observed that the quantity of leaves tatched increases with the times of tatching, at first only half or three quarters of a catty of leaves are put into the tatches.

Tunkey singlo-tea is the best, which is owing to the soil, it grows near the *hyson* country. Ordinary *singlo* tea is neither so often tatched or picked as the above described.

There are two gatherings of the *singlo*-tea, the first in April and May, the second in June, each gathering is divided into three or more sorts, the leaves of the first are large, fine, fat, and clean, of this sort there may be collected from a pecul, from 40 to 55 catties, usually 45. The second sort is picked next, and what then remains is the third or worst sort.

Tunkey, like other *singlo*-teas, is made into two or three sorts; the best is sometimes sold for *hyson* of an inferior growth.

Of *hyson* there are also two gatherings, and each gathering is distinguished into two or more sorts, but as great care is taken in gathering it, 60 catties may be chosen from

from one pecul, when only 45 catties can be chosen from singlo

Hyson skin, as it is called, has its name from being compared to the skin or peel of the hyson tea, a sort of cover to it, consequently not so good, it consists of the largest leaves, unhandfome leaves, bad coloured, and flat leaves, that are amongst the hyson tea. This tea is known in London by the name of bloom tea.

Gomi (or Gobeer) and Ootien, are also leaves picked from the hyson leaves. Those called gomi are small, and very much twisted, so that they appear like bits of wire. The ootien are more like little balls.

There are many different growths of singlo and hyson teas, and also some difference in the manner of curing them, according to the skill or fancy of the curer: this occasions difference of quality in the teas, as does also a good or bad season: a rainy season, for instance, makes the leaves yellow, a cold season nips the trees and makes the leaves poor.

Bing-tea is so called from the man who first made that tea, it grows four days journey from the hyson country. The leaves of bing are long and thin, those of singlo are short and thick.

The tricks in Tea are innumerable. In the bohea country, when tea is dear, (and probably they use the same method in all tea-countries,) they gather the coarse old leaves, pass them through boiling water, then cure them as other leaves are cured, after which they pound them, and mix them with other teas, putting five or six catties of this tea-dust to ninety-five catties of tea.

To make Bohea-tea Green.
For this purpose coarse Anko-

tea is generally taken: the leaves should be large. (Anko is no other than the tea-tree from the bohea country, propagated at Anko.) Take ten catties of this tree, spread it, and sweat the leaves by throwing water over them, either hot or cold, or tea-water. When the leaves are a little opened and somewhat dry, put them into a hot tatche, together with a small quantity of powdered chips, a fat stone, and tatche them well, then sift the tea, and it is done. If it happens not to be green enough, tatche it again; it is the frequent tatching that gives the green colour to the tea leaves.

To make Green Bohea

First water it to open the leaves, then put them in the sun to dry a little, then tatche them once, and proceed to cure them as bohea leaves, over a charcoal fire. This is seldom done, because it is seldom worth doing, green tea being generally the dearest; moreover, green tea does not make so good bohea as bohea does green.

Ho-ping tea, already described, and which is of the bohea kind, after being cured as bohea, is sometimes altered to green, and becomes like the leoo ching, beforementioned, and is sold at Canton to foreigners for singlo.

It is to be observed, that all these worked up teas, as they may be called, and teas of improper growths, are more commonly mixed with true teas for the Europe market, than sold separate by themselves, so that the proportions in which they are mixed make combinations without end. The differences to be observed in teas arise from the soils, the methods of curing owing to the skill of the curer, sometimes to his caprice, neglect in the curing, using bad fires, — wood, and that green, instead of charcoal, some-

these straw or broom for bad teas; and to the seasons, which should not be too wet or too dry, too cold or too hot. The Chinese also sell at Canton all sorts of old teas for new, after they have prepared them for that purpose, either by ratching or firing, and mixing them with new teas.

Clean singlo-tea is called *Pi cha*, or skin-tea. A custom formerly prevailed to put 15 or 18 cattie of very bad singlo-tea into the middle of a chest, which was covered on all sides by good tea, and this was done by the means of four pieces of board nailed to each other, making four sides, or a well for the chest, whereon good tea was spread, and also within two inches of the top, was drawn out. The good tea was called *pi-cha*, skin-tea, or the skin or covering to the bad, which the Chinese called the belly. This method of packing singlo-tea has long since been discontinued.

The bohea country is about twenty-five easy days journey from Canton. The singlo about forty. The hyson much the same.

Bohea usually comes to Canton at the cost of 9 to 11 taels the pecul singlo and second hyson 14 to 18 Hyson - - - 90 to 98

Congo, peko, and fouchong, very various.

To these prices must be added the charges of warehouse-room, packing, the duties on exportation, and the seller's profit, in a country where money is often 2 per cent. per month, and seldom less than 20 per cent. per annum.

Bohea, *Fou-ge*, the name of the country.

Congo, or *Cong-fa*, great or much care or trouble in the making or gathering the leaves.

Peko, *Pi-ban*, white first leaf.

Souchong, *Si-ou-chaung*, small good thing.

Le so ching, the name of a place.

Ho-pung, ditto.

Honan, ditto.

Ankoy, ditto.

Song-lo, ditto.

Hyson, *He Tchune*, name of the first crop of this tea.

Bing-min, name of the man who first made this tea.

Estimate of the quantity of Tea made in China in a year, taken in 1756.

Singlo	50,000	Peculi
Hyson	4,000	
Lock-ann,		{fort
small baskets	20,000	not exported, Bohea
Mo-i shan	2,000	not exported
Bing-tea	2 000	
Phow-ge tea	2,000	lumps, Bohea fort
Bohea, includ-		
ing Congo		
Peko and		
Souchong	120,000 to 130,000	
Ankoy Bohea		
and Green		
forts	50,000	
Oyong	15,000	
Li, an	400	Bohea fort
Cow low made		
either in Bo-		
hea or Singlo	2,000	
Loot sien	2,000	true fort
	279,400	

Loot sien, true fort, is what really grows in the Loot sien country. Some tea is planted near Loot sien, that passes for that tea, and that is the case in all the countries.

Besides the teas before enumerated, many other teas are planted, as in the Honan country, &c. the quantities they produce cannot be easily ascertained, but upon the whole, it is reckoned, that in ten parts, not above three are exported.

In 100 Chinese, it is reckoned forty only can afford to drink tea, the others drink water only. Moreover, when they have boiled their rice, put water into the tatche in which the rice was boiled, to which some grains always adhere; the water loosens them, and is browned by the rice; that water they drink instead of tea.

The tea sent into Tartary is mostly green, perhaps in the proportion of seven to two

Old bohea is reckoned good by the Chinese, in a fever they use it to cause perspiration, and put into it a black or coarse sugar, with a little ginger

Old hyson, one or two cups made strong, removes obstructions in the stomach, caused by over-eating or indigestion. It is to be used, if a weight is felt, some hours after eating, and it will remove it

An Account of the Hindu Method of cultivating the SUGAR CANE, and manufacturing the SUGAR and JAGARY, in the Rajahmundry District,

Interspersed with such Remarks as tend to point out the great Benefits that might be expected from increasing this Branch of Agriculture, and improving the Quality of the Sugar also, the Process observed by the Natives of the Ganjam District By Dr WILLIAM ROXBURGH

No pursuit is more pleasing to the benevolent mind than such as tends to add a new source of happiness to men

Amongst the natives of India, the transitions from one stage of improvement to another are so exceedingly slow, as scarce to deserve the name, except it be the few who have benefited by the example of Europeans: they naturally possess a strong disinclination at departing from the beaten path established from time immemorial, however, when they see a certain prospect of gain, with little additional trouble, they have frequently been known to adopt our practices. We ourselves ought more generally to keep in view, and to instil into their minds, this maxim, that every new proposition, merely on account of its novelty, must not be rejected, otherwise our knowledge would no longer be progressive, and every kind of improvement must cease.

At a period like the present, when the importation of East India sugar has become so much an object of importance to Great Britain, in

consequence of the present state of some of the best of the West India sugar islands, every inquiry that may tend to open new sources, from whence that wholesome commodity can be procured, at the cheapest rate, is of national importance

I believe there are few districts in the Company's extensive possessions where there will not be found large tracts of land fit for the culture of sugar cane, but I know, from experience, the introduction of a new branch of agriculture, amongst the natives, to be attended with infinite trouble: therefore, where we find a province or district, in which the culture of the cane and making of sugar has been in practice from time immemorial, there we may expect, without much exertion, to be able to increase the culture, and improve, if necessary, the quality

In the northern provinces, as well as in Bengal, Cadapah, &c large quantities of sugar and jagary are made; it is only in the Rajahmundry and Ganjam districts of these northern provinces where the cane is cultivated for making sugar. I

will confine my observations to the first, where I have resided between ten and eleven years.

This branch of agriculture, in the above mentioned tract, is chiefly carried on in the Peddapore and Pettapore, along the banks of the Elyferam river, which, though small, has a constant flow of water in at the whole year round, sufficiently large, not only to water the sugar plantations during the dryest seasons, but also a great variety of other productions, such as paddy, ginger, turmeric, yams, chillies, &c. This stream of water, during the dryest season, renders the lands adjoining to this river of more value, I presume, than almost any other in India, and particularly fit for the growth of sugar cane.

By the bye, permit me to observe, that of all the parts of India that I have seen, this seems the best suited for the culture of the mulberry and rearing silk-worms, as well on account of the cheapness of labour, and the general abundance of provisions for the natives, as for the soil, climate, and situation.

But to return to the culture of sugar, in these two zemindaries from 350 to 700 vissams, or from 700 to 1400 acres of land (the vissam being two acres) is annually employed for the rearing sugar cane; more or less, according to the demand for the sugar, for they could and would with pleasure, if they were certain of a market, grow and manufacture more than ten times the usual quantity, for it is very profitable, and there is abundance of very proper land all they want is a certain market for their sugar.

Besides the above-mentioned, a third more may be made on the Delta of the Godavary.

From the same spot they do not attempt to raise a second crop else-

ner than every third or fourth year; the cane impoverishes it so much, that it must rest, or be employed during the two or three intermediate years, for the growth of such plants as are found to improve the soil, of which the Indian farmer is a perfect judge, they find the leguminous tribe the best for that purpose.

The method of cultivating the cane, and manufacturing the sugar by the natives hereabouts, is, like all other works, exceedingly simple; the whole apparatus, a few pairs of buffaloes or bullocks excepted, does not amount to more than a few (15 or 20) pagodas as many thousand pounds is generally, I believe, necessary to set out the West India planter.

The soil that suits the cane best in this climate, is a rich vegetable earth, which, on exposure to the air, readily crumbles down into a very fine mould: it is also necessary for it to be of such a level, as allows of its being watered from the river, by simply damming it up, (which almost the whole of the land adjoining to this river admits of,) and yet so high as to be easily drained during heavy rains. Such a soil, and in such a situation, having been well meliorated, by various crops of leguminous plants, or fallowing, for two or three years, is slightly manured, or has had for some time cattle pent in it; a favourite manure for the cane with the Hindu farmer, is the rotten straw of green and black pealson, (*phascelus umbrinax*). During the months of April and May, it is repeatedly ploughed with the common Hindu plough, which soon brings the loose rich soil into very excellent order. About the end of May and beginning of June, the rains generally set in, so frequent heavy showers; now is the time

time to plant the cane: but should the rains hold back, the prepared field is watered, flooded from the river, and while perfectly wet, like soft mud, whether from rain or the river, the cane is planted.

The method is most simple, labourers, with baskets of the cuttings of one or two joints each, arrange themselves along one side of the field, they walk side by side, in as straight a line as their eye and judgment enables them, dropping the sets at the distance of about eighteen inches asunder in the rows, and about four feet row from row, other labourers follow, and with the foot press the set about two inches into the soft mud like soil, which, with a sweep or two with the sole of the foot, they most easily and readily cover, nothing more is done if the weather is moderately showery, till the young shoots are some two or three inches high, the earth is then loosened to a few inches round them, with a small weeding iron, something like a carpenter's chisel should the season prove dry, the field is occasionally watered from the river, continuing to weed, and to keep the ground loose round the stools. In August, two or three months from the time of planting small trenches are cut through the field at short distances, and so contrived as to serve to drain off the water, should the season prove too wet for the canes, which is often the case, and would render their juices weak and unprofitable, the farmer therefore never fails to have his field plentifully and judiciously intersected with drains, while the cane is small, and before the usual time for the violent rains should the season prove too dry, these trenches serve to conduct the water from the river the more steadily through the field,

and also to drain off what does not soak into the earth in the course of a few hours, for they say, if water is permitted to remain in the field for a greater length of time, the cane would suffer by it, so that they reckon these drains indispensably necessary, and upon their being well contrived depends, in a great measure, their future hopes of profit. Immediately after the field is trenched, the canes are all propped; this is an operation I do not remember to have seen mentioned by any writer on this subject, and is probably peculiar to these parts. It is done as follows:

The canes are now about three feet high, and generally from three to six from each set that has taken root and form, what we may call the stool, the lower leaves of each cane are first carefully wrapped up round it, so as to cover it completely in every part, a small strong bamboo (or two), eight or ten feet long, is then stuck into the earth, in the middle of each stool, and the canes thereof tied to it, thus secures them in an erect position, and gives the air free access round every part. As the canes advance in size, they continue wrapping them round with the lower leaves, as they begin to wither, and to tie them to the prop bamboos higher up, during which time, if the weather is wet, they keep the drains open, and if a drought prevails, they water them occasionally from the river, clearing and loosening the ground every five or six weeks tying the leaves so carefully round every part of the canes, they say, prevents them from cracking or splitting by the heat of the sun, helps to render the juice richer, and prevents their branching out round the sides: it is certain you never see a branchy cane here.

In January and February the canes

cases are ready to cut, which is about nine months from the time of planting, of course I need not describe it. Their height, when standing in the field, will now be from eight to ten feet (foliage included), and the naked cane from an inch to an inch and a quarter in diameter.

A mill or two, or even more, according to the extent of the field, is erected, when wanted, in the open air, generally under the shade of large mangoe trees of which there are great abundance hereabout the mill is small, exceedingly simple, and at the same time efficacious. The juice, as fast as expressed, is received in common earthen pots, strained, and put into boilers, which are, in general, of an oval form, composed of ill made thick plates of country iron riveted together.

These boilers hold from 80 to 100 gallons in each they put from 24 to 30 gallons of the strained juice, the boiler is placed over a draft furnace, which makes the fire burn with great violence, being supplied with a strong draft of air, through a large subterranean passage, which also serves for an exhaust at first the fire is moderate, but as the scum is taken off, a point they are not very nice about in these parts, as they look up to quantity more than quality, the fire is by degrees increased, so as to make the liquor boil very smartly, nothing whatever is added to help the scum to rise, or the sugar to gain, except when the planter wants a small quantity for his own or a friend's use, in this case they add about 40 or 42 pints of sweet milk to every 24 or 30 gallons, or boiler of juice, which no doubt improves the quality of the sugar, the scum, with this addition, comes

up more abundantly, and is more carefully removed.

The liquor is never here removed into a second boiler, but is in the same boiled down to a proper consistence, which they guess at by the eye and by the touch, the fire is then withdrawn, and in the same vessel suffered to cool a little, when it becomes pretty thick, they stir it about with stirring sticks for some time, till it begins to take the form of sugar, it is then taken out and put on mats, made of the leaves of the palmira tree, (*borassus flabelliformis*,) where the stirring is continued till it is cold, it is then put up in pots, baskets, &c. till a merchant appears to buy it.

The Hindu name of this sugar is *panf darry*, its colour is often fairer than most of the raw sugars made in our West India islands, but it is of a clammy, unctuous nature, absorbing much moisture during wet weather, sometimes sufficient to melt a great deal of it, it not carefully stowed in some very dry place where smoke has access to it.

Many of the planters prefer that sort of sugar which they call *bellum*, and European *sagary*, because it keeps well during the wet weather, it kept from the wet. It generally bears a lower price, yet they say this disadvantage is often overbalanced by their being able to keep it, with only a trifling wastage, till a market offers, particularly when the planter has not an immediate market for his sugar; besides, canes of inferior quality answer for *sagary* when unfit for sugar.

The process observed for making *sagary* differs from the above described, in having a quantity of quick-lime thrown into the boiler with the cane juice, about a spoon-
ful

ful and a half to every six or seven gallons of juice, or nine or ten spoons in the boiler. Here they do not remove the scum, but let it mix with the liquor, and when of a proper consistence, about four or five ounces of Gingeley oil (oil of the seeds of *sesamum orientale*;) are added to each boiler of liquor, now ready to be removed from the fire, and very well mixed with it, it is then poured into shallow pits dug in the ground, they are generally about three feet long, one and a half broad, and three inches deep, with a mat laid at the bottom, which is slightly strewed with quick lime in a short time the liquor incorporates into a firm solid mass these large cakes they wrap up in dry leaves, and put by for sale.

Their jagary is of a darker colour than their sugar, and contains more impurities, owing to the careless manner in which they prepare it, by allowing all the scum to remain with the liquor.

The half vissum, or one acre of sugar cane, in a tolerable season, yields about ten candy of the above-mentioned sugar, or rather more if made into jagary, each candy weighs about 500lb and is worth, on the spot, from 16 to 24 rupees, according to the demand. In the West Indies, the acre (so far as my information goes, and it is chiefly from Mr Beekford's History of Jamaica,) yields from 14 to 20 cwt of their raw sugar, worth on the island from 20l currency, here the produce is more than double, but, on account of its inferior quality, and the low price it bears on the spot, the produce does not yield a great deal more money than in the West Indies, however, as here labour is incomparably cheaper, the Indian planter must make much larger profits.

The situation of all the sugar lands hereabout is exactly alike, being the middle of an extensive plain, adjoining to the forementioned river, the soil in all is also much alike, so that the produce is nearly equal in all, when no unfavourable circumstances happen: this is further proved by the quantity of sugar a measure of juice will yield here it is almost always, except in a very rainy season, or in laid down or wormy canes, about one-sixth part, that is, every six pounds, or three quarters of juice yield one pound of sugar. In Jamaica, Mr Beekford says, that, on an average, 1800 gallons of juice may be reckoned to yield an hog-head of sugar, weight 16 cwt which is, within a trifle, one of sugar from eight of juice, this proves our juice to be one fourth part richer than theirs. From the above calculations, it is evident that our lands hereabout are better adapted for this species of culture than the lands in Jamaica, for here they not only yield a larger crop of canes, but the juice thereof is also richer, and were our planters here to bring the molasses, &c into account, employed in the West Indies for the distillation of rum, their profits would be still greater, for at present such refuse they give to their cattle, or let their labourers carry away, or use as they think proper, and, by being so employed, I have no doubt but it is productive of more real good than it converted into ardent spirits; let it continue to be so employed, is my sincere wish, for the longer they are ignorant how to convert what is at present wholesome into a poison, the better it is for them, they have already too many ways of furnishing themselves with spirits, particularly near the residence of Europeans.

Here

Here the canes, while growing, are also subject to fewer accidents than in the West Indies. I will mention them briefly.

1st A very wet season is the worst, it injures the canes greatly, rendering them of a reddish colour, yielding a poor unprofitable juice, here they reckon the small heavy pale yellow canes the best.

2d Storms, unless they are very violent, do no great harm, because the canes are propped, however, if they are once laid down, which sometimes happens, they become branchy and thin, yielding a poor watery juice.

3d The worm is another evil, which generally visits them every few years, a beetle deposits its eggs in the young cane, the caterpillars of these remain in the cane, living on its medullary parts, till they are ready to be metamorphosed into the chrysalis state, sometimes this evil is so great as to injure a sixth or an eighth part of the field but, what is worse, the disease is commonly general when it happens, few fields escaping.

4th. The flowering is the last accident they reckon upon, although it scarcely deserves the name, for it rarely happens, and never but to a very small proportion of some very few fields those canes that flower have very little juice left, and it is by no means so sweet as that of the rest.

Say the average quantity of land employed for the growth of sugar canes in these parts, the zemindaries of P dapore and Pettapore, independent of what is made on or about the islands formed by the mouths of the Godavary, is 650 visiums, equal to 118 acres, and to produce at the rate of 10 candy, or about 44 cwt equal to 24 hogheads per acre; the whole produce in

hogheads will annually be 97,600 of 18 cwt each, which is fully one-fourth part of sugar produced in the island of Jamaica, and I know well, that the quantity might, with advantage to government, I was going to say, but that must be left to be determined hereafter,—I will therefore say, with advantage to the zemindar, farmer, and labourer, be increased to any extent. All the security the planters want, is a strict adherence to the agreement he makes with the zemindar for the land, and a certain market for his sugar, at even the lowest price stated. I observe that the farmer would require to have the agreement he makes for the rent of the land strictly adhered to, because the zemindar raises his demand if the crop is good, so that he will often, in a favourable season, make farmers of all denominations pay probably a fourth more than the original agreement such injustice they are obliged to put up with, as custom has rendered it common, and they have no idea of applying for redress, yet it no doubt damps the spirit of industry, and prevents the soil from any further improvement than the bountiful hand of Nature has bestowed on it, which, in these parts, is great indeed.

The planters in these parts very rarely take a second, or what they call early crop, from the same field, they say, he is either a very poor or a very lazy farmer that does; because those canes yield less juice, and of an inferior quality, than plant canes however, poverty obliges some to do so. This early crop is cut and manufactured in November, which is a busy season in the paddy fields, &c. As this is the time for reaping the coarse or early paddy and satcheny, and for sowing various sorts of small grains, coconuts, &c.

quently attending to the sugar works at that time of the year is inconvenient, besides, the rains are frequent during this month, which is another very great drawback attending this crop. The grand sugar crop fortunately happens during that time of the year (February, March, and April) when there is scarce any other sort of work in the field, consequently both humanity and policy plead in favour of an extended scale to this, or such other branches of agriculture as employ the labourers at a season when there is little or nothing else to do.

I could never learn that any one had ever depended on a third crop from the same field, for they say, if the second is so much inferior to the first, a third must be still worse here hands are, or rather were, so numerous, and labour so cheap, that they find it much more profitable to plant every year.

In the Ganjam district, about Aska and Barampore, the natives make most excellent sugar and sugar-candy, but in small quantities, the sugar is in loaves, of a large grain, and often as perfectly white as what is called in England single refined sugar, and the sugar-candy is superior to any thing of the kind I ever saw.

Mr Alex Anderson, surgeon of the Madras establishment, when with the committee of circuit up there, was so obliging as to send me a very particular account of the method they follow in manufacturing their sugar and sugar-candy, of which the following is a copy.

Extract of a letter from Alexander Anderson, Esq Surgeon of the Madras Establishment

Method of preparing the Sugar in the Ganjam District

“After the cane is ready, it is

cut in pieces of a foot or eighteen inches long, and on the same day it is cut, these pieces are put into a wooden mill, which is turned round by bullocks, on one side of the mill is a small hole sufficient to let the juice pass through, which is received in an earthen pot placed for the purpose. The juice is then strained into other pots, containing about 24 quarts, and to each pot of juice is added about three ounces of quick lime. It is then boiled for a considerable time, till, on taking out a little, and rubbing it between the fingers, it has a waxy feel, when it is taken off the fire, and put into smaller pots with mouths six inches in diameter. The mats may now be kept in this state for six or eight months, or more and it is necessary at any rate to do so for a month or six weeks. When the process is intended to be continued a small hole is made in the bottom through which the syrup drains off, it is then taken out of these pots, and put into shallow bamboo baskets, that any remaining syrup may exude, after which it is put in a cloth, and the syrup is squeezed through the cloth, adding a little water to it occasionally, that it may be more perfectly removed, the sugar is then dissolved in water, and boiled a second time in wide-mouthed pots, containing only three fers, with not too fierce a fire, adding from time to time a little milk and water, and stirring it frequently, which is used by these people to clarify it, instead of eggs, which their religion forbids them to touch. The scum is removed as it is thrown up, and when it resumes the waxy feel, on rubbing a little of it between the fingers, the process is finished, and the sugar put into small wide mouthed pots, to cool and crystallize, after which a small

small hole is bored for the purpose of draining off any little quantity of syrup that may still exude. The outside of the pots are now covered with cow dung, and, for the purpose of making the sugar white, or removing any syrup or blackish appearance, the creeping vine, called in the Hindi *panicba-dub*, and in Telugu *medy-nas*, growing in tanks and marshy places, is put on the top of the sugar in the pots, and renewed every day for five or six days; should the sugar, on taking it out of the pots, be blackish, or less pure towards the bottom of the loaf, being set upon this plant and renewed daily, will effectually remove that appearance. If it is wrapped in a wet cloth, and renewed twice a day, the sugar will also become white, it must be then thoroughly dried and kept for use.

"To make sugar candy, the sugar must be again dissolved in water, and boiled in the same manner as before, adding milk to it, in small quantities, the proportion three seer of sugar and half a seer of milk with water to dissolve the sugar, it is then put into other wide mouthed pots, with but three seer in each pot, putting thin slices of bamboo, or some dried date leaves, which prevents the sugar, as it candies, from running into large lumps.

"Here we see a very superior sugar and sugar candy of the first quality, manufactured in a simple but tedious manner, and at a most trifling expence, a few earthen pots are the only vessels or boilers they require; but it is not to be imagined that such would succeed if the work was carried on to any great extent. The iron boilers employed hereabout might be laid aside for those of copper, or of cast iron, from

Europe, or not, as they like themselves, for it seems of no great consequence but by having a greater number of them to pass the sugar and be well clarified in, would render unnecessary the second process mentioned by Dr ANDERSON, which, on account of its tediousness, must become very inconvenient, consequently, all that seems to be wanted to render the sugars made thereabouts fit for any market, is a boiler, or two or three more in each set, with wooden coolers, instead of losing time to let it cool in the boiler, as is the practice here at present, the addition of some quicklime, and probably alum to the cane juice, and the subsequent claying of it in conical pots, as is done in the West Indies for which process the natives of the Ganjam district substitute moist conserva for covering the sugar in the pots with, and wrapping the loaves, when not sufficiently white, in wet cloths, to extract the molasses.

"The rate of freight from India to England being so very high, renders it the more necessary to make the sugars for that market of a good quality, which can be done here at infinite less expence than in the West India islands, where labour is so exceedingly high.

"If the sugar cane can be cultivated with so much ease, and to such perfection, in this climate, (which is considerably hotter than the West Indies,) by simply burying the set about two inches in the level ploughed field, by which practice the superficial or horizontal roots must be near the surface, of course subject to great heats; I say, if this practice succeeds so well here, it may be presumed it would succeed equally well, if not better, in the West Indies, where the heats are never

never to great, of course the superficial roots of the cane less subject to be scorched

The present practice of digging large square holes to put the sets in, is, I am told, exceedingly laborious, and does not stand the planter in less than 10l per acre, which is nearly double the whole expence of cultivating, from first to last, an acre of cane, and manufacturing the sugar, in this district Should the British legislature deem it proper to emancipate the slaves on those islands, the planter there may then be obliged to cultivate and plant his lands in the manner practised here, or as potatoes are planted with the plough in the fields in England and there is scarce a doubt but that they would in either way succeed fully as well as by planting in holes

Should political motives prevent the importation of East India sugars into England, it is even then of infinite importance to the Company's territories to have the qualities of their sugars improved, to as to render unnecessary the importation of those of China and Batavia, large sums being annually thrown into those places for this commodity, while we, at the same time, possess every advantage for making this necessary article of the best quality, to the full in as high a degree as either the Chinese or Dutch, besides our own wants, we have every reason to imagine, that we might soon be able to supply the Malabar coast, Persia, and Arabia, with sugars whereas, at present they are chiefly supplied from China and Batavia

DESCRIPTION of the COUNTRIES on the Malabar Coast, ceded to the English by the Treaty of Seringapatam, in 1792 — By Lieut JOHN COMYN

THE country, from Mount Delhi to Cochin, was ceded to us by Tippoo, in the late treaty the rajah of Travancore's country extends from the latter place to the extremity of the peninsula, and is under our protection. It is inhabited by three different sects the first is Nairs, or Hindus, the second, Moplas, or Mussulmen, and the third Tiers, which is a low cast. The latter were formerly little better than slaves to the Nairs, to whom the country belongs, and is now governed by them, all the rajahs being of that sect. The Moplas are a very stout race of men, and settled in this country about 400 years ago; they are now nearly as numerous as the Nairs, whose

authority over them they dispute. They are an industrious race of men, but most consummate villains: they dwell chiefly on the sea coast, on account of trade, which they carry on very extensively. The landed property chiefly belongs to the Nairs, who generally employ Tiers to cultivate it. The Moplas possess some large villages inland. The Nairs never inhabit towns, they are the most cleanly people I ever saw, and their houses are exceedingly neat, their food is rice, ghee, and milk, which are the produce of their own land, and salt fish, which is the only thing they have occasion to go to market for. They look upon the Tiers to be so much beneath them, that if any one of them should by chance

chance touch them, they think themselves contaminated, and are obliged to wash their bodies immediately. It formerly often cost the Tier his life without notice being taken. They have a great aversion to the Moplas, and always oppressed them as much as laid in their power, the latter often resisted, which occasioned great disturbances in the country, that are not yet subsided, nor do I suppose they ever will, while one party is allowed to have any superiority over the other. They live in continual apprehensions of one another, and, on both sides, go armed either with a sword or musket, in the inland parts, their muskets are always loaded, and their pouches filled with cartridges, just as in the time of war. We have detachments of sepows, under an European officer, stationed in almost every district, to keep them in order.

The country is divided into petty rajaships, each rajah independent of the other, but all acknowledge the zamorin as their head, though they seldom pay him any tribute. They have no regular troops, when they appear in public, they are attended by as many armed Nairs as they can afford to pay. There are no courts of justice, all disputes are laid before the rajah, or his ministers, and they decide as they think proper. It is a most despotic government, life and death being at the sole disposal of the rajah. The Pandykaut rajah having had some disputes with the zamorin, invited Tippoo to his assistance, who readily accepted the invitation, and invaded the country with a powerful army. The rajah thought it in vain to oppose him in the field, with undisciplined troops, and fled into the jungle, near the ghats, where Tippoo could not follow them. He

of course took possession of the country, and ruled it with a rod of iron. The inhabitants, finding themselves so much oppressed, fled into the jungle, and every thing fell into confusion. The consequence was, he could not collect any revenue, at least very little, in comparison to his disbursements, which were very great, as he was obliged to keep up a strong force, to make up for this, he seized the monied men, whom he maltreated without mercy.

The most unwarrantable act of tyranny he was guilty of, was forcing the Nairs and Tiers to embrace the Mahomedan religion, which exasperated them beyond every thing, they were never completely conquered, but took every opportunity of revenging themselves. On Tippoo's troops leaving the country, which was immediately after the battle of Ferruka, with Colonel Hartley, the zamorin was reinstated in his former power, and also the rajahs in their respective districts. Since that time the country has improved astonishingly, and I make no doubt, in a few years, will turn out a valuable acquisition.

Its chief produce is pepper, cocoa-nuts, rice, and a variety of other grains, it exports a great quantity of each, also cocoa nut oil, and tur-rup, which is made from the husk of the cocoa-nut. The country inland produces very fine timber, which is floated down the rivers during the rainy season; the rivers lie remarkably convenient for that purpose; taking it throughout the coast, there is a fine river at every eight miles. The Company have taken up the pepper of this and last year's growth, for their own use.

The country this year is fixed out to the zamorin, who has agreed

to pay a certain sum to the Company. Every rajah is assessed his proportion out of the revenue, which they collect themselves, and have parties of our sepoys to assist them. It is attended with great inconvenience, as, being clothed with authority, the rajahs greatly impose upon their subjects, especially the Moplas, who, only a few months ago, rose in arms to oppose them, and refused laying them down when our commissioners ordered them to do so. The consequence was, though in the height of the rains, the Calicut detachment was ordered out against them, with our guns, but the evening before we were to

march, they submitted. Three commissioners from Bombay, and two from Bengal, have been employed since June last in settling the country; they have now nearly finished their arduous task, and have drawn up a plan for government's approbation. William Gamul Farmer, Esq. is appointed supervisor and chief magistrate on the coast, Lieut. Colonel Hartley to command the troops, they both reside at Calicut. Our territory is divided into the northern and southern district, each district has a collector, and three assistants under him, on very handsome allowances.

An Account of BORNEO,

Continued in a Letter from Mr. JOHN JESSY, to the Court of Directors, from Borneo Proper

As I am the first servant the Company ever had, or even European, which, for a number of years, has visited this part of the island of Borneo, I have presumed to lay before you every, even the minutest particular, which has occurred to my knowledge worthy your observation, that you may be the better enabled to form a just idea of your connexions here, and to judge with precision what measures may, hereafter, most readily effect the objects you have had in view, by an establishment in this quarter.

The chief and council of Balamangan, in the beginning of the last year, addressed a letter to the state of Borneo, informing them of being arrived at Balamangan, and expressing their wishes to enter into alliance with them. In consequence of this invitation, an ambassador arrived from thence in June, and I had the honour of being appointed to

return with him, to open an intercourse there, and to enter into such engagements as might appear most to the Company's advantage.

I arrived here in the month of August, and found them unanimous in their inclination to cultivate the friendship and alliance of the honourable Company, in consequence thereof, I made it my first care to discover the motives which principally induced them therein, that I might be the better enabled so to frame my treaty, as to keep them dependent in such particulars as they most essentially stood in need of; which I then found to be, and have since been confirmed therein, was protection from their practical neighbours, the Sooloos and Mudanaos, and others, who were making continual depredations on their coast, by taking advantage of their natural timidity. To relieve them, therefore, in this particular, and to in-

duce them the more readily to consent to my subsequent proposals, I stipulated by one of the articles, that (if attacked) the Company should protect them, and having thus gratified them in their principal want, in return I demanded for the Company, agreeable to the tenor of my instructions, the exclusive trade of the pepper, as I well knew it was the grand object they wished to attain, and I therefore also made it my study to be thoroughly acquainted with every particular relative thereto. I was informed the quantity that year was 4000 peculs, cultivated solely by a colony of Chinese settled here, and sold to the junks at the rate of 17 $\frac{2}{3}$ per pecul, in China cloth called congongs, which, for want of any other specie, are become the standard for regulating the price of all other commercial commodities at this port. Although I was well convinced it could never answer the Company's purpose to pay so high a price for the pepper, especially where the quantity was so small, I notwithstanding in the treaty made a point of securing to them the exclusive trade of that article, to be paid for in merchandise, at such rates as might indemnify them at present, in the inconvenience of the high price, to the end that it might divert the channel of the junk trade from this to Balambangan, (their grand inducement for coming here being thus removed,) which, together with my having bound the state to oblige all their dependents to make plantations, whereby the quantity would not only be greatly increased, but, from their having no other purchasers, the Company would be enabled to fix such prices as would give ample encouragement to the planters, and soon reimburse the ex-

pences, which were necessitated to be borne at the beginning of the undertaking, and the more so, as in consequence of their prosperity, becoming yearly richer, they would find our protection but the more indispensably necessary.

Things being fixed on this basis—the Englishman and the Borneyan becoming thus mutually necessary to each other, I flattered myself the event might have produced a solid and real commercial advantage, as well to the Nation as to the Company, and the more so, as from the great probability of the hill people being soon induced also to plant, who, by receiving cloth as the price of their industry, would naturally increase the consumption, and render our manufactures with them a necessary of life, these being by far the most numerous, and the aborigines of the island another advantage accruing therefrom is, that having once connected these people in interest with the Company, and familiarized them to our custom, the inhabitants of the sea-coast would be unable (were they inclined) to obstruct or molest the prosecution of the Company's views. These were the motives which first induced me to secure to the Company, in the treaty with the Bornevan, the exclusive trade to the pepper, although, at that time, on seemingly disadvantageous terms, how far I may have acted with propriety, remains with the Company to determine.

I now come to say something of the characteristics of the different sects of the inhabitants.

The Borneyans who inhabit the sea-coast are Mahomedans, and, as they say, are originally an emigration from Jehore, but are ignorant of the chronology, they extended their dominions over these coasts,

Palawan,

Palawan, Manla, and other parts of the Philipinas, and even Sooloo, as Mr Dalrymple observes, was formerly a part of this empire. From these extensive conquests, and the unconnected traditions I have had from them, I am inclined to think they were originally a warlike people, but, as most other empires, when arrived at a pitch of grandeur, have generally declined to nearly their original state, from a want of that vigorous and active government which is so essentially necessary in supporting all acquisition of a need merely by force of arms, so appears to be the case with that of Borneo, and I am the more convinced of it, from that entire indolence and inactivity I found them immersed in on my arrival, being totally degenerated from that courage and enterprise which seems to have marked the character of their roving ancestors, and deprived of their influence, in all their former dominions situated to the northward of Borneo.

From what I have been led to say relative to this state, it may be seen they are enervated and unwarlike, added to which, they seem to be envious of the private property of each other to a great degree; but, on the other hand, I have found them fair in their dealings, cool and deliberate in their resentments, even where the object is in their power, candid in their intentions; strangers to what we call the world, although not deficient in the innate faculty of the understanding, as they seem to have in great perfection such mechanical arts as are met with in these countries, particularly in the foundry of brass cannon, wherein they excel all the Asiatics I have seen on this side, or have heard of on the other.

That they are constant in their attachments, I think I may say, from their behaviour subsequent to the unhappy capture of Balambangan; for although threatened by the Sooloos, in case they should supply us, and that at a time when many of their boats were trading in the verge of the Sooloo districts, they set them at defiance, and generously afforded such assistance as lay in their power.

With respect to the Idaan, or Mooroots, as they are called here, I cannot give any account of their disposition, but, from what I have heard from the Borneys, they are abandoned idolaters, one of their tenets, so strangely inhuman, I cannot pass unnoticed, which is, that their future interest depends upon the number of their fellow-creatures they may have killed in any engagement, or common disputes, and count their degrees of happiness hereafter to depend on the number of human skulls in their possession; from which, and the wild disorderly life they lead, unrestrained by any bond of civil society, we ought not to be surprised if they are of a cruel and vindictive disposition. They are, as yet, near to a state of nature, but have a great share of innate cunning, of which I had a striking instance in the following circumstance. Two of their principal chiefs, induced from curiosity, came one day to the factory, they plainly told me they came to see a white man, and should judge of my treatment of them then, what inducement they might have to cultivate an intercourse with me. pleased with the prospect, however faint, of having thus met with an instrument through which I might encompass, in time, what I have ever esteemed my capital object, I endeavoured to ingratiate myself by

giving them small presents of different assortments of goods, and expressed a desire to see them again. One only of them shortly afterwards returned, with some provisions, which I learnt he had first been endeavouring to sell to the junks, and even then demanded of me such an exorbitant price as I could not think of complying with.

They are represented, however, as industrious in cultivating their paddy plantations, and in following such other employments as are known amongst them, but having *no purchaser for the commodity* but the Bornevans, who treat them very indifferently the intercourse, of consequence, is not carried to any extent.

Their arms are long knives and soompittans, a tube of wood, about six feet long, through which they blow small arrows, poisoned at one end, having at the other a small bit of cork wood, just big enough to fill up the hollow of the tube, the least touch of which, where blood is produced, is certain death, unless immediately counteracted by the medicine they make use of.

Their dress, at present, is nothing more than a girdle, or long slip of fluff, made of the bark of a certain tree, which turns between the thighs to cover their nudities, one end of which hangs down before, the other behind.

The civil government of Borneo is vested with a sultaan and a superior council, which consist of those pangarans who hold the great offices of the state; such as a bandahara, in whose hands is lodged the whole executive power; de gadong, or director of the sultaan's household, the *tanjung*, or commander in chief, on their occasional war, the *pa mancha*, or mediator in disputes; and the shabandar to assist these

are three oran kayos, de gadong, svattan, and shabandar. There are many others who hold the title of pangarans, but who are called to council only on particular matters.

I cannot better convey an idea of this form of government, than to say it bears a strong resemblance to our ancient feudal system, for although there is more respect paid to the regal power here than in any other Malay country I have been in, (for this obvious reason, that the sultaan has entirely the power of appointing the great officers of state, and of course can always influence the public councils,) yet, however, each pangaran has the entire sway over his particular dependants, whose cause they never fail to espouse, even where he may stand in opposition to the sovereign authority.

They have no particular laws against treason, murder is capitally punished, except in the case where the master kills the slave, polygamy prevails, as in all other Mahomedan countries, but they seldom intermarry with foreigners: the original law in cases of adultery required the parties to be instantly strangled, but for want of it being properly enforced, and the difficulty there would be found in punishing such as have a number of adherents, people in power often pass with impunity, whilst, towards the middle or inferior rank of people, it is extended with the utmost rigour. Theft, according to the degree of the crime, is punished with death, or the loss of the right hand. I found in the course of my transactions with them, they have as yet no institutions of a commercial nature, which may be attributed to the want of communication with other nations, the Chinese excepted, who make presents to the head men

in lieu of duties. Those of that nation settled here, reap without molestation the fruits of their industry, but the casual traders suffer many losses from there being no law which obliges the debtor to discharge his debt, and the necessity they are under of complying with every unreasonable request of those of any consideration in the place.

Having thus communicated what I know of the characteristics and policy of the Borneans, it will not be improper to observe, that from the plenty and goodness of the timbers found here, the Chinese have been induced to adopt the scheme of building junks, and have found it by experience turn out to advantage, although necessitated to bring the workmen and many of the materials from China. One of the burthen of 7000 peculs (380 tons) was built this year, on the following plan: two nouquedahs of junks, and the captain of the Chinese residing here, entered into a contract, whereby the latter, on the one part, agreed to provide the timber, and the former stipulated to bring the artificers and iron work from Amoy. The keel was laid in the beginning of March, and she was launched the 28th of May the entire cost and out fit amounting, as I have been [†] informed by the contracting parties, to no more than 8,500 Spanish dollars, which, when allowing for the profits on their congonga, is not more than 4,250 Spanish dollars.

From hence it may be inferred, that should it ever be the Company's intentions to establish, in these parts, a marine wherein small craft might be wanted, they could be built on easy and advantageous terms, as I have found, on inquiry of the nouquedahs, there would be no difficulty in procuring artificers

from China, by the junks, on very moderate encouragement.

The river of Borneo is navigable, far above the town, for ships of a very considerable burthen, and the only difficulty lies at the mouth of it, where the channel is very narrow, for about a quarter of a mile in length, through which there is not above seventeen feet at high water, however, the bottom is soft mud, and the place so completely landlocked, there never can be any surf, and consequently a ship taking the ground can be attended with no bad consequences.

My non acquaintance with marine matters disengage me from judging, with precision, as to the expediency of making docks here, but from the temporary ones made by the Chinese, wherein they build their junks, and out of which they are floated, I should imagine they might be made with convenience for vessels of 400 tons, and I am rather encouraged in this opinion, from the banks of the river being a tough clay, and therefore a good foundation, in which it has the preference above Laboan, the shores there being only a quick sand. The water here flows from eight to nine feet spring tides.

Chimerical are the expectations of finding in these countries, any people so disinterested as not to be ready to take an advantage which chance may throw in their way, where resolutions are not more biased by dread than attachment; and how unreasonable it is to expect any success in these parts, unless where there is a force sufficient to awe, as well as to protect? for although the chief and council here seem to think the Borneans have infringed their agreement, by not giving us the whole of the pepper, yet neither

have we, on our parts, been able to fulfil that of affording them protection, which they have experienced by the loss of their boats, seized by our mutual enemy the Sooloos, to the amount of 20,000 Spanish dollars this will occasion surprize, as there were not only several vessels on the Balambangan establishment, but likewise two small cruisers sent from Bombay properly adapted to that purpose. of these, one was upset, being ordered out in tempestuous weather, to cruise for the ship *Lexia*, then expected, the other sent with the

same vessel to keep a-head of her all the way to China, and which lost her passage in returning, being obliged to bear away for Malacca, from whence she is this month arrived. The public service, therefore, expected to accrue from them has been rendered totally abortive, by being made subservient to private convenience, and the protection due to the Company's allies having been thus withdrawn, the Borneseans cannot, with justice, be accused of want of faith, in not scrupulously fulfilling the engagements on their part,

LETTERS of Sir THOMAS ROE, during his Residence at the Court of the Mogul Emperer, JEHANGEE.

[Having in the Third Chapter of our History given an Account of Sir THOMAS ROE's Embassy to the Court of Jehangere, our Readers will peruse with satisfaction the following original Letters of that Ambassador, from which we principally extracted our information, more especially as they contain many curious particulars which it was foreign to our purpose to notice.]

An Extract of a Letter from Sir THOMAS ROE to the East India Company, dated at Ajmere, January 25, 1615

"At my first audience, the mogul prevented me in speech, bidding me welcome as to the brother of the king my master, and after many compliments I delivered his majesty's letter, with a copy of it in Persian then I shewed my commission, and delivered your presents, that is, the coach, the virginals, the knives, the scarf embroidered, and a rich sword of my own. He sitting in his state, could not well see the coach, but sent many to view it, and caused the musician to play on the virginals, which gave him content. At night, having staid the coachman and musician, he came down into a court, got into the coach, and into every corner of

it, causing it to be drawn about. Then he sent to me, though it was ten o'clock at night, for a servant to put on the scarf and sword after the English fashion, which he was so proud of, that he walked up and down flourishing it, and has never since been seen without it. But after the English were come away, he asked the Jesuit, whether the king of England were a great king, that sent presents of so small value, and that he looked for some jewels, yet rarities please as well, and if you were yearly furnished from Frankfort, where there are all sorts of knacks and new devices, a hundred pounds would go farther than five hundred pounds laid out in England, and be more acceptable here. This country is spoiled by the many presents that have been given, and it will be chargeable to

follow the example. There is nothing more welcome here, nor did I ever see men so fond of drink, as the king and prince are of red wine, whereof the governor of Surat sent up some bottles, and the king has ever since solicited for more, I think four or five casks of that wine will be more welcome than the richest jewel in Chesapeake, large pictures on cloth, the frames in pieces, but they must be good, and for variety, some stovv with many faces. For the queen, fine needle-work toys, bone laces, cut-work, and some handsome wrought waistcoats, sweet-bags, and cabinet nets, will be most convenient. I would wish you to spare sending scarlet, it is dear to you, and no better esteemed here than flannel. I must add, that any fair China bedsteads, or cabinets, or trunks of Japan, are here rich presents.

"Late the king of Visapour sent his ambassador with thirty six elephants, two of them with all their chains of wrought beaten gold, two of silver, the rest of brass, and four rich furnished horses, with jewels to the value of ten lacks of rupees. Yet withal he sent china-ware, and one figure of crystal, which the king valued more than all that mass of wealth.

"This place is either made, or of itself unfit for an ambassador, for though they understand the character, yet they have much ado to understand the privileges due to it, and the rather because they have been too humbly sought to before."

Extract of a Letter to the Archbishop of CANTERBURY, dated at Ajmere, January 29, 1615

"Laws, these people have none written, the king's judgment binds, who sits and gives sentence once a week, with much patience, both in

civil and criminal causes, where sometimes he sees the execution done by his elephants, with too much delight in blood.

"His governors of provinces rule by his firmauns, which are his letters, or commissions, authorising them, and taking life or goods at pleasure.

"There are many religions, and in them many sects. Moors, or Mahomedans following Ali, and such is the king. Bamians or Pythagoreans, believing the transmigration of souls, and therefore will not kill the vermin that bite them, for fear of dislodging the soul. They often buy many days respite from killing any flesh in a province or city, merely out of charity. Idolaters there are of several sorts, their wives adorning the funeral piles, and casting themselves into the flames with great joy.

"The extent of this dominion is on the west to Synda, on the north west to Candabar, on the north almost to the mountain Taurus, on the east to the borders of the Ganges, and south-east all Bengala, the land forming the gulf down to Deccan. It is much greater than the Persian monarchy, almost, if not quite, equal to the Turkish. Agra, the ordinary residence of the king, is near a thousand miles from any of the borders, and further from some. The right issue of Porus is here a king in the midst of the mogul's dominions, never subdued till last year, and to say the truth, he is rather bought than conquered, won to own a superior by gifts, and not by arms. The pillar erected by Alexander is yet standing at Delhi, the ancient seat of Rama, the successor of Porus."

"The buildings are all, base of mud, one story high, except in Surat, where there are some of stone.

* B 4

I know

I know not by what policy the king seeks the ruin of all the ancient cities, which were nobly built, and now lie desolate and in rubbish. His own houses are of stone, handsome and uniform. His great men build not, for want of inheritance, but, as far as I have yet seen, live in tents, or houses worse than our cottages. Yet, where the king likes, as at Agra, because it is a city erected by him, the buildings, as is reported, are fair, and of carved stone.

"In revenue, he doubtless exceeds either Turk or Persian, or any eastern prince, the sums I dare not name; but the reason *ALL THE LAND IS HIS, NO MAN ELSE HAS A FOOT*. He maintains all that are not mechanics, by revenues bestowed on them reckoned by horses, and the allowance of many is greater than the estates of German princes. All men rise to greater and greater lordships as they advance in favour, which is got by frequent presents rich and rare. The mogul is heir to all that die, as well those that gained it by their industry, as merchants, &c. as those that live by him. He takes all their money, only leaving the widow and daughters what he pleases. To the sons of those that die worth two or three millions, he gives some small lordship to begin the world anew.

"The king sets out in three several places, at three times of the day, except something extraordinary hinder him. An hour at noon to see his elephants fight, from four till five to entertain all comers, to be seen and worshipped, from nine till midnight amidst his principal men in more familiarity, being below among them.

"All the policy of his state is to keep the greatest men about him, or to pay them afar off liberally.

There is no council, but every officer gives the king his opinion apart.

"He (meaning Jehangere) is of countenance cheerful, and not proud in nature, but only by habit and custom, for at night he is very affable, and full of gentle conversation.

Extract of a Letter from Sir THOMAS ROE to the Archbishop of CANTERBURY, dated Ajmere, 30th October 1616

"Before the inundation of Timur the great, that is Tamerlane, the ninth ancestor of this king, these countries were governed by divers heathen petty princes, worshipping all sorts of creatures after their several manners. Tamerlane's offspring brought in the knowledge of Mahommed, but imposed it on none by the law of conquest, leaving consciences at liberty. So that the natives, from the circumcision brought in by the Mahommedans, called then Moguls, or chief of the circumcised. Among the Moguls there are many strict Mahommedans, many that follow Ali, his son-in-law, and other later prophets, who have their muths, or priests, their mosques, religious votaries, washings, prayings, and ceremonies without end. And as for penitence, no sect in the world can shew such strange examples, nor boast of such voluntary poverty, penishments, sufferings, and chastisements, as these, who are all esteemed holy men, but of a mixed religion, not upright with their prophet. [Sir T. Roe should have excepted the Hindus who far outdo the Mahommedans in this particular.] The Gentiles (Hindus) are of more sorts, some valiant good soldiers, drinking wine, eating hog's flesh, but worshipping the figure of a beast, some who will not touch the

the flesh that is not holy by impatation, others that will not eat any thing that ever had life, nor kill the vermin that bites them, nor drink in the same cup with those that do, superstitious in washing, and most zealous in their profession, but all of them ascribe a sort of divinity to the river Ganges, at which, once a year, forty or fifty thousand meet, and cast in gold and silver for an oblation. In like manner they reverence a pig's head in a pagoda near this city, and all living cows, and some other beasts and creatures. These have their pagodas, and holy men, prophets, witches, soothsayers, and all other impostures of the devil. The Mahomedan mulhaes (*malaves*) know somewhat in philosophy and the mathematics, are great astrologers, and can talk of Aristotle, Euclid, and other authors. The learned tongue is the Arabian. In this confusion they continued till the time of Ekbar Shah, father to this king, without any knowledge of christianity. Ekbar Shah, being a prince by nature just and good, inquisitive after novelties, curious of new opinions, and excelling in many virtues, especially in piety and reverence to wards his parents, called in three *1 Jesuits from Goa, the chief of whom was Jerom Xaverius, a Navarrous. After their arrival, he heard them discourse with much satisfaction, and dispute of religion, and caused F. Xaverius to write a book in defence of his religion, against both Moors and Gentiles, which, when finished, he read in every night, and had some part discussed. Finally, he granted them his letters patent to build, preach, teach, convert, and to use all their rites and ceremonies as freely as in Rome, bestowing on them means to erect their churches and places of devo-

tion. In this grant he gave liberty to all sorts of men to become Christians, even to his own court and blood, professing it should be no cause of distavour. Ekbar Shah himself continued a Mahomedan, yet he began to make a breach into the law, for considering that Mahommed was but a man, and a king as he was, and therefore revered, he thought he might prove as good a prophet himself. This detection of the king spread not far, a certain outward awe with held him, and so he died in the formal profession of his sect. Jehangeer Shah, his son, the present king, being the issue of this new fancy, and never circumcised, bred up without any religion at all, continues so to this hour, and is an atheist. Sometimes he will profess himself a Mahomedan, but always observes the holy days, and does all ceremonies with the Gentiles. He is pleased with all religions, but loves none that changes and falling into his father's conceit, has dared to proceed further in it, and to profess himself, for the main of his religion, to be a greater prophet than Mahommed, and has formed to himself a new one, being a mixture of all others, which many have received with such superstition, that they will not eat till they have saluted him in the morning for which purpose he comes at sun rising to a window, open to a great plain before his house, where multitudes attend him. When the Moors about him talk of Mahommed, he will soothe them, but is glad when any one will lash out against him. Of Christ, he never utters any disrespectful words, nor do any of all these sects, which is a wonderful secret working of God's truth, and worth observing.

As for the new planted Chris-
tians

man church, he confirmed and enlarged its privileges, spending two hours every night for a year in hearing disputes, often dropping words of his conversation, but to a wicked purpose. To give the more hope, he delivered many youths into the hands of F. Francisco Corsi, still resident here, to teach them to read and write Portuguese, and to instruct them in humane learning, and in the law of Christ. To that purpose, the father kept a school some years, to which the king sent two princes, his brother's sons, who being brought up in the knowledge of God, and his Son, our blessed Saviour, were solemnly baptized in the church of Agra, with great pomp, being first carried up and down all the city on elephants in triumph, and this by the king's express order, who would often examine them to see what progress they made, and seemed well pleased with them. This made many bend towards the same way, being ignorant of his majesty's intention, others that knew him better, supposed he suffered this in policy to render those children odious to the Moors for their conversion, the strength of his estate consisting in them; but all men mistook his design, which was thus discovered. When these and some other children were settled, as was thought, in the Christian religion, and had learnt the principles thereof, as to marry but one wife, not to be coupled with infidels, &c. the king sent the boys to demand Portuguese wives of the Jesuits, who thinking it only an idle notion of their own, chid them, and suspected no more. But that being the end of their conversion, to get a woman for the king, and no carrying taken in it, the two princes came to the Jesuits, and delivered up their crosses,

and all other tokens of religion, declaring they would be no longer Christians, because the king of Portugal sent them no presents nor wives as they expected. The fathers seeing this, began to doubt there was more in it than the boys discovered, especially seeing their confidence, that had cast off the awe of pupils, and examining the matter, they confessed the king commanded them. The Jesuits refused to receive their crosses, answering they had been given by his majesty's order, and they would not take notice of any such surrender from boys, but bid them desire the king to send one of those who are, according to order, to deliver all his majesty's commands, whose words are by privilege a sufficient warrant, and then they would accept of them, hoping the king would not discover himself to any of his officers in this poor plot. The boys returned with this message, which enraged the king, but being desirous to break up the school, and withdraw the youth without noise, he bid them call the Jesuits to the women's door, where, by a lady, he gave the order, and without ever taking any notice since of any thing, his kinsmen were recalled, and are now absolute Moors, without any taste of their first faith, and here have ended the conversions of these infidels.

"I will add one or two more pleasant relations, and so conclude. Not long since the Jesuits' house and church being burnt, the crucifix remained untouched, which was given out for a miracle, and much talked of. The king, who never lets slip any opportunity of new talk, or novelties, hearing of this accident, calls the Jesuit, and questions him about it. He answers him ambiguously; whereupon his majesty

majesty asked, whether he did not desire to convert him? and being answered in the affirmative, replied, You speak of your great miracles, and of many done in the name of your prophet: if you will cast the crucifix and picture of Christ into a fire before me, if it burn not, I will become a Christian. The Jesuit refused the trial, as unjust, answering, that God was not tied to the call of man, that it was a sin to tempt him, and that he wrought miracles according to his own will, yet he offered to cast himself into the fire for a proof of his faith, which the king would not allow of. Here arose a great dispute, begun by the prince, a most stiff Mahomedan, and hater of all Christians, urging that it was reasonable to try our religion after this manner, but withal, that if the crucifix did burn, then the Jesuit should be obliged to turn Moor. He urged as examples miracles said to be wrought for less purposes than the conversion of so mighty a king, and spoke scornfully of Christ Jesus. The king took up the argument, and defended our Saviour to be a prophet, comparing his works with those of their absurd saints, instancing the raising of the dead, which never any of their's did. The prince replied, that to give sight to one born blind, was as great a miracle. This being hotly debated on both sides, a third man interposed to end the controversy, saying, that both the father and the son were in the right as to their opinions, for to raise a dead body to life, must be owned to be the greatest miracle ever done, but that to give sight to an eye naturally blind, was the same work, because a blind eye was dead, sight being the life of it, therefore he that gave sight to a blind eye, did as it were raise it

from death. Thus this discourse ended.

"The other story is that a juggler of Bengala, of which craft there are many, and very subtle at it, brought before the king a great ape, which, as he said, could divine and prophecy, and to this beast some of the Indian sects attribute a sort of divinity. The king took a ring off his finger, and caused it to be hid under the boy's girdle, there being a dozen present: then bid the ape divine, who went to the right child and took it out. His majesty being somewhat more curious, caused the names of twelve law-givers, as Christ, Moses, Mahomed, Ali, and others, to be writ on twelve papers in the Persian tongue, and shuffling them in a bag, bid the beast divine which was the true law-giver, who putting in his paw, took out that inscribed with the name of Christ. This amazed the king, who suspecting the ape's master could read Persian, and might assist him, wrote them anew in court characters, and presented them a second time. The ape found the right, and kissed it. At this a great officer grew angry, telling the king it was an imposture, and desiring he might have leave to make the scrolls anew, offering to undergo any punishment if the ape could deceive him. He writ the names, putting only eleven in the bag, and kept the other in his hand. The monkey searched, but refused all, the king commanded it to bring one, it tore them in a fury, and made signs the true law-giver's name was not among them. The king asked where it was, and the ape ran to the nobleman and caught him by the hand, in which was the paper inscribed with the name of Christ Jesus. The king was con-

sidered.

cerned, and keeps the ape This was done in public before thousands, and no doubt is to be made of the truth of the matter of fact

Extract of a Letter from Sir Thomas Roe to the East India Company, dated Ajmere, 24th November 1616

"Concerning the aiding the Mogul, or waisting his subjects into the Red Sea, it is now useless, yet I made offer of your affections, but when they need not a courtesy, they regard it as a dog does dry bread when his belly is full. The king has peace with the Portuguese, and will never make a constant war, except first we displant them, then his greatness will step in for a share of the benefit, which dares not partake of the peril. When they have peace, they scorn our assistance, and speak as loud as our cannon, if we oppress them, they dare not put out under any protection, nor will they pay for it. You must remove all thoughts of trading to their port, any otherwise than defending yourselves, and leaving them to their fortune. You can never oblige them by any benefits, and they will sooner fear than love you. Your residence you need not doubt, as long as you tame the Portuguese, therefore avoid all other charge as unnecessary. At my first arrival, I understood a fort was very necessary, but experience teaches me we have refused it to our own advantage. If he would offer me ten, I would not accept of one. First, when the river is commodious, the country is barren, and has no trade, the passages to better parts so full of thieves, that the king's authority avails not, and the strength of the hills secures them in that life. If it had been fit for trade, the natives

would have chosen it, for they feel the inconveniency of a barred haven, and it is argument enough of some secret inconveniency, that they make not use of it. But if it were safe without the walls, yet it is not an easy work to divert the course of trade, and draw the resort of merchants from their accustomed mart, especially for our commodity, which is bought by parcels, and cannot be called staple. Secondly, the charge is greater than the trade can bear, for to maintain a garrison will eat out the profit. An hundred men will not keep it, for if once the Portuguese see you take that course, they will use all their endeavours to supplant you. A war and traffick are incompatible. By my consent you shall never engage yourselves but at sea, where you are like to gain as often as to lose. The Portuguese, notwithstanding their many rich residencies, are beggared by keeping of soldiers, and yet their garrisons are but mean. They never made advantage of the Indies since they defended them. Observe this well. It has been also the error of the Dutch, who seek plantations here by the sword, they turn a wonderful stock, they prowl in all places, they possess some of the best, yet their dead pays consume all the gain. Let this be received as a rule, that if you will profit, seek it at sea, and in quiet trade, for without controversy, it is an error to affect garrisons and land wars in India. If you made it only against the natives, I should agree to it; but to make it for them, they do not deserve it, and you should be very wary how you engage your reputation in it. You cannot so easily make a fair retreat as an onset. One disaster would either discredit you, or engage you in a war of extreme danger and doubtful event.

event besides, an action so subject to chance as a war, is most unfitly undertaken, and with most hazard, when the remoteness of the place for supplies, succours and counsel, subjects it to irrecoverable loss for where there is most uncertainty, remedies should be so much the nearer upon all occasions. At sea, you may take and leave, your designs are not published. The road of Suall, and the port of Surat, are the fittest for you in all the Mogul's territories. I have weighed it well, and deliver you that which will never be disproved. You need no more. It is not a number of ports, residencies, and factories, that will profit you they will increase charge, but not recompense it. The conveniency of one with respect to your sales, and commodity of investment, and the well employing of your servants, is all you need. A port to secure your ships, and a fit place to unload, will not be found together. The road at Suall, during the season, is as safe as a pond. Surat, Cambaya, Baroch, and Amadabat, are better traded than all India, and treated commodiously. The inconveniences are, the Portuguese at sea, and the landing of goods. To obviate the first, you must bring to pass that your lading be ready by the end of September at the port, which may be effected by a stock before hand, or by taking up money for three months, and so you may discharge and load at once, and depart in excellent season for England, and the enemy will not have time to offend you, being newly arrived and if
 * the preparation be of longer date, we shall know it. For the second, to land goods without the danger of frigates, and to save the carriage over land, you must send a pinnace of sixty tons, with ten guns, that

draws but seven or eight feet of water, to pass up the river between Suall and Surat, and so your goods will be safe, and in your own command, to the customhouse quay, and it will a little awe the town; she may afterwards proceed according to your appointment. The commodities you sell pass best in that quarter, the goods you seek being indigo and cloth, no one place is so fit for both, and the less inconveniences are to be chosen. Synda is possessed by the Portuguese, or, if free, were no fitter than Surat, nor safer, as it is, will be more subject to peril.

"For the settling your traffick here, I doubt not to effect any reasonable desire my credit is sufficient with the king, and your force will always bind him to constancy. It will not need so much help at court as you suppose a little countenance, and the discretion of your factors, will with easy charge return you most profit, but you must alter your stock. Let not your servants deceive you, cloth, lead, teeth, quicksilver, are dead commodities, and will never drive this trade, you must succour it by change. Articles of treaty on equal terms I cannot obtain, want of presents has disgraced me, and yet by piece-meal I have got as much as I desired at once. I have recovered all bribes, extortions, and debts made and contracted before my time till this day or at least an honourable composition.

"The presents sent are too few to follow example, they will scarce serve the first day. The rule is, at every arrival of a fleet, the Mogul, and the prince, during his government of our port, will expect a formal present and some letter from the king, our solicitor from you, which need not be dear, if well

well chosen. Your agent must be furnished with a china shop to serve small turns, for often giving of trifles is the way of preferment, it cannot be neglected, and I have been scorned for my poverty in that kind. At my delivery of the first sent by me, contentment outwardly appeared, but I will acquaint you with the cabinet council's opinion, by which you may judge three exceptions were taken and argued by the king and his great ones. First, it was censured to name presents in a king's letter, to be sent by a principal man, his ambassador, and such poor ones delivered, meaner and sower than when they came with less ostentation that if they had not been named as from a monarch, they had been less despicable; for such is their pride, that though the coach, for its form, and as a model, gave much content, yet the matter was scorned, and it was never used till two others of rich stuff were made by it, and that covered with cloth of gold, harness and furniture, and all the tin nails headed with silver, or hatched so that it was nine months in repairing, and when I saw it, I knew it not. Secondly, exception was taken that his majesty did write his name before the mogul, but it matters not for that dull pride. Thirdly, that his majesty in his letter intimated, that honour and profit should arise to this prince by the English and their trade, which he so much seems to hear of, that he would willingly be rid of it and us if he durst. The forgetting to send me letters diminishes my credit, which is to be maintained by all ceremony, and Sultan Khorone expected one was honour to him.

"The suffering volunteers to pass in your fleets is an extreme accommodation. How to dispose of one

here honestly, I know not. Assure yourselves they are either some ungaily youths, that want ground to sow their humours, and are exposed to be ramed, and may do you and me much prejudice in reputation. I have had a bitter experience of some taken by myself in good nature. Here is subject to practise all vice upon, and no virtue to be learned. Or else they are sent at your charge to learn to discover the straits andittest places of interception of Indian goods for a future voyage, and to enable them by experience to do you mischief, who bred them to it. I know many envy you this trade, and would be extremely glad to rob you of it, you cannot do better than keep all men in ignorance but yourselves, or at least as many as necessity does not oblige you to use.

"The Dutch are arrived at Surat from the Red Sea with some money and southern commodities. I have done my best to disgrace them, but could not turn them out without farther danger. They come on the same ground we stand on, fear of their ships, against which, I suppose you will warrant the subjects of this king. Your comfort is, here are goods enough for both.

"Concerning Persia, the factors do not understand what they have undertaken. Jeddah is no port or place for sale of goods, and those they have sent not saleable. In order to secure your safety and the Portuguese, there are but two ways, peace or compulsion. The first I have undertaken by means of a Jesuit, but despair of success. The next is force, which is always used, to disadvantage, when you are only upon the defensive. My opinion is, that you give orders to all your fleets to make prize of them, and that as you now ride at Soala road

to protect one ship, you would send that guard next year to ride before Goa, to brave or burn them, or at least to stop them that they may not put to sea in December, so you will make them lose their seasons, and one or two returns stoppt would undo them. On my word, they are weak in India, and able to do your fleet no harm, but by supplies from Lisbon, where you must endeavour to have intelligence, and apply your strength accordingly. Thus you will add much reputation to your cause, and force them to that which their pride will never suffer them to see they want more than you, which is a quiet trade. For your traffic into the Red Sea, it is more important than all other projects: my counsel is, that one of your smallest ships, with the finest English goods, and such others as this country affords, go yearly in company of the Guzerats, and trade for themselves for money, which is taken in abundance, and return in September with them to supply this place. The profit exceeds all the trades of India, and will derive this alone. The danger is rather a jealousy than substantial. When the Turks betrayed Sir Henry Middleton, your factories and courses in those parts were unknown to them, and doubtless we being strangers in that sea, were mistrusted for pirates. Experience has made us better known, and in company of the Guzerats, for their sake, whom they cannot spare, we shall be admitted. The king would write to the admiral to entertain our consort-ship, and they would be glad of it, and it were one of the best securities of our friendship. The Dutch have practised it this year to great advantage, and were all well received. Our own weariness might secure us.

They must ride six months for winds, time enough to send all the goods ashore by parcels, and never trust above one or two factors, and a small quantity of goods at once. They will not declare their treachery for trifles, and I doubt not you may procure the Grand Seignior or a command to meet them. If I have any judgment, there is not any matter for your profit of such importance. Port Pequenho in Bengala, you are misinformed in, there is no mart, or resort of merchants, it is traded to by the Portuguese from Pegu, with rubies, topazes and sapphires, and returns cloth, which is fine, but you may be furnished nearer hand.

"I will settle your trade here secure with the king, and reduce it to order if I may be heard, when I have to do, I must plead against myself, that an ambassador lives not in fit honour here. I could sooner die than be subject to the slavery the Persian is content with. A meaner agent would, among these proud Moor, better effect your business. My quality often for ceremonies either begets you enemies, or suffers unworthily. The king has often demanded an ambassador from Spain, but could never obtain one, for two reasons, first, because they would not give presents unworthy their king's greatness, next, they knew his reception should not answer his quality. I have moderated, according to my discretion, but with a swollen heart. Half my charge shall corrupt all this court to be your slaves.

POSTSCRIPT — "The best way to do your business in this court, is to find some Mogul that you may entertain for a thousand rupees a year, as your solicitor at court. He must be authorised by the king, and then he will serve you better than

ten subordinates. Under him, you must allow five hundred rupees for another at your port to follow the governor and customers, and to advertise his chief at court. These two will effect all, for your other smaller residences are not subject to much inconvenience.

"Concerning private trade, my opinion is, that you absolutely prohibit it, and execute forfeitures, for your balance will be the better

done. All your life is lost to the goods brought home. I do hate the inconvenience you speak not of. I know this is hard to all men, and seems hard, men profess they come not for bare wages; but you will take away this plea, if you give great wages to their content, and then you know what you part from, but then you must make good choice of your servants, and use fewer."

A DISQUISITION ON THE PROPERTY IN THE SOIL, from Mr COLEBROOK'S Translation of the Digest of HINDU LAW

By JAGANNATHA TERCAPACHANANA

This is the interesting Disquisition to which we referred in the *Third Chapter* of our History of India, Page 8. We passed it over in our Review of the Digest, because it was too long and extraneous to come within the compass of an Analysis. We now present it entire to our Readers, that they may form their own Opinions on the important Question which it discusses, and which it appears to us to decide.

Disquisition on Property in the Soil

This earth, created by God, became the wife of Prithee, and afterwards, by marriage and otherwise, became the property of several princes.

Arastra-purāna — Thrice seven times exterminating the military tribe, Parasu Rama gave the earth to Casyapa as a grant for the sacrifice of a horse.

By conquest, the earth became the property of the holy Parasu Rama, by gift, the property of the sage Casyapa, and committed by him to *Chakrapani* for the sake of protection, became their protective property successively held by powerful conquerors, and not by subjects cultivating the soil.

But annual property is acquired by subjects on payment of annual

revenue, and the king cannot fully give, sell, or dispose of the land to another for that year. But if the agreement be in this form, "you shall enjoy it for years;" for as many years as the property is granted, the king should never give, sell, or dispose of it to another. Yet if the subject pay not the revenue, the grant, being conditional, is annulled by the breach of the condition, and the king may grant it to another.

But if no special agreement be made, and another person, desirous of obtaining the land, stipulate a greater revenue, it may be granted to him on his application. Here reasoning must be adduced. For example, the following it must of necessity be assumed, that the cultivator has not an absolute property in

in the land, otherwise the cultivator would take the sixth part of the produce of unclaimed land, which has been obtained as such by another

Yajnyawalkya — Let the king, receiving unclaimed property, give half to *Bráhmans*; but a learned *Brahmana* may keep the whole, for he is lord of all

2 And the king shall receive a sixth part of unclaimed property occupied by any other person.

If the king himself receive unowned property any where situated, let him give half to *Brahmanas*; for the word *dwiya* or *twice-born* here signifies the *Brahmana*, as is shown by the subsequent expression, "he is lord of all, since no twice-born man, except the king and the *Bráhmans*, is lord of all, and Menu declares the dominion of the king and the priest over the human species. A learned *Brahmana*, occupying unowned property, may keep the whole. But any other than a *Brahmana* or king, occupying unowned property, must give a sixth part to the king, and may take the remainder himself

Must the king, receiving from a subject the sixth part of unclaimed property, give half to the priest? The answer is, unclaimed property denoting a thing which has no owner, and, when it is occupied by a private person, the property by occupancy altering the condition of that thing, the king does not in this case receive unclaimed property, therefore half need not be given to the priest.

Since the word 'king' here denotes lord of the soil, and since the cultivator, being owner of that land, is so far equal to the king, he would be entitled to the sixth

part of the unowned property occupied by him. *The answer is*, the word 'king' may be explained lord of the soil, to exclude another king, but a royal property is supposed in the use of the word; the cultivator has a subordinate usufructuary property, not a royal property; and Sri Crishna Tercalancara thinks there may be, in the same land, property of various kinds, vesting in the king, the subject, and so forth. It should not be objected, if that be the case, why cannot the king give the land to another in the same year for which revenue is paid? Because a seller or giver may, by sale or gift, annul his own property, and invest another with similar property, but cannot create property of another nature, namely (for a sale by a subject cannot create property of another nature, namely royal property,) therefore usufructuary property being raised by a conditional gift to the subject, the king cannot again create property in the same thing, by a gift to another.

But whence is it deduced that such property vests in the cultivator? There is no proof of it. His property is not by occupancy, for, the king being a more powerful owner, his occupancy cannot be maintained. It is not by sale, for no sale has been made. It is not by gift from the king on condition of revenue, for, were it so, his property would be equal to the king's.

If it be said, the king, satisfied with the receipt of revenue, does not oppose a property by occupancy, the answer is, in that case the property would remain, if the husbandman, not having surrendered that land, stay even in a distant country; and thus the land could not be taken by another person. It is

not fit that property being established by occupancy while the king was satisfied, he should, afterwards becoming dissatisfied, have power to annul the occupancy or property, for occupancy, having created a property, immediately ceases to be a mere occupancy, and property can not be annulled without the assent of the owner.

Some hold, that the subject is invested with ownership by a gift from the king on condition of revenue. If he go elsewhere, and revenue be not paid, the gift is cancelled by the breach of the condition. It should not be objected that his interest in the land would be equal to the king's, for the king's assent is not given in such a form. Thus, the king assenting in these words, "let a subordinate usufructuary property be held by thee, while my property remains in this land, which belongs to me," such property is created as is described by the terms of his assent. Nor should it be objected that in this case property is not created, nor is effect given to an existent property, but mere possession as of a thing pawned. This would be inconsistent with the explanation of husbandmen, as given by Chandewara and others, that is, "owner of the field." Nor should it be objected, how can there be property in what is already owned, since property resists a concurrent property? Sri Crishna Tercalamara and others hold, that property prevents concurrent property of the same nature only and, under the text which declares wealth common to the husband and wife, the wife has property even while the husband's title subsists. If it be argued, that in short, property generally prevents a concurrent prop-

erty; and the text, which declares wealth common to the husband and wife, merely authorizes her substitution for the duties of hospitality and the like, and the difficulty being thus removed, there is not, in the case supposed, any property vested in subjects then the husbandman would only receive half the produce of the soil, since the king would be entitled to enjoy the proportion to which *the owner of the soil* is entitled. If it be argued, that, obtaining the land by payment of revenue, as a wife is obtained by a nuptial gift, he who raises produce from his own seed, is entitled to that produce even in that case, as a thing hypothecated to one person cannot be also hypothecated to another, so possession of land, already possessed by one person, cannot properly be given to another. A specific agreement should be made, when the land is delivered, that it shall be enjoyed year by year, until a greater revenue be offered by another person.

Memo.—Having ascertained the rates of purchase and sale, *the length of the way*, the expences of food and of condiments, the charges of securing the goods carried, and the neat profits of trade, let the king oblige traders to pay taxes on their saleable commodities.

2 After full consideration, let a king so levy those taxes continually in his dominions, that both he and the merchant may receive a just compensation for their several acts.

3 As the leech, the suckling calf, and the bee, take their natural food by little and little, thus let a king draw from his dominions an annual revenue.

4. Of cattle, of gems, of gold and silver,

- silver, added each year to the capital stock, a fiftieth part may be taken by the king, of grain, an eighth part, a sixth, or a twelfth.
- 5 He may also take a sixth part of the clear annual increase of trees, flesh-meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, medical substances, liquids, flowers, roots, and fruit.
 - 6 Of gathered leaves, pot herbs, grass, utensils made with leather or cane, earthen pots, and all things made of stone.
 - 7 A king, even though dying *with want*, must not receive any tax from a Brahmana learned in the Vedas, nor suffer such a Brahmana, residing in his territories, to be afflicted with hunger.
 - 8 Of that king in whose dominion a learned Brahmana is afflicted with hunger, the whole kingdom will in a short time be afflicted with famine.
 - 9 The king, having ascertained his knowledge of scripture and good morals, must allot him a suitable maintenance, and protect him on all sides, as a father protects his own son.
 - 10 By that religious duty which such a Brahmana performs each day, under the full protection of the sovereign, the life, wealth, and dominions of his protector shall be greatly increased.
 - 11 Let the king order a mere trifle to be paid, in the name of the annual tax, by the meaner inhabitants of his realm, who subsist by petty traffick.
 - 12 By low handicraftsmen, artificers, and servile men, who support themselves by labour, the king may cause work to be done a day in each month.
 - 13 Let him not cut up his own root by taking no revenue, nor the root of other men by excess of covetousness, for, by cutting up his own root *and theirs*, he makes both himself and them wretched.
- Let him levy taxes on traders, who subsist by purchasing commodities cheap, and vending them at an advanced price. What taxes? To this the legislator replies, having ascertained the rates at which commodities are purchased, and at which they are sold, and having ascertained the profit, ~~with the~~ charges of travelling, of subsistence, of transport, and of safeguard after importation, let him levy taxes, that is, let him take the due proportion of the sum which remains after defraying all charges. Raghunandana expounds the terms of the text (*yôgaçubhama*) transport of goods to be imported, and safeguard after importation. Let the king so act, that he also may receive benefit out of the profits of trade *which remain* after defraying charges, and that the merchant may receive just compensation for his labours.
- Parasara —Let the king gather blossom after blossom, like the florist in the garden, and not extirpate the plant, like a burner of charcoal.
- As the florist in the garden plucks blossoms successively put forth, and does not eradicate the flowering shrub, so should the king, drawing revenue from his subjects, take the sixth part of the actual produce; but the maker of charcoal, extirpating the tree, burns the whole plant; let not the king so treat his subjects. MAD HAVA.
- The *Mabâbhârata* —Let the king gently draw revenue from his dominions, as the leech takes its natural food by little and little.
- The fiftieth part, and other pro-

portions of the profit gained by commerce, must be understood generally of all profit, for no distinction is mentioned.

Vrihaspati—Giving a sixth part to the king, a twenty-sixth part to deities, and a thirtieth part to priests, a man offends not by applying himself to agriculture.

From the occurrence of this text, and no distinction being mentioned, this *verse* will most apply to the receipt of a part of the gain in all cases and Mad'hava places the text of Menu under the title of revenue in general

"Of grain, an eighth part, a sixth, a twelfth *three* rates, primary and secondary, for the difference of circumstances. Consequently a greater revenue is permitted in the exigence of distress. But never shall any tax be received from a Brahmana learned in the *Vedas*. Shall not the king prevent his cultivating land, and thus there will be no revenue to receive from him? The text declares it infamous, that such a Brahmana should be afflicted with hunger. Therefore the king should assign a suitable maintenance to a learned Brahmana, who has not a maintenance already allotted to him. To confirm this, Menu himself adds "the king, having ascertained his knowledge of scripture and good morals, must allot him a suitable maintenance;" that is, such a maintenance as may exempt him from falling into contempt. Do not the subjects pay a sixth part as a token of respect, because the king protects them? and, if the Brahmana learned in the *Vedas* pay not a sixth part, shall not the king protect him? To those who entertain this doubt, the sage replies: "the king must protect him on all sides," from

thieves and others, not in words merely, but with exertion of mind and body, as a father protects his son.

To the doubt above-mentioned, founded on the mistaken notion that such a Brahmana does not give a sixth part, is it not answered, that he who raises produce, or buys and sells things, gives a part of them, and as the Brahmana learned in the *Vedas* acquires merit, of which he gives a part, he also must necessarily be protected by the king?

The divine Calidasa—The wealth of princes, collected from the four orders of their subjects, is perishable but pious men give us a sixth part of the fruits of their piety, fruits which will never perish.*

How does it follow that Brahmanas learned in the *Vedas* give the sixth part required by the text of Vrihaspati? The text cannot be well explained by the gift of a part of the fruits of piety, for that is inconsistent with the concurrent gift of a part to deities and priests. Some refer to the text others than a Brahmana but that is not the opinion of Mad'hava, for, immediately after that text, he mentions the mode in which agriculture may be practised by a Brahmana, and quotes a text of Menu concerning the practice of husbandry by *Chastriyas* and others. The difficulty may be thus briefly reconciled: if a Brahmana trained in the *Vedas*, for his own justification, voluntarily pay revenue, let the king receiving it appropriate it to the use of deities and priests, but, if he pay it not spontaneously, the king must not demand it.

The sixth part is explained by Mad'hava, one part in six. By parity

parity of reasoning, the rule is the same in respect of the thirtieth part

Menu — A sixth part of the reward for virtuous deeds, performed by the whole people, belongs to the king, who protects them, but if he protect them not, a sixth part of their iniquity lights on him

Under this text, which includes all classes, the king, who protects his subjects, receives a sixth part of the reward for virtuous deeds performed by them, although they also pay revenue. What parity is there in comparison with the Brahmana learned in the *Vedas*, since the people at large give part both of the wealth and merit acquired by them? It must be understood, that the contribution is equal, or even greater, since a virtuous Brahmana learned in the *Vedas*, acquiring great merit, gives a part of a great reward for many virtuous deeds. A *Śrōtriya*, or Brahmana learned in the *Vedas*, is thus described

Devala — A priest who has studied one *śac'hā* of the *Vedas*, or one *śac'hā* with the law of sacrifice, or with the six *angas* or bodies of learning, and who performs the six prescribed acts, is named *Śrōtriya* learned in law

The six *angas*, or bodies of learning, are *śukla*, *calpa*, *vyākaraṇa*, *śābda*, *śāśtri* and *nirukṭi*.* The prescribed acts are declared in the following text

Menu — Reading the *Vedas*, and teaching others to read them, sacrificing and assisting others to sacrifice, giving to the poor if

themselves have enough, and accepting gifts from the virtuous if themselves are poor, are the six prescribed acts of the first-born class

Let it not be supposed that an ignorant Brahmana is not to be respected; for Menu, premising that a king, though in the greatest distress, should not provoke Brahmanas to anger, declares the danger of provoking even an ignorant Brahmana

Menu — A Brahmana, whether learned or ignorant, is a powerful divinity, even as fire is a powerful divinity, whether consecrated or popular

“Let the king order a mere trifle to be paid by the meaner inhabitants of his realm (inferior in rank to the priest,) who subsist by cultivation and other modes before-mentioned, or by handicraft and the like not previously mentioned. Another contribution from handicraftsmen and artificers is mentioned in the subsequent text. Thus some expound the text. But in fact the term used in the text intends petty traffick, and the profession of a singer and the like. In the subsequent text, labourers, such as thatchers of houses and others, and artificers subsisting by work in cane and wood, are intended as a distinction might be supposed between persons subsisting by labour or handicraft only, and persons subsisting by the sale of the produce of their labour, both are mentioned; but in fact the terms are synonymous in the dictionary of Amara. “By these, and by servile men, the king may cause work to be done

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* *Śukla*, on pronunciation of vocal sounds. *Calpa*, detail of religious acts and ceremonies. *Vyākaraṇa*, grammar. *Śābda*, prosody. *Śāśtri*, astronomy. *Nirukṭi*, on the signification of difficult words and phrases. *Śāśtri*, *Śāśtri*.

for a day in each month," employing handicraftsmen and artificers in thatching houses, and in working on cane and wood, and employing Sudras on vile labour. It is necessary they should contribute to lighten the labour, they may pay to the king an equivalent out of wealth gained elsewhere, and the king may hire others for the labour required. Thus, if the attendance of a multitude of artificers be inconvenient from the magnitude of the kingdom, he may levy taxes equal to the value of labour for twelve days in the year.

The king may levy taxes at such rates, and these rates are directed by the law in times void of distress, therefore he may not exact a greater revenue but the prohibition against receiving any tax from a learned Brahmana, even in times of distress, implies that a greater revenue may be received from others in such times. Let him not make himself wretched in the apprehension of transgressing the law, nor anticipating distress, or providing for his own gratifications, or desirous of amassing wealth, make his subjects wretched. Let him not cut up his own root, that is, his life, by taking no revenue nor the root of others, by excess of covetousness such is the construction of the text. The king should preserve himself for the benefit of others, for he himself protects others, and if he perishes, others would not be protected. On this exposition, the receipt of greater revenue is improper, but in times of distress a greater revenue may be taken. Distress not being perpetual, if a sixth part of the crop have been stipulated at the time of granting the land to the cultivator, no distress then existing, should distress afterwards arise, it is fit that a greater

revenue should be exacted notwithstanding that stipulation. Such is the induction of common sense.

Menu — A military king, who takes even a fourth part of the crops of his realm at a time of urgent necessity, as of war or invasion, and protects his people to the utmost of his power, commits no sin.

From the circumstances of the times, if confidence cannot be placed in the subject, the value of a sixth part, or other proportion of the crop any-how ascertained, may be taken, whether the actual produce be more or less than was estimated. This method is authorised by settled usage, and is indicated by the text.

Others hold, that the king has no property in the soil, nor power to dispose of the subject's abode, because all have a right in the soil, since the earth was created for the support of living animals, as expressed in the *Sri Bhasya* "The earth, which God created for the abode of living creatures and because Menu has only declared, that the subjects shall be protected by the king."

Menu — Since the Lord created beings, having formed herds and flocks, intrusted them to the care of the *Vaisya*, while he intrusted the whole human species to the *Bráhmans* and the royal *Cshatriyas*.

Were it so, would it not be uncertain how many subjects shall be protected by what king? To this they reply, that each king shall protect the inhabitants of that country, whereof the inhabitants can be exempted from the dominion of every other person.

But, in fact, without property in the soil, there can be no certain rule for the protection of the subjects.

Let it not be said, that the rule above mentioned suffices, namely, that the subjects are to be protected in such an extent of country as can be withdrawn from the dominion of another for, should the possibility of excluding another authority be received as naturally included in the definition, a powerful king, who from tenderness omitted to seize another realm, would be criminal in not protecting the subjects of that realm, since he is able to possess himself of it. Nor should it be argued, that the rule directs the protection of subjects in that country, from which other authority is actually excluded, for, other authority any how subsisting therein, it might be supposed that the king was not bound to protect the inhabitants of his own realm, so long as that authority was exterminated.

If it be asked, what is the rule on your opinion? And if it be argued, that the positive necessity of supposing a proprietary right, and the consequent obligation on the king to protect the inhabitants of that country, of which he is proprietor, should not be affirmed, because such property is not deduced from positive precept, *we answer*, the exclusion of every other authority is naturally implied, and it is positively asserted that there be "a right of authority to ordain with the non-existence of a determination not to exclude other authority." It should not be argued, that the obligation of protecting the subject need only be supposed, for it is troublesome to establish another proprietary right. A king's gift of his realm is mentioned in the *Purānas* and in other works, ("he gave his ancient dominions to the

performer of the sacrifice") consequently a real ownership is vested in the king. It should not be said, the gift, in the instance quoted from the *Purānas*, means a gift of the revenue payable by the subjects of his ancient dominions. The gift could not take immediate effect, for the king's property has no foundation to rest on, since the revenue is not yet paid. Nor should it be said, the property will arise at a future time, from the past existence of the act of assenting, which has only a momentary duration*, as in the case of a corrody, where a future property is created. A gift of land by the king is mentioned in a text of *Yajnyawalkya* (Chap IV v 34,) and Lord of the earth (*mehspati*) and similar regal titles are often mentioned.

Is the earth unowned if the king have no property in it? If it be alleged that the soil is not unowned, since the subject has property by occupancy, it is asked, cannot the king occupy land? The king may also have property in the land by occupancy. Therefore the right, both of the king and the subject, in the soil, is proved upon the concurrent opinions of Chandeswara, Sri Crishna, Tercalancara, and many other authors.

Property must be discriminated by occupancy thus, if another invade the land occupied by subjects, the king opposes him, and land is occupied by subjects with the king's consent. Kings were created by God to decide the various contests between subjects concerning occupancy and the like, and to maintain just proceedings therefore the king, as lord of his subjects, is called lord of men (*nerapati*). By his own power the king prevents others

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* This alludes to philosophical reasoning on the relation between cause and effect.

others from seizing the land over which he has dominion, by his own power he legally seizes the land over which others reign; therefore he is not subordinate to the subject.

If a potent subject be able, independent of the king, to resist invaders, and even to seize the lands of others, shall his property be deemed independent of the king? No, for that subject ought to be punished by the king if he transgresses the law; but if the sovereign be not able to inflict punishment on him, even he is king.

Any king who pays tribute to a foreign prince, is nevertheless a king, if he do not surrender his regal power. But a person who receives a village from the king, undertaking to pay the revenue of it in the expectation of benefit to himself, is an intermediate owner between the king and the subject.

This earth therefore is the cow which grants every wish, she affords property of a hundred various kinds, (inferior, if the owner need the assent of another proprietor, superior, if his right precede assent,) while she deludes a hundred owners, like a deceiving harlot, with the illusion of false enjoyment. For, IN TRUTH, THERE IS NO OTHER LORD OF THIS EARTH BUT ONE, THE SUPREME GOD.

The subject's property in the soil is weaker than the king's, for the subject is weaker than the king, but it is founded on the reason of the law, and on settled usage, therefore the land of one subject ought not to be sold by the king to another. But how can this sale be sale without ownership, since the king is owner of the land, as well as the subject? It should not be said, that the sale made by one

who holds not such property as is conveyed by the sale, is sale without ownership, for this is inconsistent with the opinion of those who contend for a property in the subject dependent on a grant from the king. Thus, according to that opinion, the subject's property is founded on a grant from the king as superior lord. But, what difference is there in the effect of a gift or sale? According to the opinion, wherein it is contended that the subject's property depends on the gift of the king, so long as the inferior property is not granted, the land has only one owner afterwards, a double property arising, an owner may annul his own property, but not the property of another person, else, why could not the subject annul the king's property by selling his own land? Accordingly the specific assent of the owner being the cause of annulling property of the same name, the king cannot annul an inferior property and this very maxim may be maintained on the opinion even of those who contend for a property by occupancy, on the authority of the text which describes the earth as the abode of living creatures. According to this opinion, wherein property by occupancy is maintained, if any subject, occupying land, after some time, go to a distant country without surrendering the land, can no other person take the land, since, without his surrender of it, his property is not annulled? The meaning of the text which describes the earth as the abode of living creatures, is positively this; the property is his who uses the land where he resides, and while he uses it and thus, when land belonging to any person is sold by the king, it is a sale without ownership,

On the POPULATION of BENGAL,

By a Gentleman now residing in that Country whose intimate and minute Acquaintance with its whole internal Affairs and political Economy, as well as his deep Knowledge in the Laws and Literature of the Hindus, give great Weight to his Opinions*

[Never before published]

In India, no bills of mortality, nor registers of births, marriages, and burials, afford data for calculation. The arguments by which we are convinced of the great population of Bengal, arise on the results of various speculations.

The inhabitants of Bengal are certainly numerous in proportion to the tillage and manufactures which employ their labour. Former computations carried the population to eleven millions, and to these a late publication seems to allude, in mentioning the number of twenty millions for the inhabitants of our territorial possessions in India: the population of our dominions in the Deccan being estimated at nine millions.

An inquiry, instituted in 1789, requiring from the collectors of districts their opinions on the populations of their respective jurisdictions, founded an estimate of twenty-two millions* for Bengal and Bahar. Sir William Jones has hinted a higher estimate, and though he has not mentioned the grounds of his opinion, it may be admitted that he has not hazarded a vague and unfounded estimate. We think with

him that twenty-four millions† is at least the present number of the native inhabitants of Bengal and Bahar, and shall subjoin arguments which might lead us to compute the population at thirty millions. We cannot therefore hesitate to state twenty seven millions for the whole population, including the zemindary of Benares.

1st An actual ascertainment‡ found 80,914 ryots holding leases, and 22,324 artificers paying ground rent in 2,784 villages § upon 2,531 square miles. Allowing five to a family it gives more than 409 to a square mile, and for the whole of the Dewanny provinces, at that proportion, gives a population of 30,291,051, or including Benares, 32,987,500. For the area of Bengal and Bahar is 149,217 square miles, and with Benares not less than 162,500.

The district in which this ascertainment was made, is not among the most populous of Bengal, but is more populous than the greatest number. In some parts of Bengal considerable tracts are almost wholly waste, if a fourth of the area were excluded on this ground, the proportion

* Quoted from memory.

† Preface to the translation of the *Al Sirajjyab*.

‡ The result of an official inquiry in the province of Purnea.

§ *Mauzas*. In the same *mauza* several villages or hamlets may stand, and on the contrary the same village will sometimes include several *mauzae*. The common size of *mauzae* may be judged from the following ascertainment.

In districts of Bengal, 21,996 *mauzae* 18,028 square miles.

Estimates have been attempted from the number of inhabitants found in a few villages, as an argument applicable to the whole number of *mauzae*. The inquiries have been too limited to afford strong grounds of argument. But the results which have come to our knowledge give 179 inhabitants to each village, 92 males and 87 females.

portion of population on a square mile, resulting from an ascertainment in the district alluded to, might be taken for three-fourths of Bengal

But it must be remembered, that many and numerous classes do not pay rent, or contribute directly to the revenues. Some professions are exempted from ground rent, some classes are excused for poverty, others from respect. The tenants of alienated lands are not included in the ascertainment above-mentioned yet the free lands are equal to an eighth of the whole area of the district alluded to, and they do not bear a less proportion to the lands of all Bengal. No city, or considerable town, was included in the ascertainment, which, for that further reason, may be acknowledged mod rate. Upon the whole, we may adhere to the average first suggested, of 100 to a square mile.

2d General measurements are occasionally undertaken for entire pergunnahs, and for larger districts. In the registers of such surveys the land in tillage, the land appropriated to special purposes, the waste and barren lands, and the ground covered by lakes, are distinguished. Many such surveys * have been examined, and the following proportion is grounded on them, making an allowance for great rivers

Rivers and lakes (an eighth)	3
Deemed irreclaimable and barren (a sixth)	4
Seats of towns and villages, ways, ponds, &c. (a twenty-fourth)	1
Free lands (an eighth)	3
<i>Liable for revenue</i>	
In tillage (three eighths)	9
Waste (a sixth)	4
	<hr/> 24

If a fourth of the area of Bengal be excluded, as before, for tracts nearly or wholly waste, three eighths of the remainder give 45,703 square miles, or (omitting Benares) 41,967 square miles, equal to 81,238,112 begahs of land in tillage and liable for revenue, and if half the free lands be cultivated, the whole tillage is 94,777,797 begahs, or 331,499 acres.

In some districts, an inquiry undertaken in 1790, ascertained the quantity of land tenanted by near seventy thousand cultivators, and it gave an average of less than eighteen begahs each in *actual* tillage for the cultivators paying rent for no more than their actual cultivation, the ascertainment comprehends no lays or fallows.

At this proportion the whole tillage of 94,777,797 begahs must be used by 5,265,432 tenants, and adding for artificers and manufacturers,

* For specimens of these surveys take the following abstracts from several pergunnahs in circars, Sterroahabad, Madarum, &c. measured in 1786, and in circar Tajepoor, measured in 1788.

Pergunnahs in circar Tajepoor, measured in 1788		Pergunnahs in circar Sterroahabad, Madarum, &c. measured in 1786	
Waste but reclaimable, as well as forest and sterile lands, - -	449,986	Waste but reclaimable - - -	151,775
Ponds - - - - -	41,805	Barren - - - - -	128,747
Free lands - - - - -	293,273	Roads and ponds, &c. - - -	24,120
Productive (including seats of buildings) - - - - -	584,909	Free lands - - - - -	143,042
	<hr/>	Cultivated - - - - -	302,131
Begahs of 80 cubits square - - - - -	13,14,976		<hr/>
		Total begahs - - -	755,067

These measurements are exclusive of rivers.

torers, &c at the proportion suggested by the ascertainment of 80,914 husbandmen, and 22,324 artificers in the districts alluded to in another place, who have 4,328,104 persons paying land rent and ground rent. If each of these be deemed the head of a family, the population at five to a family might be estimated at 21,840,270.

But several rents are not unfrequently paid by the same family, for this reason, the number of husbandmen may be thought over-rated, as in the rent rolls which were abstracted, tenants holding from more than one land holder, or paying two rents to the same proprietor, must unavoidably have stood for two persons. The excess in the estimate arising from this cause is perhaps not fully balanced by the various classes not contributing directly to the rental.

5d. The same objection occurs to an estimate from the average rents of tenants, it may nevertheless be proper to view the result of a calculation on this ground.

On the rent rolls examined for the quantity of land as mentioned above, the payments appeared at 478,029 sicca rupees on 62,647 fowles to cultivating tenants or nearly seven rupees each.

In the first year of the permanent settlement the revenue realized to government was current rupees 3,06,98,255, or sicca rupees 2,64,64,094. The assessment was calculated to leave an income to the proprietor equal to a tenth.

Land revenue	2,64,64,094
Proprietor's income	26,46,409
	<hr/>
	2,91,10,503

Charges of collections and management, as actually allowed in some instances, and deemed a very

moderate allowance, 20 per centum on the gross produce 72,77,000
Gross rents, or actual payments by tenants 3,63,88,129
Add for fuel lands in the same proportion as before 1 to 6 60,64,688

Payments by tenant,	
sicca rupees	4,24,52,817

At the rate already suggested of seven rupees each, these payments arise from 6,064,688 tenants, and assuming their families at five the population would be 30,323,440.

As ground-rents are of small amount in proportion to the land-rents, the average of seven rupees for each tenant might have been reduced on this account. Thus, with the omission of numerous classes not paying a direct rent, may be deemed equivalent for the repetition of names in rent rolls and the near coincidence of 30,323,440 with the number of 30,301,031, resulting from other grounds, supports the computation.

4th Remains to compare the estimated population with the consumption.

The diet of an Indian is very simple: the diet of one is the diet of millions, split pulse, and salt relieving the insipidity of plain rice. Two ounces of salt, two pounds of split pulse, and eight pounds of rice, is the usual daily consumption of a family of five persons in easy circumstances, whence we have the average consumption of salt in a year at 9lb a head.

The annual sales of salt, an article monopolised by government, are 35,31,944 maunds of 80 sicca weight, but the whole quantity is not consumed in Bengal. A proportion not inconsiderable is exported.

On the other hand, the lower class in the western provinces seldom taste sea salt, these, and the mountaineers from Rajmahal to Palamou, use rock salt imported from western countries, a bitter salt extracted from alaea, or impure salt obtained from the mother of nitre. The latter is much used by the venders of salt in adulterating sea-salt and generally speaking no sea salt is allowed to cattle.

If the substitutes for sea salt be equivalent to the exportation of that salt, it will require a population of 32,228,989 persons to consume 35,31,944 maunds of salt.

5th From what has been stated as the daily consumption of a family, an average of nine maunds a-head arises for the annual consumption of grain. The use of wheat and barley in some provinces will not affect the calculation, but millet and other small grains, which constitute the principal food of the poor, and which are not equally nourishing with white corn, will increase the average.

Several sorts of pulse are grown for cattle, but bear a small proportion to the general tillage for the cattle are mostly supported on pastures and on straw.

Corn is imported from several of the countries, which border on Bengal, but the exportation from Bengal exceeds the import, we therefore estimate the produce, from the consumption of the supposed population, at 270 millions of

maunds, and at 300 millions after adding grain for cattle, to this add a seventh for seed reserved, and the whole produce in grain will be 84,28,57,440 maunds; a very moderate produce for the tillage estimated at 9,47,77,797 begahs.

But the Indian husbandry, mixing in the same field with corn, other articles of a very different nature, to compare the produce to the quantity of land, every article must be included in the computation, and for that purpose the grain must be stated at its money value; which we take from the average of many inquiries, in which the cheapest and dearest provinces have been considered.

Maunds.	Rupies.
15,00,00,000 of rice, wheat, and barley, at 18 annas	11,25,00,000
6,00,00,000 millet, &c at 8 annas	3,00,00,000
9,00,00,000 pulse, at 10 annas	5,62,50,000
	<hr/> 19,87,50,000
4,30,00,000 seed reserved	2,83,80,000
	<hr/> 22,71,30,000
Oil seeds	12,000,000
Sugar, tobacco, cotton, &c.	70,000,000
Sandries	20,000,000
	<hr/> 39,000,000
Gross produce of land	329,130,000

which is more than seven* rents, if the

* The gross payments of the husbandmen are greater; probably not less than the fourth of the gross produce: which was considered under the latter administration of the native government as the just due. Another occasion will occur of examining this subject more fully, and explaining the appropriations of the gross collections. The difference, though it breaks the consistency of the argument, is in favour of the moderation of our estimate. It is explained by the circumstance of the assessment not before quoted, having been made in a district where the net revenue bore a very large proportion to the gross collections, and where the husbandmen are estimated on the equal to pay a seventh only. The net revenue bears a less proportion to the gross revenue,

the rents have been well estimated at rupees 42,452,817, and a produce of three rupees and a half a begah on the tillage, estimated at 94,777,797. In a subsequent inquiry we shall have occasion to shew this a very moderate produce, in proportion to the expence of husbandry.

The speculations in which we have now indulged, cannot avail to determine accurately the population of these provinces, but it is probable that it has been underrated. It is undoubtedly adequate to undertake greater tillage, and more numerous and extensive manufactures, than now employ the labour of our Asiatic subjects; but, wanting a vent for their produce, they have no inducement for greater industry. If more produce were obtained, its market being barred, industry would be stunted. The necessaries of life are cheap, the mode of living simple, and though the price of labour be low, a subsistence may be earned without the uninterrupted application of industry. Often idle, the peasant and manufacturer may nevertheless subsist. A few individuals might indeed acquire wealth by diligent application, but the nation at large, doomed to poverty by commercial limitations, can apply no more labour than the demand of the market is permitted to encourage. If industry be roused, the present population is sufficient to bring into til-

lage the whole of the waste lands in Bengal and Bahar, and in most districts improvement may be expected whenever new channels of trade are opened to take off more, or new produce. In all it may soon follow the event, if Europeans interest themselves in undertakings for the reclaiming of waste tracts.

Of this we are convinced, aware however that the culture must require a considerable proportion of labour, for in the common husbandry the field yields several crops within the year. But requiring no manure except for some articles, and for these manured without labour or expence, the same quantity of land should need fewer hands in Bengal than in England, since the labours of the husbandman suffer less interruption from the inclemency of seasons.

The improvements to be expected from a better and more diligent husbandry may be appreciated after reviewing the present system of agriculture.

That the revenue mostly follows a proportion to the area of the districts, may be shewn by a comparison to the revenue of 1784, which distant period is taken because districts having been new modelled, their area under late distributions is not ascertained.

Districts

revenue, in most districts, and in these the peasants pay more than a fourth. This does not affect the computation, for had we used materials obtained from districts where the gross payments were greater in proportion to the net revenue, or had we included all the payments not brought on the rental, the average payment of each tenant would be found proportionably higher. In some the husbandmen pay more than a fourth of their gross produce, in others they nominally pay more than half. On the other hand, in trooper districts, particularly on the estates held upon Ghazal: tenure, they pay less than a seventh.

<i>Districts</i>	<i>Referred as nearly waste</i>	<i>Square mls. according to Ranch.</i>	<i>Revenue of 1794.</i>
Barraboom		3,358	6,11,821
Bhenpore		1,256	8,80,707
Cuttagong, Ilamabad, and Tipperah Lowlands, Tipperah-woods, (the latter nearly waste)	5,250	4,317	6,70,197
Dacca		15,897	31,02,880
Dumagore		5,519	14,60,444
Kishenagur (Nudda)		3,115	10,27,427
Midnapore		6,102	8,89,041
Purneah		5,119	10,00,479
Rajmahal and Boglepore (Curuck-pore and Curuckdee, nearly waste)	6,453	5,084	5,47,600
Rajshahy		12,908	24,00,000
Silhet		2,801	2,38,884
Surin and Bettya		5,100	13,12,721
Tirhoot and Hajypore		7,815	7,01,234
Bahia Proper, Rotas and Shahabad		12,119	4,59,807
Burdwan		6,174	43,58,026
Pachete, Chuta, Nagpoor, Palamow, and Ramghur	16,738	3,000	1,61,216
Sun's grounds, Cooch Behar and Rang-mattv, nearly waste	10,114		
Districts, the distribution of whose area is not ascertained, including the productive districts of 24 Pergunnahs, Hooghly, town of Calcutta, and Murshedabad		12,921	61,66,070
Total	37,549	149,217	2,75,59,000

The cultivated tracts in the districts referred as nearly waste are fully compensated by the waste tracts in districts stated as well cultivated. Hence the argument, on which a fourth of the area has been excluded as waste. The average of revenue on the whole area is current rupees 184 per square mile; on the fourths of the area well cultivated, it is 246 per square mile. The revenue of most districts compared to their area falls between these limits. No ascertainedments have been admitted in the preceding computation, but those obtained within the districts marked, where

the revenue is nearly 200 current rupees per square mile which circumstance shews them to be in a middle class between the depopulated and waste, and the populous and highly cultivated districts.

In the present distribution of districts, the dearest and most productive are Burdwan, 24 Pergunnahs, Nudda, and town of Calcutta, the cheapest and least productive are Ramghur, Silhet, Cooch Behar, and Tipperah. We use no information from these districts in computing the prime cost of productions and price of labour.

*On the present State of HUSBANDRY in BENGAL.**By the Same.**[Never before published]*

The regular succession of periodical rains, followed by a mild winter, which exempt from frost, is almost as free from rain, and thus succeeded by great heat, refreshed occasionally by showers of rain and hail, affords its proper season for every production of tropical and temperate climates. Few are altogether unknown in Bengal. Those which actually engage the industry of the husbandmen are numerous and varied. Of these rice is the most important. Corn in every country is the first object of agriculture, as the principal food of the inhabitants, in this, where animal food is seldom used, it is especially important.

The natural seasons of rice are ascertained from the progress of wild rice. It sows itself in the first month of the winter, vegetates with the early moisture at the approach of the rains, ripens during that period, and drops its seed with the commencement of the winter.

A culture calculated to conform to this progress is practised in some districts. The rice is sown in low situations when nearly deficcated, the soil hardening above the seed gives no passage to early showers, the grain vegetates at the approach of the rains, and ripens in that season, earlier or later according as the field is overflowed to a less or greater depth.

This method is bad, as it exposes the seed to injury during a long period in which it should remain inert, the practice is not frequent. Common husbandry sows the rice at the season when it should naturally vegetate, to gather a crop in

the rains, it also withholds seed till the second month of that season, and reaps the harvest in the beginning of winter. and the rice of this harvest is esteemed the best, not being liable to early decay.

In low situations, where the progress of deficcation is slow, and on the shelving banks of lakes which retain moisture till the return of the rains, a singular cultivation, sows rice at the end of the rains, and, by frequent transplanting and irrigation, forces it to maturity in the hot season. and in situations nearly similar, sows in the cold season for an early harvest, obtained by a similar method at the commencement of the rains.

In almost every plant the culture, in proportion as it is more generally diffused, induces numerous varieties. But the several seasons of cultivation, added to the influence of soil and climate, have multiplied the different species of rice to an endless variety, branching from the first obvious distinction of awned and awnless rice. The several species and diversities, variously adapted to every circumstance of soil, climate and season, might exercise the judgment of sagacious cultivators. the selection of the most suitable kinds is not neglected by the husbandmen. There is room, however, for great improvement, from the future light to be thrown on this subject, by the observations of enlightened farmers.

Other corn is more limited in its varieties and its culture. Of wheat and barley, few sorts are distinguished. All sown at the commencement of the winter, and reap-

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ed at the beginning of the hot season.

A great variety of different sorts of pulse finds its place in the occupations of husbandry. No season is without its appropriate species, but most sorts are sown or ripen in the winter. They constitute a valuable article in husbandry, as thriving on the poorest soils and requiring little culture.

Millet and other small grains, though bearing a very low price, as the food of the poorest classes, are not unimportant. Several of these grains, restricted to no season, and vegetating rapidly, are useful, as they occupy an interval after a tardy harvest, which would not permit the usual course of husbandry — Maize, which may be placed in this second class of corn, is less cultivated in Bengal than in most countries where it is acclimated. For common food, inferior to white corn, it has not a preference above millet to compensate the greater labour of its culture.

The universal and vast consumption of vegetable oils is supplied by the extensive cultivation of mustard, linseed, sesame, palmachristi, &c. The first occupy the winter season, the sesame ripens in the rains.

Among the most important of the productions of Bengal, rich in proportion to the land they occupy, valuable in commerce and manufactures, are tobacco, sugar, indigo, cotton, mulberry, and *Poppy* — Most of these require land solely appropriated to the respective culture of each, they would here deserve full notice, with some other articles, if we were not in this place limited to a general review of the usual course of husbandry, and the implements and methods it employs.

The arts and habits of one country elucidate those of another

The native of the north may deem every thing novel in India; but if he have visited the southern kingdoms of Europe, he will find much similarity to notice.

The plough, the spade of Bengal, and the coarse substitute for the harrow, will remind him of similar implements in Spain. Cattle treading out the corn from the ear, will recall the same practice in the south of Europe: where also, he has already remarked the want of barns and of inclosures, the disuse of horses for the plough, the business of domestic economy conducted in the open air, and the dairy supplied by the milk of buffaloes.

The plough is drawn by a single yoke of oxen, guided by the ploughman himself. Two or three pair of oxen assigned to each plough, relieve each other, until the daily task be completed. Several ploughs in succession deepen the same furrows, or rather scratch the surface, for the plough wants a contrivance for turning the earth, and the share has neither width nor depth to stir a new soil. A second ploughing crosses the first, and a third is sometimes given diagonally to the preceding. These frequently repeated, and followed by the substitute for the harrow, pulverise the surface, and prepare it for the reception of seed. The field must be watched for several days, to defend the seed from the depredations of numerous flocks of birds. This is commonly the occupation of children, stationed to scare the birds from the fresh sown field.

After the plant has risen, the rapid growth of weeds demands frequent weeding; particularly in the rainy season. For few indigenous herbs vegetating in the dry season, weeding is little, if at all required, for plants which are cultivated,

taunted in the absence of rain — Viewing the labours of the weeder, the eye is not easily reconciled to see them sitting to their work. The short handled spud, which they use for a hoe, permits no other posture but however familiar that posture may be to the Indian, his labour is not employed to advantage in this mode of weeding.

The hook (for the scythe is unknown) reaps every harvest. In this also much unnecessary labour is employed; not merely from the want of a more expeditious implement, but from the practice of selecting the ripest plants, which, taught by the harvest of different plants ripening successively, the Indian extends to the harvest of a single crop. Yet such is the contractions of custom, that while the peasant returns frequently to one field to gather the plants as they ripen, he suffers another to stand long after the greatest part of the crop has passed the point of maturity. He justifies his practice upon circumstances which render it impracticable to enter these fields to select the ripe plants without damaging the rest; and upon the inferiority of crops which mix, with ripe corn, a considerable proportion not fully ripened. Though his excuse be not groundless, his loss is considerable, by the grain which drops before the harvest, in so great a quantity, that if the field remain undown, it will afford a crop by no means contemptible*.

The practice of stacking corn intended to be reserved for seed, or

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for a late sale, is very unusual. The husk which covers rice preserves it so perfectly, that, for this grain, the practice would be superfluous; and the management of rice serving for the type of their whole husbandry, it is neglected by the peasants for other corn. A careless stack which waits the peasant's leisure to thrash it out, serves for a convenient disposition, rather than as a defence from the inclemencies of weather. With the first opportunity his cattle tread out the corn, or his staff thrashes the smaller seeds. The grain is winnowed in the wind, and stored in jars of unbaked earth, in baskets, or in twisted grass formed into the shape of baskets.

The want of roads, which indeed could not possibly be provided to give access to every field, in every season, does not leave it in the option of the farmer to bring home all his harvests by cattle; but the general disuse of cattle in circumstances which would permit this mode of transport is among the facts which shew a great disproportion between the population and the husbandry.

Irrigation is less neglected than facility of transport. In the management of forced rice, dams retain the water on extensive plains; or reserve it in lakes, to water lower lands as occasion requires. For either purpose much skill is exerted in regulating the supplies of water. For the same culture, ridges surrounding the field retain water raised by the simple contriv-

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* Of this, instances are frequent. The remarkable result of one instance deserves to be mentioned. An early mandarin covered a very extensive tract before the rains had been given. The landlord wanted the grain, but claimed the spontaneous crop, and he produced by the accommodation, yielding from this harvest a greater amount than the man had resigned; although, in addition to the common expenses, he was at considerable cost in sowing the crop, and was probably defrauded of a large proportion of the harvest.

slope of a curved canoe swinging from a pole. In other situations ridges are also raised round the field, both to separate lands, and to regulate the water on considerable tracts. In some provinces water raised by cattle, or by hand, from wells, supply the deficiencies of rain. Each of these being within their compass, is the undertaking of the peasants themselves. More considerable works, not less necessary, are much neglected. Rivers, water-courses, and dykes, are more generally in a progress of decay than of improvement.

The succession of crops, which engages so much the attention of enlightened cultivators in Europe, and on which principally rests the success of a well conducted husbandry, is not understood in India. A course, extending beyond the year, has never been dreamt of by a Bengal farmer. In the succession of crops within the year, he is guided to no choice of an article adapted to restore the land impoverished by a former crop. His attention being fixed on white corn, other cultivation only employs the intervals of leisure, which the seasons of white corn allow to the land and to labour, with an exception however to sugar, silk, and other valuable productions, to which corn is secondary, but which grow on appropriate lands, belong not to the consideration of the course of crops. In this, which is not regulated by any better consideration than convenience of time, it would be superfluous to specify the different courses which occur in practice, as little would it tend to any useful purpose to develop the various combinations of different articles, grown together on the same field, or in the stubble of a former harvest, or sown for a second

crop before the preceding harvest be gathered.

A competent notion may be formed of this practice, by conceiving a farmer eager to obtain the utmost possible produce from his land, without any consideration for the impoverishment of the soil, able to command, at any season, some article suited to the time, and not content to use his field so soon as the harvest makes room for succession, but anticipating the vacancy, or obtaining a crop of quick vegetation, during the first progress of a flower plant.

It may be judged that his avidity disappoints itself, both as the several articles deprive each other of the nourishment, which would have afforded a more abundant crop of either separately, and as the land impoverished makes bad returns for the labour and seed. In most situations the land racked in this husbandry soon requires time to recruit, the Indian allows it a lay, but never a fallow. This would be well judged, if the management of stock gave to the lay all the benefit which belongs to this method, and if the inefficacy of the plough, which must be preceded by the spade, did not greatly increase the expence of opening old lays.

The abuse of dung, employed for fuel, instead of being applied to manure, must have concealed from the husbandman the benefit of well managed stock. Else, in his practice of pasturing his cattle in the stubble of his harvest, and in fields, of which the crop has failed, he could not omit to notice the advantage of a farm well stocked. For want of perceiving this benefit, the cattle for labour and subsistence are mostly pastured on small commons, or other pasturage, intermixed with arable lands, or fed at home

have an straw or cut grass; and the cattle for breeding, and for the dairy, are grazed in numerous herds on the forests and downs. Wherever fed, the dung is carefully collected for fuel.

Cultivation suffering very considerably by the trespasses of cattle, through the wilful neglect of the herdsmen, it is a matter of surprise that enclosures are so much neglected. For a reason already mentioned, cattle cannot be left at night unattended; but, in the present practice, buffaloes only are grazed at night, cows and oxen are pastured in the day. For these, enclosures would be valuable, and even for buffaloes would not be useless, and the farmer would be well rewarded, by suffering the cattle to fertilize all his arable lands, instead of restricting the use of manure to sugar cane, mulberry, tobacco, poppy, &c.

Few lands unassisted are sufficiently fertile to raise these productions, the husbandman has yielded to the necessity of manuring for them. On the management of it little occurs for particular notice in this place, except to mention, that khully, or oil-cake, is occasionally used as manure for the sugar-cane. A course of experiments would be requisite to ascertain whether the methods actually employed be better suited to the soil and climate, than others which might be, or have been suggested, from the practice of other countries, or from the varying practices of different parts of Bengal.

For a similar reason the consideration of other produce, (of which the culture is now general, or which might be generally diffused, as cotton, indigo, assafoetida, &c.) may also be deferred. Enough has been said to show that husbandry in Bengal admits of

much improvement, or rather that the art is in its infancy.

An ignorant husbandry, which exhausts the land, neglecting the obvious means of maintaining its fertility, and of reaping immediate profit from the operations which might restore it, rude implements, inadequate to the purpose for which they are formed, and requiring much superfluous labour; thus again ill divided, and of consequence employed disadvantageously, call for amendment.

The simple tools which the Indian employs in every art, are so coarse, and apparently so inadequate, that it creates surprise he should ever effect his undertaking, but the long continuance of feeble efforts accomplishes, (and mostly well,) what, compared to the means, appears impracticable, habituated to observe his success, we cannot cease to wonder at the simplicity of his process, contrasting it to the mechanism employed in Europe. But it is not necessary that the complicated models of Europe should be copied in India. A passion for the contrivances of ingenuity has adopted intricate machinery for simple operations. The economy of labour in many cases justifies the practice, whether an effect be produced at a smaller expense, or more be performed at proportionate expense, but with less labour. In Bengal the value of money, and the cheapness of labour, would render it absurd to propose costly machinery, but is no objection to simple improvements, which, adding little to the cost of the implements, would fit them to perform, more effectually, and with less labour, the object undertaken. The plough is among the implements which stand most in need of such improvements.

The readiness with which he can turn, from the occupation in which he has been accustomed, to another branch of the same art; to a new occupation, the characteristics of the Indian. The success of his exertions, in a novel employment, is daily testified with surprise. It is not so much a proof of ingenuity and ready conception, as the effect of flow and patient attention, affixing a versatile habit necessarily acquired where the division of labour is imperfect; and though its performance may surpass expectation, it will nevertheless fall short of the expeditious and finished performances of the expert mechanic, whose skill is formed by constant practice in a more circumscribed occupation.

The want of capital, employed in manufactures and agriculture, prevents, in Bengal, the division of labour. Every manufacturer, every artist, working for his own account, conducts the whole process of his art from the formation of his tools to the sale of his production. Unable to wait the market, or anticipate its demand, he can only follow his regular occupation, as immediately called to it, by the wants of his neighbours. In the intervals, he must apply to some other employment in immediate request, and the labours of agriculture, ever wanted, are the general resource. The mechanic finding himself as fully competent, as the constant cultivator, to the management of common husbandry, is not discouraged from undertaking it at his own risk. Every labourer, every artisan, who has frequent occasion to recur to the labours of the field, becomes a tenant. Both the one and the other are equally qualified to perform a well judged course of husbandry, and are fully employed,

to the great waste of useful time, in waiting to market the petty produce of their petty farms.

If Bengal had a capital in the land well interspersed proprietors, who employed it in husbandry, manufactures and internal commerce, these arts would be improved; and, with greater and better productions from the same labour, the frugality of the husband would be less passionate, and more prudent; although the greatest part of the profit might rest with the owners of the capital.

Capital is certainly not less deficient to the internal commerce of Bengal, than to manufactures and agriculture. The small capitals now employed require large returns. Besides as Bengal is beyond any country, with an extensive internal navigation, the want of roads (though a great evil) would not sufficiently account for the very limited intercourse of commerce at present existing. But the large profits, which small capitals require, explain the want of intercourse. This concurs with the deficiency of capital in manufactures and husbandry to depress Bengal: for in agriculture particularly, which is the basis of prosperity to a country, the want of capital is a bar to all improvement. A system of government which neither drains its wealth, nor cultivates natural enterprise, Bengal could not fail to revive; the employment of capital in husbandry would introduce large farms; and from these would flow every improvement wanted, and which must necessarily extend from husbandry into every branch of arts and commerce.

Without capital and enterprise, improvement can never be obtained. Progress will never be made, whether in husbandry or in the liberal and

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lightened peasant. It would not, without example, generally engage a wealthier and better informed class. Better institutions would be of as little avail. The legislator cannot direct the judgment of his subjects; his business is only to be careful lest his regulations* delude them in the pursuit of their true interests.

In Bengal, where the revenue of the State has had the form of land-rent, the management of finances has a more immediate influence on agriculture than any other part of the administration. The system which has been adopted, of withdrawing from direct interference

with the occupant, and leaving them to quarrel with landlords, will contribute more than any of the remedial & regulations which have been promulgated, to abuses and evils which had rendered the situation of the cultivator precarious. Has not yet having produced the effect, it requires us to review the system of finances, under which abuses had grown, and placed the occupant in a precarious situation, as discouraging to agriculture as any obstacle yet noticed for without an ascertained interest for a sufficient period, no person could have an inducement to venture a capital in husbandry.

OBSERVATIONS on PROPERTY in the SOIL.—RENTS and DUTIES.—
TENURES of FREE LANDS, and of Lands liable for REVENUE, in
the Province of BENGAL.

By the Same

[Never before published]

We shall examine this subject according to the first occupant.

A new settler becomes a ryot if he tenants; but if he affixes an husbandry and labourer only, he is in another class of cultivators. For the term of *ryot*, though properly intending a subject generally, is restricted to mean citizens contributing directly to the revenue of the State, whether as tenants of land

paying rent, or as traders and artisans paying taxes.

The new settler may occupy the whole, or a part, of the land abandoned or deserted by his predecessor; or land surrendered or resigned; or land which has lain one or more years. If it has lain for a period of three or more years, according as custom may have regulated, it becomes waste, or forest land and

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from

* A strong instance of such ill advised institutions occurs in a local regulation, which prohibited farms exceeding fifty bighas.

† Regulations on this and other subjects, have copied too closely the notions and frames of European nations. Though they have been framed by persons well informed of the customs and prejudices of the natives, a predilection for the maxims of European societies has introduced rules, which, if not incompatible with the disposition of the Indian, have at least been pressed with too eager haste; not allowing time to the natives to accommodate themselves to new forms, and to unlearning maxims. The provisions of new laws, not fully apprehended by the natives, are to them the more obscure, being framed in a foreign language, from which translations cannot attain to the sense of their own tongue. Hence the best intentions have not yet produced good effects. The people have received no material relief, no considerable benefit; the only consequence is, that their understandings are confounded, and their minds clarified.

from this, a progress of years, regulated by custom, or by local circumstances, restores it to the first class of arable land.

The ryot, unless content to pay, by the custom of the country, and expose himself to exactions under false constructions of the custom, must take out a patch or lease, executing at the same time a counterpart.

Patches may be for payment in cash, or in kind, this latter may be for a specific quantity of grain, or for an adjustment on the crop by an actual partition, or by estimation. The tenure for payments in cash is either for specific rent, or for an adjustment subsequent to cultivation, the first may be for ascertained farms, or for specified quantities of land, and it might be for a term, or perpetual. The tenure may be regulated for an adjustment subsequent to cultivation, by fixed rates, or by ascertained rules. But in some tenures of this class no certain rules are discoverable.

Under the first tenure, the ryot is held by engagement, or by custom, to render a certain weight or measure of grain for his farm, which is ascertained by its measure or its bounds.

In the second, the crop is divided when gathered, the usual proportion is half produce, other proportions are known, but are more usual in the third tenure. Whatever the proportion be, it is mostly nominal, for deductions are made from the gross crop before the partition, or from the assigned shares after the partition, and these de-

ductions arise from arbitrary imposts.

The third tenure for payment in kind is by estimation of the crop. This is performed by measuring the field, estimating its produce by inspection, or by small trials, calculating the shares according to the rule for the partition, and valuing the landlord's share at the market price, which value the tenant pays in cash. It is usual to indulge the tenant by a favourable measurement, and a moderate evaluation, for which reason he prefers this tenure to an actual partition, which the landlord is also desirous of avoiding, as it is very liable to frauds. In the rule for dividing the crop, whether under special engagements, or by custom, three proportions are known.

Half for the landlord, Half for the tenant,
One third ditto, Two-thirds ditto,
Two-fifths ditto, Three-fifths ditto.

These proportions, and others less common, are all subject to taxes and deductions similar to those of other tenures and in consequence another proportion, engrafted on equal partition, has in some places been fixed by government in lieu of all taxes as, nine sixteenths for the landlord, and seven sixteenths for the tenant.

Under this tenure the peasant may not reap his crop without his landlord's permission†, but by the landlord delaying to attend for the partition or estimation, the harvest may suffer. For this reason, or to defraud his landlord, the ryot sometimes privately gathers the harvest. On these occasions it becomes necessary

* To avoid circumlocution and obscurity, we speak of the ryot as a tenant paying rent, and of his superior as a landlord or a landholder. But properly his payment was a contribution to the state, levied by officers standing between the ryot and government. They never were landlords paying taxes to the state, and leasing their lands to tenants, until placed in that situation by the British government.

† A fee for this permission was levied.

cessary to measure the fields, and estimate the produce which has been embezzled, according to the fertility presumed on a comparison to the lands in the neighbourhood. If the usual evaluation for different articles of produce were reduced to a table of rates, and the value in kind turned into money rates, by a reference to the average prices of common seasons, it would acquire the same form with the tenure, for a rent to be ascertained subsequently to cultivation according to fixed rates and is the probable origin of that tenure which may be deemed the payment in kind commuted for a modus.

The rates ought to be uniform, as far as circumstances permit, and the rents of all tenants within the village or district be regulated by one table. As the soil, however, must be unequal, the rates vary, not only according to the articles of produce, and number of harvests gathered off the same field within the year, but according to the soil and situation as sandy exposed to inundation, or to drought, annually overflowed, adjoining to, or remote from the village, &c. All these variations, whether by the produce or soil, constitute the rates which compose the table. Other variations are admitted for subdivisions of districts and of villages. But in some places the rates do not vary by the soil and produce, on the contrary, one uniform rate is applied to the whole land occupied by the tenant.

A patch for an adjustment after cultivation, by the general table, need not specify the rates. It need only contain the term of the lease, the reservation of established taxes, the measure to be used for the land,

an obligation to pay all additional taxes imposed generally, and the periods of payment.

The term specified in a patch of this nature is commonly the year for which they are granted. A ryot has a little of occupancy, in right of which he may retain his land, so long as it continues to pay the rent in conformity to the custom of the country, or to his particular engagement. Of this more hereafter.

The sum of the rates applied to the measurement, constitutes the original rent, in contradistinction to additional taxes arbitrarily imposed, or required for special purposes —

They commonly fall under several heads, taxes generally, charges, exchange, imposts, and contributions, and fees under their particular denominations. All established taxes ought to be brought on a table shewing the amount of the taxes, and their proportion to the original rent. But notwithstanding the table so constructed, a reservation in this, and other tenures, for taxes to be generally imposed, and the practice of imposing them without such express stipulation, rendered the situation of the tenants precarious. It little availed, that the general consent of the ryots was deemed necessary to the imposition of a tax, not authorized by government, a few leading ryots, gained by indulgence, easily led the multitude.

The measurement is by a begah*, which contains twenty cottas. It is a square measure on a side of twenty cottas, but the cotta varies from three and a half to nine cubits. A pole of the established length ought to be deposited in the public office of the districts, sealed at both extremities with the official seal,

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* Other denominations of land measure are known in some districts. But the begah is by far the most prevalent.

and the measurement is made with a pole of that length, or with a rope of twenty poles. In either mode, the tenant has been commonly defrauded by keeping the middle of the pole elevated, or by withholding a part of the rope. So great has been the fraudulent custom, that ryots have been known to consent to double their rates, for the stipulation of a fair measurement.

The periods of payment are seldom specified, they are regulated by custom, founded on the estimated value of the crops of different seasons, and the demand is made in the customary proportions. But if installments are specified, it is by a reference to a separate engagement delivered with the counterpart of the lease.

The tenures did not universally conform to the table of rates. Indulgence was allowed to such as by rank or religion were precluded from personal labour. The reduced rates allowed them ought to be specified in the lease, and where the reduction of rates by abuse has become general, every lease to ryots must in like manner specify the rates of each, though the individual's rates may not have been reduced.

The simple tenure on rates is for an annual adjustment on the actual cultivation. But in many places the ryot is bound to make good the same amount as in the preceding year, and pay the excess, if any. This becomes a different tenure, and the stipulation ought to be expressed in the lease.

A reduction of rates obtained on a promise of raising the total amount of rent, has undoubtedly given name to a particular tenure.

Some ryots have been indulged with leases low rates for an indefinite

term. These, commonly, are not liable to the taxes generally imposed, and their leases contain a clause to that effect.

Out of the adjustment, after cultivation, has arisen another form. After the measurement made, the separate account of each tenant becomes a record, and the annual measurement is frequently omitted in consideration of a compromise, or is partially executed, measuring the new cultivation, and adhering to the record for the arable of the preceding year. Upon this is founded the tenure on the record of a general survey, becoming the rule by which the occupant is to pay, until a new measurement be undertaken to equalise or correct the assessment.

Among the tenures, we have not mentioned that of paying for the number of ploughs employed, instead of the quantity of land occupied. It is not maintained in Bengal, but is the origin of a tenure known in the northern provinces, and which has become vague and precarious. The limits of the farm are ascertained, but without a survey of the quantity of land. The tenant occupies it in the season of cultivation, adjusting the rent when the crop is on the ground; and if the landlord and tenant cannot agree on an equitable rent, reference cannot now be had to any certain sale. The farm is transferred to the highest bidder; and the dispossessed farmer receives the reimbursement of his expenses.

None of the tenures of Bengal are secure, except those where the rent of an ascertained farm or field, or of a specified quantity of land, is fixed by a lease previous to cultivation, for a specific term, or for perpetuity, or for permanency, expressly

precisely stipulated; leaves for an indefinite period being not uncommon.

In the other tenures, great confusion has arisen. Measurements long omitted, without a rule by record substituted in their place, and former surveys forgotten, or their rates* become obsolete, leave no certain rule for adjusting the rents. It is endeavoured to obtain from the tenant an undertaking for the current year; but, having to dispute arbitrary imposts, he seldom consents. The landlord, estimating the amount of his wants, distributes it at pleasure on his tenants, and endeavours to levy this assessment. In the confusion of disputed demands, no documents pass: the tenant refuses, the receipt because stoppages have been made, which he does not acknowledge to be just: the landlord refuses a release, ever

claiming more than he has realized. The confusion increasing, the sole object of one party is to extort, and of the other to withhold, as much as possible. Hence the scene of violence which long disgraced Bengal, while the peasant was literally subject to the lash of the extortioner.

Weakness will ever oppose fraud to oppression. This resource has been very successful in the hands of the peasantry of Bengal. The power of compulsion taken from the landlord, leaves them no future oppression to apprehend from the vague tenures by which they hold; but they are not willing to relinquish the future gain by fraud, which these vague tenures enable them to practise. It is from these causes that little progress has been made in the adjustment of rents on definite terms, and a long period may probably

* The standard for the regulation of rates has been lost. We learn from Mr. James Grant, in his Observations on the Revenues of Bengal, that the assessment was limited not to exceed in the whole a fourth of the actual gross produce of the soil. The ancient method of estimating the assess from the produce is explained in the *Ayzen Akbery*, vol. 1st, page 381. See also vol. 2d, page 5. In early times the demands of the Hindu sovereigns were more moderate. The *Mahabharata* mentions, that the prince may levy a fifth of the increase of the cattle, a fifth of the produce of woods, and a tenth of the corn. Hindu authors distinguish the cultivator occupying the land of right, or cultivating land which had belonged to another cultivator, who is become unable to cultivate, or has expatriated, or has removed to other land, from the cultivator, who enters on the land without permission of the former occupant. The former occupant may reclaim the land, and have the produce, repaying the cultivator his expenses, or he shall have an eighth annually for eight years, and, at the expiration of that period, resume the land without payment of charges. The cultivator is to pay the share to the prince as to the former occupant. Other authorities hold, that the cultivator shall pay to the former occupant a tenth of the produce of lands which were waste during his five years, an eighth for land which had lain eight years, and a sixth for land which had lain one year, and the same to the prince. The Institutes of Akber inform us, that former monarchs of Hindustan exacted the fifth of the produce of lands (*Ayzen Akbery*, vol. 1st, page 347), under Akber, the revenue was fixed at a third of the produce of lands cultivated for every harvest, or opened after a short lay, allowed, in order that the soil may receive its strength, but for lays of three or five years much less was required. For example, for land which had lain three or four years, and was greatly injured, the payment in the first year was two-fifths of the standard, or two-fifths of the produce, second year three-fifths of a standard, third and fourth year four-fifths, and in the fifth year as for land regularly cultivated. The rates for land which had been waste, were in the first and second years inconsiderable, the third year a sixth of the produce, the fourth year a fourth of the produce, and after that period as land which had been regularly cultivated. These rules apply to corn only. Indigo, poppy, &c. paid in ready money at proportionate rates.—*Idem* *Ayzen Akbery*, vol. 1st, page 356, 361, and 364.

probably elapse before they acquire regularity. In the mean time, the peasant employs, in the pursuit of dishonest advantage, that attention which he ought to give to the improvement of his farm.

Besides the variety of tenures we have noticed, a difference arises from other circumstances. A tenant, cultivating in the lands of a distant village, cannot be placed on the same footing with one who uses land in the village where he resides. Indulgence in his rent is allowed to encourage the distant cultivator, and the inconvenience of remote cultivation makes it necessary he should be at liberty to relinquish, at any time, the land he employs; and consequently, his own continuance being precarious, he cannot have a title of occupancy, precluding the landlord from transferring the land to a resident cultivator desirous of undertaking it. Another distinction arises on the practice of tenants under-letting their lands to other cultivators. This class of middle men is numerous. Some are authorised, by the nature of their tenure, where the rent and farm are ascertained and fixed, others have an express permission inserted in their lease, most have no justification for this practice, which has grown by abuse, and is highly detrimental. Their under-tenants, depressed by an excessive rent in kind, and by enormous returns for the cattle, seed, and subsistence advanced, can never extricate themselves from debt. In so abject a state they can never labour with spirit, earning a scanty subsistence without hope of bettering their wretched situation. Wherever an intermediate tenantry subsists, the peasant is indigent, the husbandry ill managed. Its baneful

influence is no where more obvious than in Bengal.

Such are the principal known tenures of ryots, but of whom do they hold? This question has been much agitated.

In the unquiet times, which preceded the Company's acquisition of the Dewanny, arbitrary power respected neither prescriptive rights nor established usages. The management, first adopted under the British authority, had no tendency to restore order, and, when the servants of the Company undertook to conduct the detail of internal administration, they found the whole system embarrassed and confused.

Anxious to secure for their employers all the available resources of their new acquisitions, but without intending a wrong to individuals, they entered on inquiries with a degree of diligence which was not rewarded with adequate success, in unravelling the intricacies of the revenue, by ascertaining local usages, and in tracing, by a reference to its institutes, the system of administration established under the Mogul government.

These inquiries were suggested by a question which was early started, "of what nature was the landed property of Bengal, to whom it belonged, and what privileges appertained to other classes?" Various opinions were entertained—Some attributed to the sovereign the lordship of the soil, but restricted this property, by admitting that the peasantry, as holding immediately of the prince, had a permanent interest in the land by immemorial usage. Others were of opinion*, that the zemindars enjoyed a proprietary right in the land, of an hereditary nature, and considered the peasantry as having

no

* See Rows on the Landed Property of Bengal.

no positive right to retain the land against the will and approbation of the immediate superior. Many could perceive no proprietary right in any, but the peasant occupying the soil, they held him to be the natural proprietor of the land, but bound to contribute to the support of the state from which he had protection.

In one point of view, the zemindars, as defendants of ancient independent rajahs, or as the successors of their descendants, seemed to have been tributary princes. In another light they appeared only officers of government. Perhaps their real character was mixed of both, and they might, not unwisely, have been compared to kings, nominated by the Roman Republic, to administer the internal affairs of conquered kingdoms.

This cannot obviously apply to any but to the rajahs of great zemindaries. Numerous landholders, subordinate to these, as well as others independent of them, can not evidently be traced to a similar origin.

In examining the question, it was presupposed that a property in the soil, similar to that which is vested of right, or by fiction, in the sovereign, or in some class of his subjects, in every state of Europe, must vest in some class of the inhabitants of Hindustan, either sovereign or subject. If it were denied to the zemindar, (a denomination which readily suggested the term of landholder for its equivalent,) the sovereign has been thought the only member of the state to whom that property could be attributed.

Besides the presumption arising on the literal interpretation of the name, the hereditary succession to zemindaries pointed out these for

the real proprietors. And although the succession had not followed the rules of inheritance established by law for landed property, and admitted in practice for landed estates of which the revenue had been granted away by government, and although the hereditary succession to office of accounts* was as regular and as familiar as to zemindaries, the zealous advocates for the rights of zemindars deemed the argument conclusive, or appealed to humanity in support of it. For, perceiving no competitor but the sovereign for the lordship of the soil, it clasped them, that the rights of more numerous classes might be involved in the question, and that the argument to humanity might well be retorted.

However insufficient the arguments might be in themselves, yet, assisted by considerations of expediency, they decided the question, and government acknowledged the zemindars proprietors of the soil.

But it has now been admitted by a very high authority†, that the sovereign was superior of the soil, that the zemindars were officers of revenue, justice, and police, that the office was frequently, but not necessarily hereditary, that the cultivator of the soil, attached to his possession with the right to cultivate it, was subject to payments, varying according to particular agreements and local customs, which, in general, he continued on the spot, but that the proportion to be paid to the state was to be judged of by the zemindar, and that the rights of the ryot have been gradually abridged, &c.

As this corresponds nearly with our opinion, it is the less necessary to offer argument and proof. The ryot certainly had a title by occu-

pancy,

* Canninggoes. † See View of Plans for British India.

pancy, in right of which he might retain the land, without reference to the will and approbation of a superior, but subject to contributions for the support of the state to assess and collect which, regulated however by local customs or particular agreements, but varying at the same time with the wants of the state, was the business of the zemindar, as a permanent, if not as an hereditary officer. For the due execution of his charge he was checked by permanent and by hereditary officers of record and account.

In recognising a proprietary right in zemindars, the administration of Bengal can have intended no more than to disclaim all pretensions on the part of the sovereign to a property in the soil, not to abridge or annul the rights and privileges of other classes. But the unqualified declaration requires a particular vindication of every right which clashes with the property acknowledged, and tinctions, with apparent inconsistency, the regulations which maintain incognuous rights. The succession of occupants will gradually afford to the zemindars, as landholders, the opportunity of limiting the tenures leasehold farmers will succeed to privileged ryots; and the rights of other classes will be abridged.—Perhaps the certainty of stipulated rent may compensate the loss of permanent possession.

The rent, or revenue, regulated by the tenures described, was not sufficiently certain, and does not include all the direct payments required from ryots. The intricacy of multiplied demands seems to have been studied, as it facilitated frauds and exactions. Many collections of the nature of land rents were ranked among the sayar or internal duties, established

fees, and customary presents, as well as occasional contributions, were not brought on the register of the revenue, and stoppages were made for special purposes. None of these properly formed a part of the land revenue; and have been therefore reserved for separate consideration.

The sayar, of the nature of land rent, consists of ground rent for the sote of houses and gardens, revenue drawn from fruit trees, pastures and marsh, and rent of fisheries. Other articles of sayar, within the village, have been abolished; as soils and personal taxes.

The fees were the perquisites of potwaris, mundies, amangoes, zemindars, and other officers, customary presents, some resembling fines on renewal, were payable to the officers of the revenue. Occasional as well as established contributions were for works of general utility, as dams, dykes, reservoirs, and bridges.

Stoppages were mostly for charitable uses, sometimes for perquisites to zemindars, amangoes, and other officers, occasionally for public works.

Ground rents were not usually levied on ryots engaged in husbandry. They enjoyed an exemption for their houses, and in some places for their gardens and orchards; but this immunity lasted no longer than while they cultivated. And if they changed their habitation, they could not remove their huts without paying the value, or, in some districts, an established mode. In many places, however, the cultivating ryots paid ground rent in some, it was brought on the record of the land revenue. Generally speaking, ground rent was paid by residents not engaged in husbandry, for the ground employed by their manufactures, as well

well as for their houses. It was not usually regulated by the quantity of ground they occupied, but was proportioned to the means of different descriptions of traders and artisans. From motives of respect to brahmins and to persons of rank, they were commonly exempted. Some also were exempted on account of poverty, others * as they gave without reward a portion of their labour for the benefit of the public, or for the service of their superiors. In many places traders and artisans paid no direct ground rent, being sufficiently assessed to other taxes.

The revenue of fruit-trees, is either in kind, by a share of the produce, or is paid on a numeration of the trees. In some instances it is brought on the record of the land revenue.

In several districts the husbandmen enjoy the benefit of a common pasture, in others they hire reserved pastures, usually they pay for pasturage in the form of a tax imposed upon individuals, or regulated by the number of cattle maintained by each.

The revenue of math may be regulated in the same manner as pasturage; or the grass lands be reserved, and the grass cut and sold on the landholder's account.

The revenue of fisheries is obtained by occasionally drawing the fishery on the landholder's account, after which, any person may fish as a gleaner, or fishermen are licensed to fish for fixed sums, or for a proportion of the produce, regulated by rates, or by express agreements.

In general, fisheries, as well as reserved pastures and grass lands, were let in *farms*.

Other layers were tolls on shops, on weighing merchandize, or on verifying scales and weights, on imports and exports, on purchases and sales, on transport by land or water; and on ferries, and personal taxes, anciently levied as a capitation † on Hindus, lately, as a tax on professions. Some of these rolls and taxes, payable in the villages by ryots contributing also to the land revenue, were commuted for a *modus*. Most were levied at markets, and the tolls assumed the forms of duties and customs, at the principal marts, and considerable markets.

These layers have been abolished. To examine the rules by which they were levied, would now be superfluous, it might gratify curiosity, but could answer no useful purpose. The rules were not sufficiently certain, this circumstance added to the multiplicity of various collections, subjected commerce to undue exactions. Abuses might have been rectified, but the measure of abolishing these collections was preferred. Wanting the regulation and protection received from the officers of the layer, markets have declined, and many have been totally disused since the abolition of layers. This is undoubtedly an evil. It is inconvenient, and wastes valuable time, that the peasant must travel far to supply his wants, or dispose of his produce. The peasant's and the trader's convenience

* As porters, bound to supply travellers grass. And the unpaid labour of many classes for their *zemindar's* benefit, and for other public officers.

† A *pothana* called *jezveh* was imposed by the Khalif Omar on all persons not of the musliman faith. The mahomedan conquerors of Hindustan imposed it on the Hindus as infidels. It was remitted by the emperor Akbar. Nevertheless, personal taxes were levied under the same appellation as so modern a period as the late abolition of layers in Bengal; but the instances were rare, and it was only another name for the professional tax paid by *hindu* artisans.

venience equally requires a place of known resort, for the ready interchange of commodities. Numerous markets, by promoting intercourse, contributed to general prosperity. The discontinuance of many markets in the short space of four years, and the decline of the existing marts, is an alarming circumstance.

Nor has trade received any greater relief by the abolition, than might have been afforded by the regulation of fayers. A large proportion of their amount has been imposed in another shape, as a fund for a police establishment. And it may be questioned by those who have not adopted the wild doctrines of the economists, whether it would not have been more advisable to continue under regulations, and even to raise the internal duties, reducing the land-tax proportionably.

kees, contributions, and stoppages require no detailed explanation. It has been already mentioned, that fees were the perquisites of public officers, occasional contributions were for work of general utility, and stoppages were mostly for charitable purposes, some times for official perquisites, occasionally for public uses.

Improvements benefitting the lands of a single tenant must be undertaken by himself on his own account, for his own advantage, as hedges, ditches, and wells. For greater undertakings of less limited advantage, the tenants interested unite in a common concern, as for dams and ponds; but public works, as dykes, roads, canals, reservoirs, and bridges, must be undertaken by the landlord for the common benefit of himself and tenants; or by himself or some other person from motives of public spirit. This has

been a common motive, for, to require re-payment was unpopular, but sometimes the landlord would be reimbursed by direct payments, and it is equitable he should, if the improvement be for lands already tenanted. This could only be obtained by an immediate subscription, or by raising the rents, and in the prevailing tenures, the rents could only be raised by a special tax or contribution. The taxes on transport were perhaps (like our turnpike tolls,) originally established to provide funds for making and repairing the roads. The funds were misapplied, and these taxes having been now abolished, no funds exist for making or repairing the highways. The general prohibition of imposing new taxes or contributions, precludes any fund being raised in that form, for roads or other public works. Universal poverty prevents the undertaking from motives of public spirit. And nothing is applied to such works from the revenue levied by the state. Remains of stupendous causeways, ruins of bridges, and of magnificent stairs on the banks of rivers, not replaced by similar undertakings of a modern date, suggest melancholy reflections on the decline of the country.

The contributions and stoppages not applied to public works were for charitable purposes, or, together with fees, supported the public officers.

The charitable purposes included the maintenance of helpless poor, with the support of priests and mendicants, and the endowments of temples and colleges. Besides established contributions, in money, or in kind, levied on the authority of parents, or of the written consent of the inhabitants, and besides allow-

ances paid from stoppages made upon a similar authority, the revenue of districts was charged for the pensions and customary alms, or was alienated as a fund for these purposes.

The public officers had also a provision in free lands, besides allowances charged on the revenue, and the fees and perquisites received from the people.

Numerous are the distinctions of allowances, according to the periods of payment, the forms in which they were levied, or the fund whence they issued, the appropriation of the allowance, or the motive from which it was granted: a useless nomenclature, undeserving the attention of those whom official duty does not require to learn the terms.

Free lands are equally distinguished according to their appropriations, for brahmins, bards, devotees, priests, and mendicants, or, for a provision to the several public officers*, or described by terms of a general import, but in a restricted acceptation. These also, it would

be superfluous to specify, one however deserves attention, as it throws some light on a general subject.

The serhikan was held upon a patent from an officer of the state, but that patent was grounded on the written consent of the inhabitants of the district, who agreed to a repartition on themselves of the revenue of the lands alienated.

To understand this, it is necessary to advert to the record† of the assessment of the revenue distributed on the villages, which was formed at an early period under the Mogul government and by which it was that the collection of the revenue was regulated. When lands were granted by the sovereign, the revenue was alienated according to this record, and transferred with the lands from the revenue office to the grand almoner's or the vizier's office, according as the appropriations were for charitable and religious uses, or for civil or military purposes. There they became a fund‡ applicable to these purposes, at the disposal of the sovereign, through the

* It deserves notice, that the provision in money and kind, for zemindars and canungoes bore the same denomination (*naukar*). If the zemindars had been proprietors of the soil, paying fixed land tax, why had they a provision? or if they were not officers as canungoes, why did their provision bear the same denomination?

† First formed by the celebrated Rajah Tudar Mahl. He did not live to complete it for the whole of Bengal Proper. For this province the *tucum* of the tunar was finally formed at a modern period. The *tucum* of the *jumma* in datus was completed in Akbar's reign.

‡ The pecuniary allowances also formed a fund, on which the sovereign made grants, but the subordinate officers had more influence in the disposal of these allowances, than in the distribution of alienated lands: the fund of the province was increased by an authorized grant, or many separate funds were established by allowances assigned on the land andayer revenues of districts and villages, or by grants authorising private impositions. The serauity into the authority by which these allowances are held, has been stricter than on the tenures of free lands. The fund has been greatly reduced, and the few allowances confirmed, will lapse at no very distant period. In a general view the discontinuance of such appropriations is no evil to the public. The expense of public worship, and the maintenance of priests and others devoted to a religious life may well be left to be defrayed by voluntary contributions of the people concerned. So many evils arise from a public provision for the poor, that the best arguments recommend that these should be left to find support from spontaneous charity. But colleges of learning need patronage, and need public foundations. Hospitals also are a necessary establishment, which can seldom be instituted and maintained on private contributions. These were among the appropriations of charitable funds in money and land; and are much wanted, where wealth, generally diffused, does not supply the place of a fostering government.

the channel of those offices, when the land lapsed or escheated.

The subordinate officers of government consequently had not the power of alienating the revenue of lands, but to make grants, they had recourse to the expedient of obtaining the consent of the inhabitants of the districts for a re-partition, on their lands, of the revenue recorded for the lands to be granted, and as the record carried the distribution no further than to the village, they assumed the power of granting waste land within the village; and these grants would be the most frequent, as the general consent to a feudalism might not easily be obtained.

Accordingly the greatest part of the free lands of Bengal Proper were granted from the waste of the village. The recorded revenue of few villages has been alienated. In the confusion which intervened between the decline of the Mogul, and the rise of the British influence in Bengal, some entire villages were granted by the sultans and their subordinate officers, and they also disposed of the lands on the alienated land. But as the Mogul, reserving for the exchequer the revenue of Bengal Proper, had never assigned in it any lands to the civil and military fund*, and little to the charitable fund, few entire villages, and very few extensive tracts are alienated; and most of the free lands are in portions too inconsiderable to employ many tenants.

Moreover, the more extensive tracts of free lands are sufficiently numerous to have offered to observation the comparison of their production, contrasted to the lands paying revenue. The free lands are gardens, the others com-

paratively a waste. And this observation, which cannot escape any person traversing Bengal, might lead to the conclusion that the land rents are too heavy, and discourage industry. But it must also be noticed, that the regular mode of management for estates, which for both is similar, has been in one abused.

Every village is superintended by an officer or public servant, whose business it is to assign land to new settlers, and receive the rents or revenue of occupants, by whatever rule they are adjusted; and in this he is checked by another officer, who is to keep a register of every payment, and a record of every transaction, as well as to prepare accounts of the rent or revenue due from each occupant according to agreement or usage, and generally to conduct all the business in which writing is required; while the former has the duties of a land bailiff. But the signature of both is necessary to the authenticity of every document, whether sanctioning occupancy, or as a receipt or an acquittance of revenue, or an adjustment of account. They were not however amenable to the same superior: the one subordinate to the office of record and account for the whole district; the other accountable to the person entitled to receive the revenue. The *cannungo*, who had the office of record alluded to, kept a register of every revenue transaction, and of every regulation of government, and a record of the usage of the district. He was a check on the officers of revenue; and the control might be effectual, while he had the nomination of the accountants at the villages. But though the *cannungo* in some provinces be still consulted in the

* Before the only the provision in land for the officers and establishments immediately employed in the administration and provision of the province itself.

the nomination of the accountants, these have become officers of the collections, and their control has ceased since the introduction of a system of farming the revenue.

Of this practice no trace appears in the Agher Akbery. There the officers of government are instructed to collect from the husbandman, and remit their collections to the treasury. At what period the persons charged with the collections became responsible for the amount to be levied, does not appear, but too early as the reign of Arungzeb, we find the dewan required to send *amans* and *crois* to each *pergunnah* at the proper season, and the business of the *Amil* is described to be "that going from village to village, he ascertain circumstances and the cultivation of the *pergunnahs*, and with due consideration for the advantage of government and ease of the *ryots*, adjust the revenue in due season, and annually send to the superior office the usual books of the revenue, with the agreements of *zemindars*, and with the engagements for collection under the *crois*'s seal these agreements containing specified instalments. And he is thoroughly to examine before the *ryots*, the *crois*'s accounts, and give the *ryots* credit accordingly.

Here the *zemindar*, as regular collector, or the *crois* in a temporary trust, is required to engage for specified instalments although the revenue they are to receive is adjusted by another officer, and that they are to account for their receipts.

This would scarcely be intelligible, had we not seen, in modern practice, the person entrusted with the collections made answerable for the revenue expected, without be-

ing allowed to benefit by a surplus beyond his fixed salary and authorized emolument.

The practice seems to have been adopted to enforce diligence and attention, and to prevent dissipation on frivolous pretences. It must be understood that the officer of collections would be exonerated, if he could make it appear that the deficiency was unavoidable; but from the difficulty of obtaining justice, when it had the form of indulgence, he would rather desire, as a compensation for the risk of loss, to obtain a sanction for profits, and which would the more readily be allowed, as the excess must have usually been embezzled, where the superior, having assumed a standard for expectation, would not strictly scrutinize the accounts of an officer who had fulfilled that expectation. And thus, probably, the officer entrusted with the collections became a farmer of the revenue. The transition was easy from the selection of an officer who was to become responsible for the revenue, or from the responsibility required from the permanent officers of collection, to the acceptance of the renders of farmers to be entrusted with official authority.

This system, which cannot be too much reprobated, did not become universal, nor were its ill consequences fully felt, until employed among other expedients by *Colim Ally Khan*, to obtain a sudden and large increase of revenue, that he might satisfy the pressing demands of the British government. Unable to resist the revenue for which they engaged, while they adhered to the rules by which the payments of *occupants* were regulated, the farmers disregarded the

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and

* In the pattern for the office, which for this, as for all other offices, contains a general instruction on the duties of the officers.

and engagements, and imposed taxes * at pleasure, which they enforced by corporal punishment. Occupants had recourse to the desperate remedy of desertion. Their harvest and private property were confiscated, and the practice of assenting on the remaining cultivators, the deficiency arising by desertions became general.

Husbandmen, discouraged by oppression, relinquished, or reduced their cultivation. To induce them to resume it, farmers allowed every indulgence they asked, advanced money to those who needed indulgence, and granted every stipulation which they required, but, as soon as the harvest was on the ground, forgetting every promise, they easily found pretences for annulling agreements made with simple unguarded peasants, or shamelessly infringed engagements without a pretence but their own wants. Hence that habitual breach of faith, of which the remains are yet perceivable, and the general disregard of usage and agreements rendered useless the officers of account and control their authority has never been restored.

When government turned its attention to check these abuses, and without discontinuing a farming system, or relinquishing a high revenue, regulated the conduct of the farmers, and held them to a strict adherence to existing engagements with occupants and cultivators, the farmers, controlled in avowed oppressions, resorted to indirect methods. Favouring a few leading cultivators, through the influence of these, they obtained general agreements to authorize exactions and imposts. Ryots themselves be-

came farmers of revenue, with the view of granting, on their own authority, reductions in the revenue of the lands to be occupied by themselves, and they continue to farm, that they may perpetuate their abusive advantages. The peasants at large are depressed by a racked rent and the favoured few do not use to the best advantage the lands they hold, but form that class of intermediate tenantry mentioned in another place †.

It would be endless to describe all the abuses which have grown, and which are so numerous, that permanence is now insufficient to excite the landlord to the arduous undertaking of rectifying abuses, and regulating the rents discouraged as they are by the difficulty of discriminating the just rights of the tenantry from advantages collusively obtained, and controlled by the litigiousness of tenants who contest every point, and avail themselves of every advantage, which the forms of judicial proceedings afford.

The farming system not adopted by the proprietors of free lands, or at least, where adopted, not pursued to a rack rent, and of course not followed by the long train of ill consequences we have indicated, is one probable cause of that manifest superiority of free lands over lands assailed by the state. Having a permanent interest in the land, and being in no necessity to levy a specific sum, whether the tenants can afford it or not, the proprietors of free lands have not had the same inducements to rack rent their estates, as those who have come under engagements to government, whether as zemindars, or as temporary farmers.

The

* A strong instance occurred in one district, where, in the fifth month of the year, a general cess of 30 per centum was imposed. The revenue fell in succeeding years far below the former standard, and has never been fully retrieved.

The farmers of the rents of free lands, engaging for a moderate revenue, proportioned to the dues regularly demandable from the tenants, have not been led to the same violent, or to the same indirect methods of oppression, nor have the same abuses arisen from frauds opposed to oppression. The rents of the tenants continue less intricate and less unequal. The average assessment on the tenants of free lands, may perhaps not be much inferior to the average on the lands assessed for public revenue, but not being so unequally distributed, the peasants at large are not depressed we state this on the result of long and familiar observation.

It is confirmed by a comparison to tracts for which farmers obtained perpetual leases, whether themselves, zemindars of the district, or only farmers of the subdivisions of large zemindaries, or of districts comprehending less considerable zemindaries, not originally assessed more moderately than other lands, but become a permanent possession before the long continuance of the farming system had introduced all the abuses which have now grown, they exhibit superior culture, which we do not so much attribute, in these, or in free lands, to the encouragement of lower rents, (al though this opinion be generally received,) as to equal and uniform assessment. For we have had frequent opportunities of remarking, on these possessions, that the average rate of rents exceeded that of neighbouring lands in the common administration.

Among the lands assessed to the revenue, the condition of large zemindaries is more deplorable than that of estates of moderate extent.

The zemindary of one * individual, comprehended thirteen thousand square miles. The estate we allude to has been considerably reduced, but yet continues a wide property and several others are very extensive. Many are too great to be superintended by the proprietors themselves. At the same time the magnitude of the sum for which the proprietor is engaged, deters him from delegating the superintendence to irresponsible servants. He is willing to divide his risk by underletting to farmers, and prefers this management, sanctioned by modern practice, to an attempt at regulation and reform, which, from the long prevalence of abuses, would now assume the appearance of innovation and hazardous experiment.

The same considerations must have some influence with the proprietors of smaller estates, but having their whole property within the reach of their own superintendence, minutely acquainted with the circumstances of every part of the estate, if they do not altogether disuse the practice of underfarming, they at least exercise judgement in the conduct of it, and mostly give some attention to remedy abuse.

If considerations of general welfare ought to supersede our feelings for the individual loss of property, the present rapid dismemberment of large properties might be deemed a fortunate circumstance. Regulations which encourage the subdivision of landed estates among heirs, according to the common laws of inheritance, are for the same reason well judged, but this must be taken with limitation.

An inferior and subordinate class of proprietors hold petty estates

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In

* Zemindary of Rajshahy

In the western provinces, where the office of the first * receiver of rents has in some instances become hereditary, the class of inferior proprietors may have had their origin in the succession of heirs being admitted to the subordinate offices of collection under the zemindar. But this certainly is not the origin of the petty properties in the eastern districts of Bengal. These seem rather to have been an extension of the rights of occupants, from vague permanence, to a declared, hereditary, and even transferable interest. They all bear a fixed quit rent for portions of land to be inherited in regular succession, and some were understood to authorize the transfer by sale or gift, and consequently conferred every right which constitutes a real property. Others, not authorising a transfer by sale or gift, conferred an imperfect and dependent property, which nevertheless was inheritable in regular succession. But both, by abuse, became liable to variable assessment, in common with the lands of other occupants.

The untransferable properties still however remained a little superior to the common right of occupancy which ceased with possession, whereas the hereditary title authorized the talookdar or his heir to resume possession, though his actual occupancy had been interrupted.

These properties were rated to the

assessment of the village, as it stands on the record already, † mentioned, at first as a specification of the revenue to be paid, of late, only as a designation of the property. In the intermediate period, it served to regulate their actual assessment, by adding to the recorded assessment the cesses in the same proportion at which their superior zemindars were rated. The transferable properties mentioned comprehend nearly the whole of the properties which have been separated (under the name of talooks ‡) from the jurisdiction of superior landholders, while the other properties, we have mentioned as prevailing in the eastern districts, continue subordinate to the zemindars, but in both, the assessment has long ceased (by the general confusion which had grown in the revenue,) to be regulated by any certain rule. Many, however, have preserved the advantage of a quit rent, fixed in perpetuity.

Estates, originally small, subdivided according to the rules § of inheritance of the Hindu or Mahomedan law, too split into minute portions, so inconsiderable, that the public accounts exhibit independent talookdars assessed with an annual revenue of a few pence, yet, attached to their possessions, the heirs limit their industry to their paltry properties, or even content themselves indolently to attempt maintaining, on the income of a subdivided

* The mocuddim or mundle

† See Page 63

‡ Some talooks seem to have been the zemindary tenure subdivided, others, not supposed to be deemed independent, were no better than permanent leases in farm.

§ Estates of muskilmans are more rapidly subdivided than those of Hindus. The law of family partnership preserves the unity of the estates held by Hindus. This, however, is not the most material difference. The Hindu law divides property in equal shares among heirs of the same degree, but without admitting the participation of females. In general, these only inherit in default of male heirs. The Arabian law assigns to several relations their specific portions as allotted by the crown, and divides the remainder of the inheritance among the residuary heirs, giving equal shares to all males of the same degree, and half the portion of males, to females in the same degree of consanguinity.

vided patrimony, the unprofitable idleness of an affluent predecessor.

Industry cannot be well directed, than while limited to force the maintenance of a family from an inadequate portion of land. Petty possessions are almost an irresistible inducement to this laborious idleness, but sufficient security in leasehold tenures, and the expected advantage of larger farms, would induce petty proprietors to extend their industry beyond the limits of their properties. As for idle indigence, it finds in some degree its own remedy, but at the expense of population. The more numerous the class of unprofitable citizens, the greater the prevalent evil. The justice and policy of limiting the subdivision of landed property may be questioned, but certainly a government should not encourage it to a minute degree of subdivision.

It may even be doubted whether subdivision of property in arable land be not an evil, though it were not carried further than may afford to the proprietor an humble subsistence. The Indian, by nature inactive, is too much disposed to rest satisfied, in indolence on the produce of his land, neither applying to husbandry on his own land, nor to any other occupation to assist his income. Straitened in his circumstances, he exacts the utmost rent from his tenant. The husbandman who uses the land, composing such petty properties, whether a tenant, or himself the proprietor, is in a wretched and indigent situation, compared to the tenants of more considerable proprietors. These proprietors, unless impelled by the difficulties of an excessive contribution to the revenue, pursue their interest in allowing to their tenants favourable terms. A class of wealthy citizens contributes to the prosper-

ity of the state, by their encouragement of elegant arts, though the greatest prosperity of the nation is found in the consumption of the people at large, when general ease permits the general consumption of more than the mere necessities of life. In Bengal wealth is general, nor particular wealth exists, to add to the consumption of the commonalty, or encourage elegancies in a superior class. The consumption of the mere necessities of life, by a class of unemployed proprietors, contributes nothing to general prosperity; it shows only an unprofitable population.

This class of proprietors is numerous. The income intended to be left to proprietors of lands assessed to the revenue, amounts to £6,40,400. Their actual income is greater, but a considerable proportion appertaining to the owners of larger estates, the remainder, distributed amongst more than 60,000 proprietors, does not afford an average of 40 rupees each, which is insufficient to maintain the family of the poorest labourer.

The present situation of the proprietors of larger estates does not permit them to allow the indulgence and accommodation to their tenants which might be expected on eliminating their income. Responsible to government for a tax proportionally equal to ten elevenths of the expected rent of their estates, they have no probable surplus above their expenditure to convert into risk. In every calamity, a moderate tax must serve to the proprietor some purpose. On the contrary, a small calamity must bear down one who is assessed with ten elevenths of his receipts. Any calamity, any accident, even a delay in his recovery, involves a zemindar in difficulties from which no economy or

attention can retrieve him. Every jail * filled with proprietors confined for arrears, every gazette with advertisements of lands to be sold for revenue, prove the difficulties of their situation sufficiently obvious on the spot, it will become more evident to a remote inquirer by a comparison to Europe.

The landlords rents in the British islands are fivefold of the nett revenue of government. In Bengal, the revenue exceeds the whole land rent, according to some estimate. The land revenue alone is nearly equal to four tenths of the gross rents of land. It is certainly more than four tenths of the gross rents of land liable for revenue. Pursuing the comparison to gross produce, the disproportion is less, though this circumstance be no alleviation to the land holder. The gross land produce in the British islands exceeds two hundred millions, from which is paid thirty millions, including, with the gross revenue of the state, poor's rates and tythes, excepting, however, lay tythes, which rather constitute a coordinate property in the rents, than an impost on the people. The gross land produce of Bengal we estimate at thirty three millions sterling, and the contributions of every nature at a fourth of that sum.

It should appear from this general view, that the situation of the people at large, in so far is worse than in Great Britain, for they contribute nearly in the proportion of a fourth of the land produce, in Great Britain a seventh: and from the mode in which it is required in Bengal, a great hardship is felt by particular cases. The consumption of the commonalty is the wealth of the nation, and the country may be deemed flourishing

in proportion as the people at large are in an easy condition. The general mode of life, compared to what may be deemed reasonable wants, will shew whether the people at large are well or ill supported, considering, at the same time, the reward of labour, to determine whether voluntary deprivation, or real poverty, refuses them the gratification of their wants.

Substantial buildings are altogether wanting. This, indeed, can not be solely ascribed to general poverty: it is partly chargeable to manners and habit, but the neatness and convenient shelter of the straw huts and sheds of those, whose circumstances are comparatively easy, shew that the Indians are not indifferent to their lodging. Turning from these to the miserable hovels which hide, rather than shelter, the peasantry at large, we find the peasants, and even the inhabitants of cities, crowded in narrow huts, which are neither secured from intrusion, nor from weather, and are formed of materials which a wealthier class would refuse even for fuel. We cannot but conclude that, to their own feelings, they are ill lodged.

That animal food should be reserved for festivals, seems a circumstance of national manners, but that a large proportion of the people should use unnutritive grains and pulse instead of white corn, cannot be ascribed to spontaneous austerity. Salt is eagerly desired by the Indian: his vegetable diet requires it, but the most numerous classes cannot afford to season their food with it. Observe the peasants meal, a pinch of salt on a leaf stands by his plate of rice, a few grains at a time deceive his palate, while he swallows several mouthfuls of

* Since this was written, the regulation for confinement of proprietors in arrear has

of insipid food. His abstemiousness in respect to this, and other condiments, for which his predilection is known, is not voluntary. He is sensible that he is ill fed.

The dress of the Indians, rich or poor, is simple. The intercourse with mussulmans has introduced some variety in vesture, but the original Hindu dress prevails. A scarf on the shoulders, and another falling from the waist, with sandals on the feet, clothe the men, a longer scarf is the whole of the female dress, when rain or cold require it, a woollen or a quilted mantle is the only additional covering. But though the form of dress be similar, the materials employed constitute a considerable difference. Cloths of a good fabric are within the reach of few, a coarse and ill struck cloth of the same texture as that known to the trade as wrappers in packages, is the dress of the more numerous classes, while many are content with sack cloth. For warmer covering foreign woollens are preferred, but attainable by few, the middle class are dressed in quilted chintz, or in plain quilts, while the poor or fort have recourse to the rugged

covering of a home-made blanket. The peasant decked in his sack cloth and blanket can hardly deem himself well clothed.

View the inside of his dwelling; a coarse matt his bed, the ground his chair and table, cow dung his fuel, unglazed earthen pots his furniture, a leaf his plate, he cannot be thought well provided.

It will naturally be asked, whether the price of labour could afford a better subsistence? It cannot, if we justly estimate the average earnings of a family at no more than three rupees per mensem, which can barely maintain them in the lowest form of subsistence. We have intimated, that the price of provisions (that is of white corn,) is to the price of labour in Bengal, in no greater proportion* than the price of an equal weight of meat and bread, to the price of labour in England, in both a third. As this circumstance all agrees with the preceding inference, it is necessary to examine more particularly the earnings of country labour, which, from the mode in which it is conducted, cannot be considered separately from the detail of husbandry.

Of the PROFITS of HUSBANDRY in BENGAL.

By the Same

[*Never before published*]

We have described the peasants as applying the labour they give to husbandry, solely to land used on their own account, and have mentioned a class of tenantry monopolizing land, to let it to the actual cultivator at an advanced rent,

or for half produce, but it must be understood that, though this too generally describes the whole tenantry, peasants are not wanting who superintend the culture of their lands performed by the labour of servants or hired labourers re-

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* In England a pound of meat costs eight pence, the same weight of bread four-pence, together two-thirds of the average price of day labour taken at seventeen pence. In Bengal the hire of day labour is estimated at one anna, (about four pence,) and the price of coarse rice the third of an anna.

strained by prejudice from personal labour, or permitted by their circumstances to content themselves with superintending the management, or at least calling in the assistance of hired labour in aid of their own. Reference had to the quantity of land tenanted, perhaps the greatest part is held by tenants who hire labour. But their servants and labourers using land also on their own account, the peasants, in respect to number, were truly described as labouring unassisted on the lands they use.

A cultivator employing servants, entertains one for every plough, paying monthly wages, which on an average do not exceed one rupee per month, in a cheap district, we have ascertained the monthly wages so low as eight annas* but the task, on a medium of a begah a day, is completed by noon. The cattle is then left to the herdsman's care, and the ploughman follows other occupations the rest of the day, mostly the cultivation of some land on his own account, and thus he generally tenants at half produce from his employer. The quantity of land, commonly used by the ploughman, is ascertained by the usage of some districts, which authorize a specific quantity of land to be underlet by tenants, namely two begahs per plough, equal to three* begahs of the standard to which we reduce the variable measures of land.

If the herd be sufficient to employ one person, a servant is entertained, and receives in money, food, and clothing, to the value of one rupee and a half per month. The same

herdsman, however, generally tends the cattle of several peasants, receiving per head a monthly allowance equal to about half an anna. One herdsman can tend fifty oxen or cows.

Where several ploughs are kept, the peasant usually has a pair of oxen particularly assigned to the implement which supplies the purpose of a harrow. For this is thought to require stronger cattle than are sufficient for the plough.

A plough complete costs less than a rupee. The price of a grooved beam, used as a harrow to break and level the ground, is yet more inconsiderable. The cattle employed in husbandry are of the smallest kind: they cost on an average not more than five rupees† each.

The price of this labour may also be taken on the usual hire of a plough, which we state on the medium result of our inquiries at two annas per diem.

The same cattle work an implement which bears some resemblance to the harrow, but is used for rice and some other cultures to thin a luxuriant vegetation, and disperse the plants equally in the field, serving at the same time to remove the weeds.

For a hand weeding the labourers are very generally paid in grain instead of money. The usual daily allowance is from two to three seers of grain. They bring their own hoes, which are small spuds, and of which the cost is very trifling. — Twenty labourers may weed a begah a day.

For transplanting, the allowance and the labour performed are nearly the

* At half produce, and cultivated solely by the personal labour of the ploughman, three begahs cannot pay that labour with more than seven rupees per annum, so he added to the monthly rupee paid by his employer.

† The average price of cattle for husbandry throughout Bengal, might perhaps be taken still lower than five rupees, for they are bought in the vicinity of Calcutta at five and six rupees a head, saved for the butcher.

the same. No tool is required for transplanting, the whole operation being performed by the hand, but for other cultures where a tool is requisite in planting, an implement resembling a hoe, on a long handle, or one like a chisel, also on a long handle, is employed.

For hand hoeing, the large hoe which in Bengal serves the purpose of a spade, is employed. It is wide and curved, and set on the handle at an acute angle, which compels the labourer to stoop low in his work. The same tool serves for clearing old lands, preparatory to opening them with the plough, and for other purposes for which a spade would be useful. The pay for digging, and generally for all country labour, is on the same allowance, as already mentioned, of two to three seer per diem.

But reaping is generally performed by the piece, the reapers being hired at a sheaf in sixteen, or if they also carry in the harvest, at a sheaf in eight, but the whole expense of gathering the harvest may be paid with one measure of grain in six, which provides for the labour of reaping, carrying, winnowing, measuring, and storing the crop.

The thrashing is not included, for corn is not thrashed, but trodden out by the cattle of the farm.

Though rice and pulse may find a market in the husk, and the business of husking rice and splitting pulse generally belong to the first purchaser, yet, not unfrequently employing the peasants leisure, it may

be counted among the labours of the cottage.

It is executed with a wooden pestle and mortar, or rice is husked under a beater of simple contrivance, worked by a pedal. When the husk has been removed by long beating on the dry rice, it is preferred for home consumption. If previously scalded it is better adapted for preservation, and has been preferred for foreign commerce. As the expense of fuel is nearly equal to the economy of labour, the allowance of husking rice is nearly uniform at a contract for returning, in clean rice, five eighths of the weight delivered of rice in the husk. The surplus, with the chaff or bran, pays the labour.

We shall not have formed a just notion of the reward of country labour, without comparing the price of labour to what remains to the cultivator on his produce, in this comparison it will be unnecessary to notice the small deductions usually made from the whole produce before partition. Some are favourable to the cultivator, as they pay some of his small expenses, others unfavorable, as they are taxes for the measurement of the produce, or for religious appropriations. The advantage and disadvantage may be nearly balanced, and we consider him as obtaining no more than an exact half of the produce to reward his labour and defray his expenses.

Ten maund of rice is a large produce from one begah in rice, and is a return of fifteen for one

Cultivator's share,

Seed which the proprietor advanced, returned with
100 per cent for interest

His labour of reaping, &c. at the rate of a sixth,
on the whole crop

Dutty of weeding twenty days at $2\frac{1}{2}$ seer

Maund. Se. Ch.	
0	0 0
0	26 10
1	26 10
1	10 0
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3	23 5

Carry over 1 16 14

	Brought over	1 16 11
Ditto of husking, with the waftage at $\frac{1}{4}$ per seer		0 21 4
		<hr/>
		0 35 7

Thirty five seer seven chittacks of clean rice, at the average rate of twelve annas per maund, is eleven annas nearly, which does not pay the labour of ploughing, &c. at two annas per diem for eight days.

The peasant cultivating for half produce, is consequently not rewarded for his labour so well as hired labourers and if it be further considered, that in the necessity of anticipating his crop for seed and subsistence, and of borrowing for both, as well as for his cattle and for the implements of husbandry, at the usurious advance of a quarter, if repaid with the succeeding harvest, and of half if repaid later, we cannot wonder at the scenes of indigent distress which this class of cultivators exhibit, nor that they are often compelled, by an accumulating debt, to emigrate from province to province.

It is obvious that, where the produce is greater in proportion to the seed and to the quantity of land, the sum of labour remaining the same, this partition of crop may leave to the peasant full payment for his labour: on the other hand, where it is less, it may be absolutely unequal to afford the simplest necessities. The latter extends so far, that in a considerable part of the lands, the cultivation for this proportion of produce is utterly impracticable. We therefore took a higher produce, and estimated less labour than the general average suggested. But this must be now noticed, with the requisite return of profit on the expense advanced, to compare produce with money rents.

In the husbandry of corn and small grains, it has been already stated, that a considerable proportion of the land yields several crops in the year: much indeed yields only one, and on the other hand, the practice explained of crowding crops seems ill judged, and returns less in proportion to labour and expense than successive cultivation.

We may therefore assume, as the middle course of husbandry, two annual crops on each field, one of white corn, and another of pulse, oil seed, or millet. Not that, on a medium, land actually produces two annual crops, but the greater expense of cultivating two separate portions, for their respective crops, at two different seasons, is nearly compensated by the profit of obtaining, in some instances, more than two crops from the same land where circumstances permit, at the same time that the quantity of land actually used, is more than would be required if all land uniformly yielded two crops.

A plough, with the usual yoke of two or three pair of oxen assigned to it, is equal in common management to the full cultivation of fifteen bighas of land, and the expense estimated at twenty two rupees eight annas, averages one rupee and a half per bigha.

Ploughman, at one rupee per mensem Rupees 12 0

Allowance to the herdsman (say for five oxen, at half an anna each), two annas and a half per mensem, or per annum 1 14

Pasture annually two annas a head 0 10

Carry forward 14 8

Brought forward	14 8
Interest on thirty rupees, the cost of the cattle, and on two rupees, the cost of the plough, &c at two per cent per mensem, including the wear and tear of the plough, and the replacing of cattle	8 0
	<hr/> 22 8

On the medium assumed of two crops per annum, the produce* may be taken at seven maunds of rice in the husk, and three and a half maunds of pulse, or of other grain at the second harvest

Seven maunds equal to four maunds and fifteen seers of clean rice, at 12 annas

Three and a half maunds at 10 annas

Rs 3 4½
9 3

5 7½

Seed repaid a twelfth and expense of reaping, &c a sixth

Labour of sowing, weeding, &c equal to two weeding, or forty day labour
Carry forward 1 6

Brought forward	1 0
bourers, at two and a half seers, 2 md 20 frs at 8 annas	1 4
Labour of cattle for the plough, &c	1 9
Rent, a fourth of the gross produce, including all payments to the land holder or his officers	1 6
	<hr/> 5 8

The peasant does not consequently derive a from corn cultivation the very humble maintenance we suppose, unless his family share in the labour for which we calculate him to pay, or apply their leisure to other occupations, or unless we take into account his profit from the land under-let to his ploughmen at half produce

And in fact, it is not upon the cultivation of grain that the peasant depends for profit, or even for comfortable maintenance. In grazing districts it is the dairy, in others it is the culture of some more valuable produce, which aids the corn husband. In grazing districts, the occupying of arable land is necessary to entitle the peasant to pasture in the forest and downs

* In the first volume of the *Ajzen Akhbar*, page 356, is a table of the mean produce of land regularly cultivated. It is calculated on a medium of three years. To compare this with our estimate may be curious.

The *begah* owned by the *Ajzen Akhbar* is of 2 600 square *Ilahs* *guz*, and the maund is of forty seers each seer weighing thirty dams. The *begah* for which our estimate is formed, contains 1,600 square yards and the maund is of forty *lacs*, containing eighty *lacs* weight. 3 600 *Ilahs* *guz* are equal to 3,025 square yards, and thirty dams to forty three *lacs* weight.

Produce of a <i>begah</i> of 2 600 <i>Ilahs</i> <i>guz</i> in maunds and seers of 30 dams	The same produce reduced to the <i>begah</i> of 1 600 square yards in maunds of 80 <i>lacs</i> weight to the seer
Clean rice average of three sorts	16 33 0 — — 4 35
Wheat and barley, - - -	12 38 8 — — 3 30
Pease, vetches and other pulse, average of eight kinds - -	7 8 0 — — 2 0
Millet, average of two kinds - -	9 27 0 — — 2 35
Seeds yielding oil average of three kinds - - -	6 16 0 — — 1 35

down a proportionate herd of cattle. And the culture of corn, though not equally profitable, serves to alleviate the risk of other cultures, which seem precarious in proportion to the greatness of profit. On the failure of his mulberry or sugar cane, the peasant, had he no corn, must suffer the extremities of want, but raising, in corn and other grain, a sufficiency for mere subsistence, he can wait the supply of his other wants, from the surcess of other culture, or make a reserve from the successful year, to meet the difficulties of another.

The price of corn, which, in Bengal, varies * in much wider limits than in Europe, though it has a considerable influence on † the price of most other articles, cannot regulate the price of all. The nature of a monopolizing commerce, placing the demand in few hands, enables the purchaser to regulate a fixed price. The price of raw opium is fixed by government. The purchase of silk is almost entirely in the hands of the Company's agents. Thus, and the commerce of cloths, though less monopolized, give uniformity to the price of the raw material. Indigo weed must also of necessity be a fixed price. All these articles bear a price nearly uniform, at least their price is affected but distantly by the abundance of produce.

A peasant who placed his principal dependence on the culture of

such productions, selling a scanty crop at no higher rate than abundant harvests, at the same time that corn bore a very advanced price, must experience absolute want, but using a sufficient proportion of corn-land, the high or low price of corn cannot deprive him of food. From this and other culture, he can seldom fail of being enabled to discharge his rent, though he may be much straitened for the supply of his various wants, beyond mere nutriment.

But the profits of stock are less precarious, they consist in the increase of stock from kine and in the milk of buffaloes. Kine are usually fed near home on reserved pastures, or on the waste lands of the village, buffaloes needing richer pastures, and thriving on rank vegetation, do not find sufficient forage in populous districts. The herds of this cattle are most numerous in the northern and western provinces, where, in the rainy season, they find pasture on the downs, and, in dry season, on the forest lands, which are mostly inundated during the rains. A great proportion of the buffaloes travel, in the dry season, into the forests of the countries which border on Bengal.

Black cattle are grazed at a very small expense. It does not exceed eight annas per head for buffaloes, and four annas equally for cows. A herdsman for fifty cows, or for twenty five to thirty buffaloes, at wages in grain-money and clothes, amount-

* Without famine or scarcity, we have known corn, at the first hand, four times dearer in one year, than in the preceding. In a cheap district rice in the bulk had as low a market as eight maunds for the rupee. In the following year it was eagerly purchased at two maunds per rupee.

† When the crops of corn are very abundant, corn is not only cheap, but wants a ready market, as the payments of rents are regulated by the season of harvest, rent is in immediate demand, though the produce wants a vend. To answer the demand, and for other disbursements which the tenant has occasion to make, he must dispose of other more saleable produce, and even anticipate the harvest. The eagerness of the sellers exceeding the demand of the purchasers reduces the price of other articles in consequence of corn wanting a ready sale. For some such reason the price of corn seems to have a greater influence on the general market in Bengal than in other countries.

amounting to one rupee and a half per mensem, (or less if the average be taken on grazing districts,) charges half an anna to each cow, and less than one anna to each buffalo but the average of pasturage, which has been taken for all Bengal, being too high for grazing districts, the whole annual expense incident to stock, cannot there exceed seven annas for each buffalo, and three annas for each cow.

The profits of the dairy arise from the sale of milk, of curds in various forms, and of clarified butter. As the last is the produce which bears transport to a distant market, we calculate the profit as if the whole milk underwent this preparation.

The buffalo cow daily supplies the dairy with two to three seers of milk. Upon an estimate of milch cows, in the proportion of two-thirds of the whole herd, throughout the year, (in which allowance is made for the suckling of the calves,) the produce is nearly fifteen maund of milk for each cow of the herd.

The dairy man will contract without wages to deliver two seers and a half of clarified butter for a maund of milk. At this rate the proprietor should receive thirty-seven seers and a half of clarified butter for fifteen maund of milk, and may dispose of it for seven rupees and a half, from which a deduction must be made for transport from the dairy to the market, for the cattle being usually grazed in wild countries, the temporary hut which serves for a dairy is remote from the market. This, however, with the expense estimated at seven annas per head, will hardly reduce the annual profit much below seven rupees for each buffalo cow, or thirty three per cent on the capi-

tal, valuing the buffalo on an average at twenty rupees, and supposing that the increase of stock fully compensates the loss by mortality and accident. We make no account of the few male calves reared for sacrifices, nor of those reared for labour, buffaloes in Bengal Proper being rarely employed for burden, or for the labours of husbandry.

The profits of kine by the increase of stock, are nearly in the same proportion to the capital which purchased them. They certainly amount to thirty per centum.

Cattle are the peasant's wealth, and the profits of stock would be greater, did the consumption of animal food take off barren cows and oxen which have passed their prime. This indeed can never happen where the Hindu constitute the great mass of the general population but most tribes of Hindus have no objection to the use of other animal food. At their entertainments animal food is generally introduced. But meat (mutton and goat's flesh,) being more than double of the price of vegetable food, it could not be afforded as a common diet upon the usual earnings of labour. Whether this circumstance has much influence, or whether abstinence from animal food be not rather ascribable to moral causes, may be questioned. Probably both have influence, though the latter has the greatest. From whatever cause it be, the consumption of animal food is not so considerable as to render the stock of sheep an object of general attention. Their wool supplies the internal consumption of blankets, but is too coarse, and produces too small a price to afford any considerable profit on this stock. The valuable articles of produce, sugar, tobacco, silk,

silk, cotton, indigo, and opium, as the principal dependence of the peasant for the supply of conveniences, and for accession of wealth, are well deserving of particular consideration. Deriving a further importance as the objects of external commerce, each would separately merit the amplest detail on their present management, and on the commerce which respects them. But precluded from undertaking the disquisition in the whole extent which the subject embraces, we may be content with hazarding on each topic such observations as occur most material for notice.

Opium, it is well known, has been monopolized by government in the British dominions of Bengal, Bahar, and Benares engage for the provision at a stipulated price, and the opium they provide is sold in Calcutta at public sale. From many circumstances a monopoly of opium seems less exceptionable than a monopoly of any other article. And it is a rational object of police to discourage the internal consumption of it. It must not however be concealed, that by the effect of the monopoly, Bahar has lost the market of the western countries, which formerly were supplied from thence, but now furnish some opium to the British provinces. Nevertheless, if the first grower receive from the monopolist, as equitable payment as the competitor of free trade could afford him, the monopoly cannot be deemed a public injury, it only takes as revenue to the state, what otherwise would give employment to a chain of merchants and traders moderately numerous.

The payment to be made to the first grower is regulated by the contract made with government. The contractor makes advances to such peasants as are desirous of undertaking the culture, and receives the raw juice of the poppy at the rates fixed by his contract. On a medium of these rates, adverting to the quantity estimated on each rate, the raw opium is bought at the rate of one rupee for ten chittacks, or one pound and a third.

A learned and very ingenious inquirer* estimated the produce from one acre at sixty pound of opium, but we think he must have been misled by the result of inquiries on lands of extraordinary fertility in a fortunate season. Our own inquiries have led us to estimate four seer or eight pound of opium from a begah reduced to the standard of four cubits to the pole, and the cultivator also reaps about seven seer of seeds, which sold for food, or for the oil to be expressed from it, may produce eight annas.

This produce, from a plant which requires the best soil, well manured, is by no means equal to the production of similar soils in other valuable produce. At the same time it requires more labour and attention; and, in fact, that it is less profitable is apparent from the circumstance of the peasants not ambitioning this culture, except in a few situations particularly favourable. They mostly engage with reluctance, or from motives† very different from the expectation of profit.

Many cultivators obtain from poppy land a garden crop, or some other early produce, before the season

* Dr Kier

† To obtain by accepting advances an immediate supply of money when urgently wanted, or for the aid and convenience of the contractor, at they have any point to commend or improve.

son of sowing the poppy. It is reckoned a bad practice, whether it be or not, the labour of the cultivator is not diminished by having taken an early crop. The poppy-land must be thoroughly broken and pulverised, for which purpose it must be ploughed twelve or fifteen times. This labour is succeeded by that of disposing the field for irrigation. Several weedings, a dressing of manure, and frequent watering employs much labour. But the greatest labour is in gathering the opium, which for more than a fortnight employs several persons in making incisions in each capsule in the evening, and scraping off the exuded juice in the morning. If the greater labour be considered, the produce of a begah of poppy, computed at seven rupees, eight annas, is not more advantageous than the corn cultivation.

But in the culture of opium, there are circumstances which might render it alluring. In computing the medium produce, we adverted to the accidents of seasons, to which this delicate plant is particularly liable, from insects, wind, hail, or unseasonable rain. The produce seldom squares with the true average, but commonly runs in extremes, while one cultivator is disappointed, another reaps immense gain. One season does not pay the labour of the culture, another peculiarly fortunate enriches all the cultivators. This circumstance is well suited to allure man, ever confident of personal good fortune.

The preparation of the raw opium is under the immediate superintendence of the contractor. It consists in evaporating, by exposure to the sun, the watery particles, which are replaced by oil of poppy seed, to prevent the drying of the resin. The opium, formed in

cakes, is covered with the leaves of the poppy flower, and when sufficiently dried, is packed in chests with the chaff of poppy seeds.

This preparation, though simple, requires expert workmen, able to detect the many adulterations which are practised on raw opium. The adulteration of prepared opium is yet more difficult to ascertain. It is supposed to be commonly adulterated with an extract from the leaves and stalk of the poppy, and with the gum of acacia, other foreign admixture have been conjectured, cow-dung, gums, and resins of various sorts, and parched rice.

The facility of adulterating opium is one of the circumstances which seems to palliate the monopoly. In a free commerce, the quality might probably be more debased, to the injury of the export trade.

Tobacco requires as good a soil as opium, and as well manured. Though not limited to the same provinces, its culture prevails most in the northern and western districts. It is thinly scattered in the southern and eastern provinces. In these, it is seldom seen but upon made ground, in those it occupies the greatest part of the rich land, interspersed among the habitations of the peasantry.

Its culture is laborious, requiring the ground to be thoroughly broken by repeated ploughings. The tobacco, though transplanted, needs one or two weedings, and a hand hoeing. It is frequently visited by the labourer to break off the heads of the plants, and pick the decayed leaves. But the crop is gathered with little labour, and to dry the tobacco does not employ much time. It is dried by exposure to the open air, on beds of dry grass, or suspended on ropes, but removed under shelter during the

the great heat of the day, and the heavy dews of the night

The whole expenſe to be charged to the culture upon an average of the diſtricts where it moſt prevails, and which are amongſt the cheapeſt of Bengal, does not exceed four rupees per begah, although tobacco be rated at a high rent. The produce eſtimated at five and a half maunds from a begah of the ſtandard of four cubits to the pole, and thus produce valued at one rupee per maund, ſhews tobacco to be a very profitable culture. It is accordingly eagerly purſued, although the cultivators do not acknowledge ſo large a profit. Upon the reſult of direct inquiries, we might have ſtated the produce at no more than three maunds and a half, and the actual diſburſements for labour and rent were eſtimated on the ſame information at no more than two rupees and a half. Put on a comparison to other cultivation of leſs labour, the expenſe ſeemed greatly under rated. At the ſame time we were led by ſmall trials to doubt the information on the produce. An accident, affording the opportunity of aſcertaining the quantity of tobacco actually produced from a conſiderable quantity of land, ſuggeſted the correction which has been adopted

One ton, or 30 factory maunds, at two current

rupees per maund	Cur Rup	60	0	0	£	6	0	0
Freight at four pounds						4	0	0
Interſt and inſurance, ſay 15 per cent on		10	0	0		1	10	0
Port and warehouſe charges, brokerage and other charges in Europe, at 15 per cent on		11	10	0		1	14	0
Coſt and charges,						18	4	0
Sold at 2½s per lb or 21s per cwt excluſive of cuſtoms and exciſe,						21	0	0
Profit					£	7	15	6

On the high freight of 15l per ton, a loſs would be ſuſtained.

The

Though it require an excellent ſoil, tobacco might be produced in the greateſt abundance to ſupply the conſumption of Europe. Rated cheaply it would yield a conſiderable profit to the exporter, upon moderate freight. Small experiments have been made. Of their ſucceſs we are not accurately informed, but have reaſon to ſuppoſe that the tobacco of Bengal was not of the quality, or had not the preparation, deſired by the European conſumer.

But it cannot be doubted, that under the immediate directions of perſons informed of the quality preferred in foreign markets, tobacco might be rated to juſt them, at no greater expenſe than in the preſent management, and, provided purpoſely for exportation, it would be inveſted with a leſs advance on the original coſt, than it can have been yet procured at a market remote from the place of growth, after paſſing through the hands of intermediate dealers trading on ſmall capitals.

Tobacco might be ſhipped for one current rupee and a half, or including every charge for home duties and agency at leſs than two current rupees per factory maund.

The manufacture of indigo appears to have been known to India from the earliest periods. From this country (whence the dye obtains its name*), Europe was abundantly supplied, until the produce of America superseded its market, and the indigo of India was reduced to the home consumption. Within a very late period, the enterprise of a few Europeans has revived, for Bengal, the exportation of indigo, which they have manufactured themselves. The nicety of the process, by which the best indigo is made, demands a skilful and experienced eye. It is not from the practice of making some pounds, from a few roods of land, that competent skill can be acquired. But this was the management of the natives. Every peasant individually extracted the dye from the weed he had cultivated on a few cottabs of ground, or the manufacture was undertaken by a dyer, as an occasional employment connected with his profession. The better management of America in this respect, rather than any essential difference in the intention of the process, transferred the market to the indigo of America, for it is now well ascertained that the natural quality of Bengal indigo is superior to that of North America, and equal to the best of Southern America. And although some labour be wasted in the process employed by the natives, or at least, though the labour was not so well applied as in manufactures on a larger scale, the cheap price at which the natives nevertheless afforded it, would have preserved the market, had not the superior quality of indigo, made at large manufactures, given to this a decided preference.

VOL. 4

The spirited and persevering exertions of a few individuals has restored this commerce to Bengal, solely by the superior quality of their manufacture for no material change has been made in the culture, from the practice of the natives — Ground of no particular soil, but secure from probable inundation, is prepared as in the common husbandry, and sown in the broad cast, during the latter months of the hot season, and at the commencement of the rains. It should be weeded twice or oftener, and, with no further labour, the early plant is ready to cut in the beginning of August, and the fields successively arriving at maturity, supply the works until the commencement of October — Other management has been tried, by throwing the land into furrows, and by sowing in drill, but without much success. One improvement however deserves notice, as it extends the season of indigo, sowing early in the hot season upon low lands, for a crop at the commencement of the rains before the inundation, or sowing late in the rains for an early crop in the following year.

This has been introduced in the western districts, where circumstances admit of experiments. In the southern provinces, the manufacturers plant little themselves, but purchase the plant from the neighbouring peasantry, and the plant seldom yields produce beyond the year in which it is sown, while rattoons or lay overs are preferred in the western provinces to the second and even to the third year.

Of the expense and produce it is not easy to determine an accurate estimate, many factories purchasing the plant by measure, others pay-

* F

ing

* Indigo

ing for the quantity of land, and others planting their own indigo. The produce in different seasons is most widely unequal, and in the same season equal quantities of the plant afford very disproportionate quantities of the dye.

However, it may be stated, that four rupees per begah does not ill pay the rent and culture, and the manufacturer need not be dissatisfied if he obtain six pound of the dye from each begah, at an expense of manufacture, including his subsistence, little exceeding the cost of the plant.

The profit of the manufacturer depends on the quality of the indigo, and this is very unequal, proportioned to the skill of the manufacturer. Excluding from the consideration indigo of very superior quality, the medium price of indigo sold for exportation cannot be taken higher than current rupees 140, or sicca rupees 120 per maund, which affords to the manufacturer a mere subsistence, from a speculation in which the expense is certain and the returns precarious. The fact confirms the estimate*, for it is well known that little has hitherto been gained by the speculation. The successful planters are few, the unsuccessful numerous.

The manufactory is nevertheless pursued with spirit and not unreasonably, for experience may be expected to correct the errors unavoidable in new undertakings —

The sagacity of ingenious men has greatly improved the process, which is still in the progress of improvement, for determining the most advantageous size and proportions of the steeper and batties, for ascertaining with precision the period of sufficient fermentation and agitation, for drying the indigo by artificial heat, and subjecting it to a process to prevent injury by worms, and for an arrangement to conduct the process with the utmost cleanliness, and with economy of labour, and without wastage.

From an inconsiderable production, it has grown through individual exertions to an object of great magnitude, which by improved processes may be expected to reward the enterprise which has established it.

When indigo had been introduced by private enterprise, it attracted the attention of the India Company as an object of emolument to themselves, but after some years, the controlling authority declared a more liberal policy. In pursuance of this professed intention, some relief was afforded in respect to duties, and the terms upon which the Company advanced funds for the provision of indigo were made more favourable. But still they are so disadvantageous to the manufacturer, that none accept them unless urged by necessity in the default of other funds.

But in the confidence of the professed intention of encouraging this pro-

* Estimated thus on a manufactory calculated for 150 maunds of indigo, which may be superintended by one person			
Interest, and wear of the works and stock valued at 12,000 rupees at 25 per cent.	—	—	3000
Two thousand begahs at four rupees	—	—	8000
Expense of the manufactory, including transport, and servants of the works	—	—	4000
Subsistence of the manufacturer	—	—	3000

Sicca Rupees 18,000

production, numerous manufactories have been established in every district in Bengal. Not that the manufacturers so much expected particular aid, as they relied that, where encouragement was professed, they might confidently expect to be undisturbed in the free exertion of their industry, and that general restrictions which might have prohibited the undertaking were become obsolete, or at least, were superseded by the professed intention

of encouraging a production which they well knew could not be raised by the sole industry of the natives and consequently they inferred, that encouragement to Europeans was in the contemplation of government.

They reasonably looked to be relieved from some restrictions which were still enforced to their discouragement, but the event has contradicted expectation.

A VIEW of the POLITICAL STATE of BENGAL, comprehending an Examination of the English Government and Policy in that Country, previous to the Year 1780. By GHOLAM HOSSEIN KHAN, a Native of Hindustan taken from his Historical Work, intitled "Seir Mutakharin, or, A View of Modern Times"

[In the third volume of our Register (*Characters* p. 28) we gave an account of this scarce and valuable work, together with a life of the author written by himself. We now proceed to give a faithful translation of a very curious and interesting chapter of that work.]

THE great extent of Hindustan, the diversity of climates which prevail in it, the peculiar fertility of its soil, and the singular character of its inhabitants, combine to render it the most extraordinary country in the world. Whether we contemplate the manners and customs of the Hindus, or the institutions and maxims by which they are regulated in civil life, they are found to be totally dissimilar from any other people. The delicate configuration of their bodies, and their great deficiency in mental energy, have fitted them for the yoke of foreign conquerors, and rendered them, in all ages, an easy prey to every invader of their country.

Nevertheless, they have been so remarkably tenacious of their religious tenets, as well as of their civil usages, which are, indeed, interwoven with them, that their conquerors at last found themselves under the necessity of assimilating the regulations of government to the habits of the people. As soon as the Mussulman conquerors had completely established themselves in Hindustan, they abolished that system of violence and extortion which conquest had introduced, and turned their thoughts towards quieting the minds of the Hindus, and protecting their families and their property.* It was the practice of the emperors of Delhi to call in the

* F 2 assistance

* Our author here betrays a very undue partiality towards the Mussulman princes of Hindustan. According to Ferishta, whose authority on this point is unquestionable, the Hindus were treated generally with a systematic rigour, and often with the most barbarous

affluence of all the men of abilities in the country, not only in framing new regulations, but in carrying on the ordinary operations of government. Men of merit thereby acquired that weight and consequence which nature designed them to possess; and, as every individual, high or low, had a free access to the *darbar*, or court of audience, those princes who were endowed with penetration, used to converse familiarly with them, and by that means discovered the capacities and knowledge of each, and always employed them accordingly. Men of superior talents, after a sufficient trial had been made of their integrity, were advanced to offices of trust and dignity. Hence those princes lived amongst their people like kind parents amongst their children. They did not allow themselves to be swayed by unjust partialities, but promoted men according to their merit, and were kind and liberal to all. They looked upon all their subjects, whether Mussulmen or Hindus, with an equal eye, so that during several ages, down to the reign of Shah Jehan, a great degree of harmony and good order prevailed throughout Hindustan. It is only since the time of Aurengzeeb, a prince who united a warlike and ambitious genius to a cruel disposition, that any serious grievances crept in upon us. Yet these evils were comparatively light, for such was the great abilities of that celebrated prince, and the rigid manner in

which he administered the affairs of government, that the established institutions were but slightly infringed. The principal evil of that reign arose from the prince assembling the ecclesiastics about his person, in order to hold out to the community the semblance of a religious sanction to his enormous wickedness, particularly to the murder of his brothers. The influence which the ecclesiastics thereby acquired was attended with the most pernicious consequences to the state. For those hypocrites no sooner found themselves possessed of the confidence of the prince, than their insatiable avarice introduced a train of practices to corrupt and so subvertive of public morals, that their effects are still felt in these countries. In the reign of Firoh-Siur, who was a man of no character at all, matters became still worse. At that time Ratancond, dewan to Seid Abdollah Khan, was created vizier, and in that station obtained such entire sway over his sovereign, that he governed the whole empire, and drove from the court those very omrahs and ministers, who, in the reign of Aurengzeeb, had contributed so largely to support its splendour and glory. It was this Ratancond who introduced the pernicious custom of farming the revenues, and of letting out on lease, to the highest bidder, the different offices of the finance department. He likewise made it his habitual practice to bribe men into a compliance with his wishes, and there were not wanting

barbarous cruelty, from the first invasion of Hindustan by Mammood of Ghazni in the beginning of the eleventh century of the Christian era till the accession of the emperor Balin to the throne of Delhi, in A. D. 1205. Nor were the remedial regulations, introduced by that illustrious prince of any long duration. His immediate successors, Ferose and Alau, both enforced and enlarged them: but from the death of Alau to the elevation of Sultan Baber, a period of 180 years, every tolerant and generous principle of public policy was abandoned, and the most gross and unrelenting tyranny universally prevailed.—7

wanting sly sycophants, who, addicted to ease and luxury, thought it a good thing to become at once possessed of so much money, and who, therefore, made no scruple to sacrifice the interests of the people to the rapacity of lease takers, tax-gatherers, and contractors. It is from that time that the decrease of husbandry, the distress of the people, and their detestation of their rulers, must be dated. These evils continued to increase from day to day, till at last even the high office of cazy or judge, was set up to public sale. Hence eminent practical lawyers, and men skilled in the science of jurisprudence, disappeared in the country. Hence crimes went unpunished, and vice became altogether unrestrained. The attainment of wealth, by whatever means, was the object of which all ranks were the most ambitious, and which, therefore, they unceasingly pursued. Amidst this general depravity, the avarice and venality of lawyers were particularly conspicuous. In this state of the empire there arose a set of men, who, after having amassed great riches by the most iniquitous means, held up an example of vicious luxury, so infamous and shameful, but at the same time so dazzling and alluring, that it was thought honourable rather than criminal to follow it. From amongst these men the public officers of government were chiefly taken, so that all the important trusts were held by senseless, ignorant, and selfish sensualists. It was then that the sun of justice and equity, which had already passed the meridian, so rapidly descended, and at last entirely disappeared in the clouds of civil war. It was then that public corruption and general immorality arrived at a height which precluded the possi-

bility of a remedy and hence the wretched inhabitants of Hindustan were reduced to that state in which even life itself became oppressive and disgusting.

Amongst the events which these revolutions produced, the introduction of Europeans into the heart of the empire is the most important and extraordinary. The wise men of Europe had long looked on Hindustan with a wishful eye, and the conquest of the country, which was the object of their ambition, has now, in part, been attained. In several provinces they have acquired an absolute dominion. But such is the total dissimilarity between our manners and customs, and those of the English, and such the ignorance of the English governors respecting our laws and civil institutions, that all their well-meant endeavours to ameliorate the condition of the people has hitherto proved ineffectual. Besides these circumstances, it may with truth be affirmed, that such is the aversion which the English shew for the society of the natives, and such the disdain with which they treat them, that there is little likelihood of that mutual confidence and cordiality taking place between the governors and the governed, which is so essential to the well being and prosperity of every nation. From the character of the English, therefore, and the policy they have adopted, there seems less reason to expect a favourable change in the face of public affairs, than that the distresses which universally prevail will be aggravated and increased. In support of this opinion twelve causes may be adduced, and these I shall now proceed to unfold.

The first cause is, that our new rulers are altogether unacquainted with the system of our civil policy,

* F 3 both

both in respect to the mode of estimating the revenue, and to the manner of collecting it. The province and duties of the zemindar they cannot well comprehend, for in England there is no such person. In that country soubdaries, foudaries, khalfis, and jaghirs, are unknown. There the public treasures are not supplied from the produce of the soil. From the information which I have received from some intelligent English men, it appears that in that country the money for defraying the public expenses, as well as for the king's use, is chiefly raised by levying duties on the windows of houses, on coaches, on gold and silver plate, and on various articles of merchandise. I am also informed, that the mode of paying the servants of government as well as of punishing the ruffian-means, is essentially different from the practice of Hindustan. Inasmuch, that there are some trespasses finable in this country that are accounted harmless in England, and some, that are thought trivial here, that are considered as great offences there. In short, it may be said, in general, that in almost every custom and institution, there is a wide and striking difference betwixt the two nations, that this difference is of such a nature, as renders it a matter of great difficulty to reconcile, and that to introduce the usage of the English into Hindustan, which they wish, and think so easily attainable, I hold to be utterly impossible.

The second cause is, that the slight knowledge which our English governors have obtained regarding the institutions of this country, appears to be little more than what they have learned from their own native writers, who, being heedless and unexperienced, and having nothing

in view but their own benefit, are solely solicitous to please their masters, without respect to truth, and, therefore, mislead them, by giving such information as accords with their mistaken notions. These writers though extremely illiterate and superstitious, have, nevertheless, a semblance of knowledge, and are moreover so very plausible, that one unacquainted with their true character would certainly be inclined to credit them. It is not, therefore, surprising that the English should listen to their advice, and take their specious accounts for accurate information.

Yet such is the good sense and benevolent disposition of the English, that they have, of their own accord abolished some institutions which they considered as oppressive. Of this the following fact is an instance.

The first Mussulman sovereigns disapproved of licensing public concubines, and especially of their being procurable on a *Friday*, the day set apart by Mohammed for sacred and holy purposes. Those practices considered formation on that day as extremely criminal, and accordingly enacted that no person should keep concubines in their houses without having them previously consecrated by the rites of religion, so that they might thereby be bound to abstain from fornication on the day of devotion. Several degrees of punishment were imposed for the violation of this law, which to the guilty appeared very rigorous. In order to enforce this law, and to regulate its operations, a daroga was appointed in every town to take an account of the number of professed prostitutes, to levy from them a general fine, and to inflict punishment on such of them as should be found guilty of trespassing

trespassing on Fridays. Public musicians were also put under this officer's inspection, and he was vested with the power of deciding all differences amongst them, and of punishing their misdemeanours. The intention of putting this class of people under the authority of the daroga, was to restrain the extravagance and prodigality which prevailed at feasts and marriages, and to prevent any individual from having a greater number of musicians, than was suitable to his fortune and condition, so that on the one hand, men of rank would have no cause for jealousy or discontent in this respect, and on the other, merchants and people of low birth, would not be suffered to ruin themselves by endeavouring to surpass their superiors in the splendor and magnificence of their appearance. But for this some time back, public officers of fordid dispositions have totally perverted the original purpose of this institution, and it has become a source of the most corrupt practices. The English governors, seeing the pernicious consequences that resulted both from the tax on concubines, and the regulations respecting musicians, abolished them in the provinces under their dominion. From this circumstance I am led to infer, that if the English, who are for the most part endowed with much discernment, and a high sense of justice, were made acquainted with the infamous arts which are now practised under the mask of institution and custom, they would certainly endeavour to suppress them. With a view to assist their efforts in this respect, I shall assume the task of explaining to them the original scope and reason of some of the principal institutions and customs of

Hindustan, not doubting, that I shall thereby be able to impress on the minds of men of sense, correct notions of those important subjects, at present so misunderstood.

The duty of a cazy, or judge, was to try criminals, and to decide differences, according to the ordinances of the law, without favour and without partiality. A regular salary from the treasury, and a jaghne from the emperor, amply supplied all his want, so that he was placed above all temptation of bribery. If ever any judge was found capable of such infamy, he was adjudged guilty not only of dishonouring the law, but the Mussulman religion, and was accordingly dismissed from his office, and made an object of general reproach. Wherever he went, the scorn of the multitude pursued him, and he was considered infamous and accursed both in this world and in the next. But these salutary regulations, so necessary to preserve the dignity and virtue of that high office, are now totally neglected. The office of judge, like every other office in the country, is now put up to public sale, and often let upon lease, a practice which was never intended, in any manner, however debated. Hence cazies are every day seen, who, not only ignorant of the common principles of Mahomedan jurisprudence, but more vicious in their habits, and more avaricious in their habits, than the most profligate artists, take possession of what they call the cazy's right, and openly subvert their gain to others. Yet these rights are entirely of their own creation, and have been invented with no other view than to extort money under a legal pretext. These abominable practices have become so general, and are so deeply rooted in the minds of those

interested men, that they must be displaced, for it would be impossible to reclaim them.

I shall advert more particularly to one of the abuses by which these abandoned men tarnish the laws and the religion of Mussulmen. When a Mussulman of the poorer sort dies, his relations, who are accustomed to consider the cazy as their instructor, have been taught to believe, that the spirit of the deceased will not quit the house, until a fee shall have been given to one of the cazy's substitutes. This infamous absurdity has been impressed so forcibly on the minds of the poor people, that when a very indigent family is unable to pay the fee, they and their dependents are considered as impure, their neighbours and acquaintance not only refuse to eat and drink with them, but altogether avoid their company; until at last the wretched people, driven to despair, sell the little hovel in which they live, together with their cooking utensils, and even their clothes, in order to raise a sum of money sufficient to exonerate them from the heavy malediction which they believe has been entailed upon them.

A similar sort of imposition is practised by the cazies, upon boys and girls, with regard to the ceremonies of circumcision and marriage. If their parents should be unable to pay the exorbitant fees exacted by the cazy, the boys are debarred from the rites of circumcision, and the girls from the comforts of marriage. Hence a vast number of young people of both sexes, thus deprived of their legal rights by oppressive exactions, become dissolute and abandoned, and contribute to the general depravity.

It were tedious to enumerate in

detail, all the vexatious practices that prevail, but I shall notice a few more, which will be sufficient to give a distinct notion of the present state of society in these provinces, both in regard to morals and government.

The *sadr ul sadur*, or *sadr af sadrs*, and the other *sadrs* of every *subah*, and every *circar*, were originally established for the purpose of ascertaining the actual circumstances of people possessed of *amlari*, and other lands, appropriated to pious uses, and likewise for watching over the moral conduct as well as the legal decision of the cazies. It was besides the duty of these officers to receive for the princes such of the consecrated lands as might by the death of the devout persons on whom they were bestowed, fall in to the hands of unworthy people. It was their duty too, to protect the persons as well as the property of those devotees, to prevent them either from making encroachments on each other, on the *jaghire* lands, or on the portions of land appropriated to the *khalsa*, or exchequer office. But the office of *sadr* has now become a source of the most grievous oppression, and in the hands of that atheist *Zehor Ullah Beg*, it has ruined thousands of industrious, but necessitous families. That man is now dead, and he has carried with him to his grave the groans and execrations of an oppressed people. Happily, however, for the country, the words of the Koran, (*the sun is in the middle of the day*) have been literally verified in the person of Governor Hastings, who no sooner heard of the oppressions committed by the *sadrs*, and of the grievances which possessors of charity lands so justly complained of, than he immediately shewed

showed his detestation of these shameful and fordid actions, by dismissing, with every mark of ignominy, those sadrs who had thus disgraced and polluted the sacredness of their functions, and at the same time he reduced the fees to the rates at which they were originally fixed, and restored the whole office to its pristine purity. May God reward the enlightened benevolence of this governor, for having restored the happiness of so many afflicted families! and may God instruct future governors, in imitation of Mr Hastings, to allot a certain portion of their time every day, towards acquiring a knowledge of the various customs and institutions of Hindustan! and, like him, to appropriate one day in the week for the special purpose of hearing complaints and redressing grievances, according to the ancient usage of the country, and the uniform practice of the most renowned of the Mussulman emperors. Let it be the glory of the English nation to relieve the inhabitants of Hindustan from the oppressions and exactions by which they are so severely aggrieved.

The office of daroga of the adaulat, that is, auditor of the court of justice, was originally established for the purpose of affording immediate relief to such defenceless indigent people as were unable to resort to the emperor or his ministers. The daroga was provided with a salary and a jaghire suitable to his station. It was his duty to sit in his tribunal from day break to three in the afternoon, and to give an attentive, patient ear to the voice of complaint. If the defendant, in any cause, happened to be a man of consequence, or one whose dignity did not admit of his being summoned into court, his agent or re-

presentative was desired to appear for him, unless the magnitude and importance of the cause rendered his personal appearance indispensable. In slight cases, it was customary to compromise the difference by the mutual consent of the parties. But, in affairs of consequence, facts were ascertained and proved, by a careful examination of witnesses on oath. The whole proceedings were taken down in writing, and afterwards drawn up, as a judicial narrative, which, together with the names of the plaintiff, defendant, and witnesses, was transmitted by the daroga, through the sonjdar, to the emperor, who regularly sat once a week, for the special purpose of hearing and deciding such matters. If the cause was not determined at one sitting, it was referred to a second, and after the fullest examination, it was decided according to truth and justice. Such was the practice of former times. But now the dignified office for dispensing justice is converted into a means of making the private fortunes of individuals. The station of daroga, which, from the small emoluments appertaining to it, many persons often declined, has now become an object of rivalry and ambition: men make interest, and give presents to obtain it, and it is generally bestowed on the most favoured, rather than on the best qualified candidate. The salaries of the darogas, as well as of their officers and retainers, are paid out of the fines which they exact, and as there is no person appointed to check or control them in levying those fines, nor any inquiry made into the perquisites of office, which they claim, the means of amassing immense sums of money are entirely in their own power.

As litigations about property were

were chiefly tried by the darogas, and as their consciences were therefore held responsible to God, for errors and misconceptions, few men of piety and knowledge could be found who would venture to undertake so great a trust, nor could the prince and his ministers pre-ail upon such men, but by dint of treaties, to accept of the office. The prince always bestowed none of his attention on this part of the administration of his government than upon any other. He took special care to have men of character appointed to all the subordinate departments of the office, and he caused such a stigma to be affixed on those who were found guilty of extortion or bribery, that to call one a *bribe-taker*, was accounted the greatest reproach and opprobrium, and men of virtuous principles considered unbribe in the same light as infidelity or apostasy in religion. But such is the change in the sentiments of the Mussulmen inhabitants of Hindustan, that they now consider bribery as a very laudable practice, and skill in the art of money-making, as one of the highest endowments. In former times, it was so very easy for the poorest people to get access to the emperor, and to obtain redress of their grievances, that when any oppressive acts were committed by the officers of government, it was customary for those who suffered by those acts to come for two or three months to the royal residence, to be admitted to the presence, and make known their complaints, and the most indigent peasant in the country was always sure to receive, from the justice of his sovereign, the most ample compensation for the injury he had sustained.

But since the country has been under the government of the Eng-

lish, our situation in this respect is worse than ever, for, owing to the peculiar habits of that people, it is exceedingly difficult even for men of rank to gain admittance to the governor and his subordinate officers. To obtain justice therefore in such grievances as have been alluded to, is impracticable, for there is no one to whom we can make our complaints. If one of us should, by particular favour, be allowed to be admitted to the presence of any of the English officers of government, it avails nothing, for in consequence of their being constantly engrossed by a variety of public and private affairs of importance amongst themselves, they have no time to spare for the concerns of the people of this land. It seems a peculiarly hard lot that after being subjected by Providence to the yoke of these strangers, we should find them such inattentive rulers as not to think it worth their while to attend to the welfare of their prostrate subjects, but to leave them at the disposal of their servants and substitutes. No thing should be so important to a sovereign, as to see justice duly administered amongst his subjects, and he never should lose sight of the Indian adage, "*Do not refer his complaint to your deewan, for his complaint is probably against that very deewan*."

Amidst such oppression on the one hand, and inattention on the other, we ought upon the whole to thank God, that the office of daroga of the court of justice has now been transferred to the English, for by this change the sufferings of the people have been somewhat alleviated. But unfortunately, it must, at the same time, be observed, that the native officers they employ, are men of no character, and always prone to sacrifice justice to their own private

vate interest, and that as all the details of the office are entrusted to them, it is almost impossible for them to pass through their hands, it is perfectly evident, that the benefit which this change would be said to operate will at least be a partial one, and of a temporary nature. But to return to the subject, to consider our account of the ornaments which possess of the public opinion, which instituted by a more judicious use of foreigners, in the most flourishing periods of our history.

The mountain, or clerk of the market, was established for the purpose of settling the weight and value of the articles of coin, merchant, and such men, and of fixing the price of grain and other commodities. He had a large salary and some fee, all which he but the fees were very small, and were permitted, with a view to make him active in the execution of his duty, and particularly in preventing disputes between the buyer and seller. He had the power of punishing such disturbers of the peace as raised disturbance in the market place, as well as any of the sellers of goods who were insolent to the customers. It was likewise his business to protect modest women, who are sometimes under the necessity of crossing the market place, from any insult or indecency, either by the hand or voice of the profligate or the thoughtless. But the manner in which the business of this office is now conducted is far different. The multitudes demand payment to which they are not entitled, and in order to ingratiate themselves with the corn merchants, from whom they are in the habit of receiving large bribes, they do not fix the price of grain at any general standard, but permit the merchants to demand whatever they think proper,

so that in the same city, nay, even in the same market place, the price varies at every stall, and with regard to weight and measures, the varieties in the scales and vessels, and the rogues who are practised, are innumerable. In addition to these circumstances of misconduct, the market places are filled with disorderly houses, and thronged with idle and profligate people, the corners of every street are to be found drinking ships and frolic, the resort of every dissipated and low people, the partition of native sailors and idlers, and of servants belonging to the English who have left their homes and much more wages, than any other servants in the street, and valuing themselves of the respect due to the man in power to whom they belong, they do and say whatever they please without the least punishment. In short, the streets contiguous to the market place, are within the jurisdiction of the magistrate, and for the most part so full of wicked and profligate people, that the police is almost useless to the market without being assisted.

The various acts or remembrances of the six months or a year, and the hierarchy of officers appointed to observe and report on the same, for inquiry into, and writing down all the events and proceedings, as well as a public record of all these crimes and towns in which the principal officers or gave more trouble, in order to watch the conduct of those officers, to write down, at an early hour every morning the occurrence of the preceding day, while they were yet fresh in the memory, and to transmit an accurate summary of the events of each day to the emperor. There were regular posts established throughout the country to carry those dispatches with

with the utmost speed to court, where a daroga received and inspected them, after which he reduced them to a still more concise form, which compendium, together with the original detail, he presented to the emperor. But such of those dispatches as were addressed personally to the emperor were sacred, and the seal could not be broke or any other hand than his own. By these means the emperor was minutely informed of the private affairs of every man in the country. He knew exactly what a man had done to his neighbour at twelve hundred miles from the court as well as all the private disputes, animosities, and intrigues that occurred amongst the various classes of the people. He also knew the intentions of such as had expressed a wish to petition for a redress of grievances, before they had themselves began to prepare their petition, and the aggrieved had often the satisfaction to find the wishes anticipated. All the intelligence thus secretly communicated, was intended solely for the emperor, for it, at any time, it appeared that the remembrancer, or any other public officer, had communicated the information to the princes or grandees of the court, or men in high stations, the officer who had been so guilty was immediately dismissed from his place. And the emperor Ansongzeeb, in order to prevent any thing of this sort, appointed an additional officer to assist in discharging the duties of the office of intelligence, and to be a check on the other three officers. This officer was called the *khotah-navis*, or secret writer. In short, to obtain a minute and accurate knowledge of the actual state of the country and the people, was amongst the principal arts of government in

former times, and this art was practised in the manner above described, with a view to preserve order, tranquillity, and good morals throughout the nation. But now this useful office is entirely suppressed, and the consequences are severely felt. Not only in villages, but in towns and cities, the favourites, the dependents, the menial servants, nay, very often the spies and confidantes of zemindars have insinuated themselves into the service of government, and, without fear of punishment, make a great many exactions on the inhabitants, and otherwise commit a variety of oppressive acts. And such is the state of the country, that so far from their being an officer to call them to account for their shameful conduct, there is not a single person of sufficient authority even to question them about what they are doing.

I shall now proceed to examine the important office of fowdar. The fowdars were next in rank to the subadars, or go emors of the provinces, and were men of great distinction. A fowdar had the charge of one, two, three, and sometimes four districts. He had under his command several corps of cavalry, consisting of two and three hundred men each. When he visited the different parts of the province in the exercise of his duties, he generally went in state, with the military insignia of flags, kettle-drums, music, and elephants, and he lived in great splendour and magnificence in those towns and fortresses which were fixed on for his different places of residence. The fowdars, and likewise the munsubdars, (commanders of munsubs or regiments,) the paymasters, the remembrancers, the recorders, the secret writers, the principal spies, the judges of civil and criminal

law,

law, the head priests, the clerks of the market, the treasurers, the superintendant of justice, were all the immediate servants of the crown, and totally independent of the nazam or subahdar, who could not, without the previous knowledge of the emperor, dismiss any one of them from the office he held. As to the officers of the Dewanny, they were appointed by the imperial dewan, or receiver general of the revenues but the munsubdars, with their subordinate officers and paymasters, belonged to the foudar's department, by whom all orders were issued relative to the clothing, arms, and accoutrements of the troops, as well as with regard to their interior economy and discipline. It was a principal part of the duty of the foudar to watch the conduct of the principal zemindars, and take special care that none of them made large collections of warlike stores, particularly iron cannon and muskets, and that none of them attempted to repair any old fortifications that lay within their zemindary, or began to erect new ones. And if any zemindar should, by any secret means, effect either of these purposes, the foudar was to require him to surrender his acquisitions, and, in case of disobedience, to remove him from his zemindary. If he made the smallest resistance, the foudar was to chastise him with the utmost severity, so that he should thenceforth be compelled to wear the ring of obedience, and the trappings of submission. The refractory zemindar, was not only castrated, but was never again suffered to reside in the zemindary. In cases of very great delinquency, he was sent in chains to the subahdar of the province to which he belonged, or kept in confinement until orders were issued

about the manner in which he was to be finally disposed of. These orders were put in force in a season of tranquillity and during the execution of them the foudar was directed to give particular attention to the conduct of the other zemindars of the provinces, lest they should afford any assistance to the delinquent. Another part of the foudar's duty was to prevent any banditti from finding a place of retreat within the districts which he commanded. He was to tread them down wherever he could trace their footsteps, and wherever he found them to put them to the sword. If any parties of them became very formidable, and assembled in such numbers as to resist the power of the foudar, he was then to call in assistance to give them battle, and never relax his exertions until they were completely extirpated. By this means no banditti were ever seen, as they are at present, in the neighbourhood of the different offices of revenue, or near the amlacs given to necessitous people, nor did they attempt to plunder, or even to molest the tenants and labourers in the farm villages.

With regard to the number of foudars and their stations in former times, I am not minutely informed. The number of foudars in a province varied according to its size. In general, a foudar had the charge of two or three districts, which were from thence called a foudary, and there were from six to ten districts in a province. But in the provinces of Azem-abad and Bengal, there was a foudar to each district. In Azem-abad there were eight circars, (districts) namely Shah-abad and Rhotas, Mongheer and Bahar, Khampurut and Samm, Tirhut and Halpur

In each of these there was a foudar stationed, with a body of 500, or from 500 to 1000 cavalry, and a proportional number of officers. Those foudars used, on any sudden emergency of importance, to leave the command of the foudarries to their deputies, and report in a body to the nizom or subahdar. And if the matter was of a hostile nature, and immediately demanded more strong and decisive measures, it was customary to call upon the subahdars of the neighbouring provinces for the advice and assistance, without writing for an express order from the emperor.

The province of Bengal was divided into ten districts called foudarries, namely Ishamabad, Silhet, Rungpur, Punganutt, Jelalpur, Rajmahal, Kishinhy, Burdwan, Midnapur, and Dooahly. The district of Dooahly was considered distinctly and as governed by a nabob (or deputy representative of the emperor,) who had the same establishment about him as the nizom of the province.

It is certain that in these two provinces (Azamabad and Dooahly) the foudars and the officers under them were greatly attached to their duty, and by their good government the people of Oude, as well as the Hindus, enjoyed order and tranquillity, and satisfied with the kindness and munificence of the emperor, they prayed for the stability of his power, and the length of his line, they repeated with ardour the praises of his clemency, knew no enemies but his enemies, and no friends but his friends, and in his end and happiness consisted their own. They were cordially and zealously attached both to the person and to the government of their monarch. Hence the empire was in the highest degree populous and flourishing,

and the inhabitants contented and happy. But for these fifty years past, it has been on the decline: the emperors became negligent, and by consequence, the subahdars became refractory and rebellious, so that every nizom has now assumed the title and dignities of an independent prince. Whilst the nizoms, however, continued to act upon those rules and maxims of government which had long been established by the Mogul emperors, their dominions were in good condition, and their subjects lived contented and happy. Such was the state of the country when Ali-verdi Khan became possessed of the province of Bengal, and, under his government, notwithstanding his faults, the country was considerably improved. He had a number of relations and friends, to whom he gave offices of trust and importance. But they were men of great talents and merit, and they studied the welfare of the people entrusted to their care. This prince, tho' naturally of a warlike and ambitious turn of mind, was endued with great benignity of disposition, which softened that penetrating sagacity for which he was distinguished. Hence the useful rigour of his government was tempered with so much mildness, that he seemed like a father living in his family, surrounded by his children and relations. If any of his relations, whom he had appointed to a high office, was guilty of negligence or oppression, he never failed to disavow him, for he was studious of showing the utmost impartiality, and of distinguishing those only whose conduct gave them an indisputable title to his favour. Very different in this respect from his predecessor, Serafraz Khan, who suffered himself to be swayed by religious prejudices. Ali-verdi Khan looked

looked upon all his subjects to be creatures of the same God he promoted Hindus according to their merits, and placed them on a footing with Mussulmen. In fact, he made Hindus his ministers, and advanced many of them to the military dignity of the command of 5000 horse, as well as to other situations of the utmost importance. It is not therefore surprising, that the Hindus served him and his family with an exemplary zeal and fidelity. Such conduct was founded in reason as well as in policy, for a prince being in reality the representative of God, all his acts should be conformable to the wishes of the Deity, and as he, for all-wise, but inscrutable purposes, chooses to admit a diversity of cast and religions amongst his creatures, and to cherish them with an equal hand, so it is the duty of kings and rulers to imitate his goodness, by allowing an universal toleration in religious sentiments, and in abating from all partialities.

In the reign of Ali verdi Khan the land rents of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, were never drawn from, but circulated in these provinces, which circumstance principally contributed to the very flourishing condition which they then attained. During this long and happy period, the inhabitants were extremely attached to the government, and peace, plenty, and good order, every where prevailed. This profound and universal tranquillity was never disturbed, except by the occasional insurrection of a refractory zemindar, at some remote corner of the province.

This state of things continued until the death of Ali verdi Khan, and his three nephews, after which Seraj-ud-Dowlah was elevated to the throne. This prince was

equally proud and ignorant, and his fate is abundantly known. His successor, Mir-jaffer Khan, was cunning, but destitute of true wisdom, treacherous, and without any religion. His administration has been severely felt. It was these two men, with their successors, that gave a total overthrow to those institutions and maxims of civil policy, to which the inhabitants of this country had been so long accustomed, and which had so much tended to advance their prosperity.

Under the English government the artful zemindars have insinuated themselves into the favour of their masters, and have thereby acquired a degree of power alike incompatible with the nature of their office, and with former institutions, by which it was held as an undeviating rule to keep them low. But now these people act in whatever manner they think proper. They quarrel and fight to decide their differences, without appealing to the authority of the law, they punish and put to death the ryots, whilst the foudar dares not interfere even as a mediator, much less chastise those petty tyrant for their excessive cruelty and oppression, or attempt to dispossess them of the property of those whom they have plundered. It is to such men the English give encouragement from them they receive their information respecting the state of the country. Hence the foudarry office is now exercised in such manner as to be a grievance, rather than a benefit. The English have indeed appointed foudars every where in their dominions, and in imitation of the ancient princes of the country, bestow on them large sums of money, but to little purpose, for these appointments having only served to multiply

multiply oppression, and to harass the inhabitants of those large towns in which they reside. Those new *foujdars* make it their sole business to circumvent unwary people, to involve them in disputes, and then to accuse them of improper conduct, in order to exact from them a few rupees. This they do every day, without any fear of being called to account, being in the interest of *Mohamad Reza Khan*, and knowing moreover, how little the English care about what concerns the happiness of us poor natives, as well as how difficult it is to find access to the governor or to any of the men in authority, so as to converse with them, and represent our grievances. Hence those *foujdars* carry on their iniquities in the most perfect security, tormenting the people of God, by every artifice and oppression they can contrive. Such duty as the *foujdars* now perform was heretofore executed by the *cutwalls*, with credit to themselves, and advantage to the public. But now every city affords employment for a *foujdar*, on whom government confers a number of pompous titles. The *foujdars* thus appointed have rendered themselves odious and contemptible, by practising every art of oppression and injustice. The *foujdar's* duties, as established by the English, consists only in suppressing banditti and thieves, in preventing people from committing trespasses on each other, and in enforcing the laws respecting fornication. In the reign of *Ali verdu Khan*, as well as in the former better times of this country, all these duties were executed by the *cutwalls* in the cities, and by the *amils* in the villages. Now the difference between the present *foujdars*, and the *cutwalls* of former times, consists in this, that the lat-

ter dared not commit any acts of oppression, for fear of the punishment which was sure to await them, whereas the former, proud of their dignities and connexions, and sensible of the neglect of the English in these matters, dread no consequence, but make the most flagrant exactions, and insult and tyrannize over men of ancient families and high descent. If at any time complaints are made, they are hushed by *Mohamad Reza Khan*, who, fearful of accusations being made against himself, and of the consequent dismission of his substitutes, practises to many artifices, and sacrifices so much money, that the injured people never obtain redress.

Now that we have explained succinctly the principal civil institutions of *Hindustan*, and shewn the purposes to which they were applied by our ancient legislators, it is our duty, as historians, to observe the manner in which those institutions have been perverted, and to point out, with the candour of a faithful witness, such parts of the English government as differ essentially from them. It is to that difference we must recur whenever we attempt to account for the perpetual failure which has attended all the endeavours of the English to restore order and tranquility. To that alone we must look for the origin of those dissensions in which the country is at present embroiled. The justice of this remark is confirmed by the testimony of the most enlightened natives of *Hindustan*. May our structures be instrumental in producing a favourable change in public affairs, and in relieving the much oppressed people of God.

Since the conquest made by the English of the provinces of *Bengal*, *Bihar*, and *Orissa*, it would seem that

that this country has had no master at all; for in fact there is no individual sovereign to whom the country can be properly said to belong. We are told indeed, that these provinces are the property of the English nation at large, but still it must be acknowledged that the Company are the governors; and the Company is not only a numerous body of men, but the members of it are not permanent. On the contrary they are constantly changing, as any one that chooses may become a member, by investing a certain sum of money in the funds of the Company. Besides, there is no supreme head or ruler, permanently fixed, to whom the Company's servants in this country should be obliged to hold themselves accountable. The directors, as they are called, who conduct the Company's affairs, are changed every year. It is not therefore surprising, that in the short period of twenty years, there have been no less than 114 persons appointed to the government of Bengal. No man who is appointed to this government is certain of his stay; nor is he indeed vested with full powers; he cannot put a single act of government in force without previously consulting with four men, who collectively are called the council. These men are perpetually at variance with each other, and are in a continual state of suspense, about being removed from their places to make room for others. Thus, these provinces being without any fixed master, must necessarily, like an unattended mansion, fall into decay. Nor is there much prospect that the affairs of

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government will be better managed by the English governors who may be sent here in future; for, as from the nature of their appointment they can have no interest in the welfare of the country, it is no way probable that they will forego their own personal advantage for the benefit of the state. Governor Hastings cannot with any propriety be mentioned as an exception to this, as it is certain that all the good things which he has done, were the suggestions of his own enlightened mind,—they arose from the natural force of his genius. His acts were his own. Having ascertained what was right, he steadfastly pursued it, unmoved by the constant opposition which he met with from the members of the council, and the rancorous enmity which some of them shewed towards him. But this instance proves nothing against my assertion, for such a man as Mr. Hastings is very rarely seen. It will still be found that, in consequence of the power given to the members of the council, and of the dissensions to which it gives birth, many wise measures and whole some regulations will be thwarted as they have been heretofore, and the operations of government impeded and rendered weak from want of concert and decision.

The mode of proceeding which has been described, is not confined to the supreme government at Calcutta, it is imitated in all the subordinate departments. The six districts into which the English have divided the country, are each of them governed by five or six persons*, who are perpetually disagreeing amongst themselves, and

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* At the time of which our author writes, the English dominions in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, were divided, as he states, into six districts. Each of these districts was governed by a council, consisting of a chief and four members. The chief

a great part of their time is occupied in endless disputes. Besides, having no hope of keeping their places long, their attention is turned to their private concerns, rather than to the public affairs. It is moreover a very material defect, that if these five or six persons differ

the inconvenience attending this mode of carrying on the interior government of the districts, which our author, with equal accuracy and justice, points out and condemns, was severely felt, and amply demonstrated in the delays of public business, and the consequent discontent amongst the natives which took place. These provincial councils managed the collection of the revenues, the police, and the judicial magistracy of their respective districts. As collectors and officers of police, they observed a general conformity to the established usages of Hindustan, but in the judicial capacity they determined civil causes between the natives, and adjudged both Hindu and Mussulman criminals according to an erroneous and ill-understood interpretation of the Mahomedan jurisprudence, which they mingled with some of the maxims of the common law of England, and modified by the practice of English courts of justice. Upon the abolition of the provincial councils, various modes of governing the districts were successively adopted, which it would greatly exceed the limits of a note to enumerate and explain. We shall only state therefore, that, in 1793, it was finally determined by parliament, that our Mussulman and Hindu subjects in Hindustan should be ruled by their own respective laws, that is to say, that Mussulmans should, in all cases, whether civil or criminal, be governed by the Mahomedan jurisprudence; but that the Hindu should be governed by their own laws in matters of property, and by the Mahomedan law in criminal matters, because, from their being subject to it for many centuries, it had acquired amongst them a prescriptive authority. In consequence of this determination, the revenue and judicial departments, which had heretofore been conducted by the same officers, were now separated, as much as the peculiar customs of the country would admit. A supreme native court, entitled the Nizamut Adawlut, for the trial of civil and criminal causes, which had been before established, and which had been twice shifted from Murshadabad to Calcutta, was now fixed at the latter place, and the governor-general, and the members of the supreme council, were directed to sit as judges, assisted by the head cazy, or Mahomedan judge, and two munsifs, or Mahomedan priests, and a pundit, or Hindu doctor of laws. There was likewise established, at Calcutta, a supreme court of revenue, entitled the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, at which the governor-general and members of council also sit as judges, assisted by native judges and officers of revenue. In each of the districts, subordinate courts of revenue were established, at which one of the Company's covenanted servants in his capacity of collector of the district, and his deputy and register, sit as judges, assisted by native officers. In all matters not exceeding 500 rupees, the decisions of this court are definitive, but beyond that sum the party may appeal to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut. A court of magistracy, or Zillah Adawlut, was also established in every district, at which one of the Company's covenanted servants presides as magistrate of the district, assisted by an English deputy and register, and Mahomedan and Hindu law officers. In its civil capacity this court judges of all matters of property under 100 rupees, without appeal, and in its criminal capacity it issues warrants to apprehend all disturbers of the peace, who, in flight offences, the judges are empowered to punish either by imprisonment, or corporal chastisement, but whom in capital offences they only examine and commit to prison for trial by the court of circuit. Courts of circuit and appeal were established on the same principles as the Nizamut Adawlut. These courts take cognizance of all civil causes of magnitude, and capital offences in the districts, and hear appeals from the Zillah courts. The circuits are made every six months, and commence every March and October. From the courts of circuit, appeals are open to the Nizamut Adawlut, on suits for property exceeding the sum of 1000 rupees; and in criminal cases, when the offence amounts to felony, an appeal lies to the Governor-general in council.

From what has been said such of our readers as are unacquainted with Indian affairs, will be satisfied that the grievances complained of by our author, in regard to the mode of administering the internal affairs of the districts, were entirely removed by the act of parliament of 1793, which established a system of government founded on the

Or essentially on a matter of great importance, they are obliged to refer the business to the governor and council, and to wait for their decision respecting it. Hence the governor and council are compelled to give their attention to a vast variety of affairs. Their time is divided between watching over their dominion in Hindustan, and answering very long letters from England; between guarding against their national enemies abroad, and providing against private enemies at home; between settling the disputes of the subordinate officers in the districts, and discussing their own; and, finally, between examining their public accounts, providing for the Company's mercantile purchases, and receiving as sovereigns the vast revenues of these extensive provinces. These avocations, with their various and almost endless details, leave no time to attend to the important business of regulating the internal affairs of the country. The representations made to the governor and council by the officers of the districts are answered only as the opportunity of sufficient leisure occurs; so that these matters often remain at a stand for years together, and are ultimately determined according to principles of personal convenience, and are executed in the easiest mode, whether right or wrong. If these officers of the districts were appointed for a fixed

period of time, and that of sufficient length to enable them not only to acquire a knowledge of the customs of the country, but to exercise that knowledge in conducting their business; and if also a heavy responsibility were attached to them, there is no doubt but that they would consider their respective districts as their own property, and would find that, by executing the affairs of government with fidelity and dispatch, they best promoted their own interests. But as the provincial councils are at present constituted, the members are solely occupied in guarding against mutual suspicions, and in making mutual accusations. Hence they are eternally at variance.

It appears, by ancient writings, that from the most remote times, when Hindustan has been invaded by foreign armies, the conquerors always divided into two distinct bodies, whose views were entirely different. One of these, stimulated by a ferocious avarice, overran the country, murdered the inhabitants, plundered every thing they could carry off, and then returned with the spoils to their native land: the other formed settlements, and turned their conquests into an inheritance. This party, therefore, employed all their power in securing the interests of their new subjects, and in thereby promoting the prosperity of the country. They mixed and intermarried with the natives, and

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the broadest principles of justice, and which, though erroneous in a few parts, is, upon the whole, admirably adapted to the peculiar character of the inhabitants of Hindustan, and to their variously complicated civil politics. It has secured to them the peaceful enjoyment of many legal rights and privileges, which their ancestors never possessed, either under the Mogul government, or the Hindu monarchies.—2

* The intermarriages here spoken of were, however, confined to the poorer classes of Hindus, who sold their female children to the Mussulmans, and who, after educating them in the principles of the Koran, married them at the age of twelve. It is a fact perfectly well ascertained, that few or none of the higher classes of the Hindus were ever converted to the Mahomedan faith. No intermarriages, therefore, could have taken place between these classes and the Mussulmans, and certainly no Hindu man ever married

thus, in a manner, became naturalized. The progeny arising from those marriages naturally learned the language and manners of the country, and treated the Hindus as brothers and fellow subjects. Hence, notwithstanding the rigid notions of the Hindus in regard to their religion and customs, and their originally considering the Mussulmans as profane, these prejudices were gradually softened, and the two nations happily coalesced. Friendship was established between them, they both considered themselves as children of the same parent, and all yielded a willing obedience to the prince. This attachment to the sovereign was mutual, for the emperor, looking upon the country as his patrimony, treated all his subjects with kindness, not only from interest, but affection*, being sensible that, by such treatment, they would all unite in repelling a foreign enemy. Wise princes had always in mind the precept of Sadi—*"The subject is a tree, if you cherish it, it will yield you fruit to the full measure of your wishes."* Those princes, therefore, persuaded that the strength and stability of their government and power depended not only on the numbers, but on the comfort and ease of their subjects, and the cultivation of the land, exerted all their influence to render them happy. Hence their dominions became flourishing, and the greatest part of their subjects submissive, wealthy, and contented. Sadi says—*"Be kind to the subject,*

and fear nothing from foreign war; for, when a king is just, the love of his subjects is for him a mighty army."

I have myself had opportunities of seeing the consequences of good and bad government. At the time when the Shah-Zada Aaly-Gohar, who is now emperor under the name of Shah Allum, was carrying on war against the English nation in the plains of Azimabad, as soon as it was certain that the emperor intended to march to Azimabad, there was not a single inhabitant who, on account of the good government he enjoyed under that prince's family, did not pray for victory and prosperity to him. Although the inhabitants had received no benefits from him, they seemed, nevertheless, to have but one heart and one voice on the occasion. But when he arrived amongst them, and they experienced from his prodigal generals and disorderly troops, the most shameless acts of extortion and oppression; whilst, on the other hand, they observed the strict discipline and good conduct of the English army, the officers of which did not suffer a blade of grass to be spoiled, and no kind of injury or molestation to be done to the feeblest peasant; then, indeed, the sentiments of the people changed, and the loyalty which they once bore the emperor was transferred to the English. So that when Shah Allum made his second and third expeditions into those parts, they loaded him with imprecations,

ried a Mussulman woman. But any Hindu man or woman marrying a Mussulman, must of necessity have abjured the religion of Brahma and adopted that of Mahomed. On the other hand, no Mahomedan could become a Hindu, as the Hindus admit no proteges to their faith. Hence it is evident that the marriages alluded to by our author took place between wealthy Mussulmans and the females of the poorer classes, whom they had purchased and proteged.—?

* Thus some of the Mussulman princes treated their subjects humanely is true, but that affection had any share in producing that treatment, no one but a Mussulman will believe.—?

precations, and prayed for victory to the English. Yet now the high opinion which they then entertained of the English is likewise changed, because they conceive that these our new rulers are totally indifferent to the interests and happiness of the people of Hindustan, and suffer them to be plundered and oppressed by their native officers and dependants.

Amongst the various grievances complained of, one of the greatest is, that the head harrarah, or spy, belonging to English officers of rank, is confidentially employed in all their most important transactions, although he be generally a person of the lowest and vilest class in the community. A mean man, thus elevated, is naturally fond of shewing his power in the most insolent manner. When he is sent with orders to natives of the oldest and most illustrious families, he behaves with the utmost haughtiness and contumely. Should those people, who are so insulted, humiliate themselves so far as to endeavour to gain the favour of the harrarah, and make him a valuable present, he at once looks upon himself as their equal, and walks into their inner apartments. It, on the other hand, they resent the indignity with which they are treated, and wait on his master, in order to make a complaint, they are kept in the hall amidst a crowd of low people for hours together, and at last dismissed without being admitted to his presence. This head harrarah, being in a sort of confederacy with the moonshce (Persian writer) and the dewan (or private treasurer,) as

well as with all the native dependants of the house, gives what turn he pleases to the business of a petitioner. This grievance is not merely to be found in a particular house—it exists in all. Every Englishman in office has such a household, and such a set of people about him, and as he thinks himself entitled to assume over the natives a sway as absolute as that of a sovereign, the grievance is very widely spread. Hence it will readily be conceived, how little probability there is that the people of Hindustan will yield a willing obedience to such a number of masters, with such numerous trains of servants and dependants.

The second great cause which contributes to prevent a cordial reconciliation between the English and the people of this country, is their differing in language, as well as in almost all the habitudes and customs of life. The tongue, which is the key to the treasures of the heart and mind, and which serves to strengthen the bands of society, is deprived of its office between the Hindustanees and the English. Very few of the latter understand the language of their subjects*, and still fewer of the former understand a single word of English. Hence a number of Hindustanees, transacting business with their English rulers, resemble so many pictures set up against the wall. They certainly are unable to have any distinct communication of ideas for the moonshce, who is employed as interpreter on such occasions, explains to his master the words of the

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* This was true at the time our author wrote. But for these ten years back the greatest part of the Company's officers both civil and military talk the Hindustanee language, which is the vernacular dialect of the country; and all the gentlemen who are appointed to public offices of trust, are conversant with the Persian, the language in which our correspondence with Asiatic courts is carried on, and all the principal affairs of the country are transacted.—T

the petitioner in which ever way he thinks proper, and besides, the various explanations are attended with so much confusion, that it generally ends in discontent and dissatisfaction on both sides. Now this difficulty might easily be obviated, if the Englishmen appointed to offices of public trust were obliged to remain a sufficient time in the country to acquire a knowledge of its language and customs, as well as of the characters of all the principal individuals in the respective districts which they govern.—A circumstance may be mentioned in this place, which tends to heighten our grievances. Artificers and handicraftsmen are not now encouraged by the English as they used to be heretofore by the officers and grandees under the emperor. It is only carpenters and silver smiths that find much employment amongst the English gentlemen, and these, indeed, are more called for, and are better paid than they were formerly. But a great number of artificers, belonging to other trades, are reduced to distress from the want of that encouragement from government which they used to receive, and many of them are driven to the necessity of begging, and, when they find no relief in that way, to thieving and robbery. Then the officers of the foudarry are let loose upon them, to torture them with every cruel act which ingenuity can devise. These officers, under the appearance, and with the forms of justice, were guilty of the most flagrant crimes, confounding these indigent wretches, who only begged, with those who robbed, and inflicting, with an indiscriminate hand, the most cruel punishments. Thus the foudarry, which was instituted for the protection of the people, has been converted into

an instrument of tyranny and extortion. Thanks be to God! that since Mr Hastings has taken the foudarry from the Hindustanees, and placed it under the superintendence of Englishmen, the violences here complained of have ceased.

The third cause which obstructs the welfare of the country is, the endless changes of the persons appointed to offices of great trust and importance. It was the custom of the princes of this country to inquire into a man's capacity, knowledge, and integrity, before he was appointed to an office, and he was not confirmed in that office until his fitness for it was satisfactorily proved. But this custom is not attended to by the English. They appoint men to offices on powerful recommendation, or according to seniority of rank, without examining or considering whether they be qualified to fill them. Some young men, thus appointed, have, from experience and their own natural penetration, acquired a competent knowledge of the duties of their stations. But a man has no sooner made himself acquainted with his duty, than he is removed from his office to some place of greater trust, or the business of which he is totally ignorant, and is succeeded by a young man as inexperienced and as uninformed as he was when he received his first appointment. So that by this means public offices are always filled by incapable persons, and no one is in his proper place. In addition to this, the English only continue a few years in Hindustan, and then return to their native country, and whilst they are here, they seem to consider it as a divine obligation to amass large sums of money, and carry them to England. Such practices have an unevitable tendency to ruin the

country, and to prevent it from ever regaining its former flourishing condition. When the English first traded to Hindustan, they every year brought gold and silver into the country in order to purchase merchandize, and this specie, joining that which was already here, produced an abundant circulation of money, and greatly promoted the general welfare.

Besides what has been mentioned, in respect to the appointments to public offices, it sometimes happens that, after a man has held an office for several years, and has acquired a perfect knowledge of the duties belonging to it, he is suddenly displaced, to make room for a person who comes from England with strong recommendations. The man of experience, disgusted and indignant at his merits being thus overlooked and set aside, quits the country, and returns to England. The youth who succeeds him in his office, no less ignorant of men and things, than of the language and customs of this country, is immediately surrounded by a set of cunning and artful Hindustanees, whom he retains in his service, who will lead him in every part of his business, and who get every thing done according to their own wishes. Hence follows the abolition of all the regulations which his predecessor had been at so much pains to establish. If the man of experience chooses, as is sometimes the case, to hold his office, in conjunction with one or two ignorant young men, it is, nevertheless, of little avail, for public measures are discussed and decided by a council, in which his advice is little attended to, and in which the majority of voices prevail. It was thus with the supreme council in Calcutta, when the Governor-general, Mr Hastings, was over-

powered by General Clive and his party.

The fourth cause is the extreme tardiness with which the proceedings of the governing council are carried on. This council, like the one called together by the second kalit, for the purpose of choosing a successor, is an assembly of men where all differences of opinion are decided by the majority of the members, and when the votes are equal, the governor, from his high station, has the power of two votes, and the side he votes with prevails. But that method, though often advantageous, (for in many cases consultation is productive of much good,) has, nevertheless, its inconveniences. It is usually an understood rule in all assemblies of this sort, that the member who advises should have proved himself worthy of confidence, and also that each member should divest himself of all partialities. But these rules are not attended to in the English council. Besides, such councils seem necessary only on occasions of extraordinary importance, where particular caution and deliberation is required, but in the minutiae of public business, and in carrying on the details of executive government, they are not only useless, but detrimental. Such a council is productive of a vast deal of confusion, and often impedes the wheels of government, when they ought to move with the utmost possible celerity. According to the rules established in the English council at Calcutta, all complaints and petitions that are presented are taken into consideration on special days, when written answers are given to them in the form of decrees; but it so happens that very few of the petitioners receive their answers on the same day that their petition is laid before the council.

The delay, in ~~the~~ respect, is owing partly to the multiplicity of public business, and partly to the diversity of opinions and the dissensions which constantly prevail in the council. Very frequently two members will espouse one side of a cause, and two others will defend the opposite side, merely because one of their native dependants has conceived some enquiry towards the petitioner. Hence it will be evident to every sensible man, that a right decision becomes difficult, if not impossible, and that the length of time which is occupied in these discussions is extremely prejudicial to the poor people of this country. For, if a petitioner at last obtains a redress of his grievances, it is of no avail to him, as he loses more by the time that is consumed in his attendance on the council than he gains by their decision in his favour. Formerly there was stationed, in every district, a chief, a man of knowledge, abilities, and experience, who determined with an absolute authority in every matter of this sort. On the first complaint of a poor man, his case was immediately examined and decided on. In the course of a day, or at most of three days, an order was issued by the chief, expressive of his determination on the subject of the complaint which had been made to him, so that these things were dispatched with regularity and expedition, and poor men were not kept in suspense, as they now are, from one year to another, and ultimately disappointed in their hopes of obtaining justice, and thereby ruined in their affairs.

In the first years of the English government in this country, when there was but one chief to apply to for a redress of particular grievances, and but one able deputy, such as Ra-

jah-Shatab-Ray, distributive justice was administered amongst the natives with dispatch, at least, if not in the best manner, and although those times were not free from partialities and private views, yet the people were not subject to the miseries of endless delays, occasioned by endless altercations amongst their rulers. I remember on the dismissal of Rajah Shatab Ray, when Mr George Vansittart was appointed to the chief command, I took the liberty to represent to him, "that Rajah Shatab Ray used to employ one half of each day, and one third of each night, in hearing and answering petitions, by which strenuous assiduity he dispatched a vast deal of business, and gave universal satisfaction." I added—"That the people, deprived of such a man, would naturally be anxious to know in what manner the business would be conducted in future." He replied, "That not being accustomed, like Rajah Shatab Ray, to sit in public amongst hundreds of people, nor to listen to complaints and to determine controversies, he was fearful that he would not be able to comprehend one half of the matters which would be brought before him, but that those who had complaints to make to government might apply privately to him, as he conceived that, in the silence of a closet, he would be more collected, and, therefore, better able to give a correct decision." Upon this I requested that orders should be given to the sentinels that all petitioners should be admitted freely to the presence of the governor, and that the chobdars should be instructed to introduce them. Directions to this effect were accordingly given, and strictly adhered to: for Mr. Vansittart was a man of excellent sense, much penetration, and great activity.

vey both of body and mind. He never acted on the advices given to him by his moonshce or his de wan, nor, indeed, did he implicitly follow the advice of any one, until he had thoroughly investigated the whole subject to which it related.

This state of things did not last long, and people began to suffer again from the delays in the administration of distributive justice, when Mr Law arrived in the country, whose conciliating disposition wiped the tears from the eyes of the people or God. But since the establishment of the council, these affairs are worse managed than ever. It is a very difficult matter now to obtain a candid hearing to one's complaint. Their tedious mode of proceeding is beyond the patience of any one. After the dismissal of the Rajah Shatab Ray, at the festival ending the Ramazan, or month of fasts, the principal men of the city, who used, on that day, to offer their nuzzers (presents) to Rajah-Shatab-Ray, were obliged to pay that mark of respect to every one of the five members of council. Mr Vansittart, on seeing this, observed openly, that those who used to do so to present one mohur, or one rupee only, would now be under the necessity of presenting five, which was more than many could afford. He, therefore, consulted on the subject with some intelligent natives, and published an edict, directing that, at the next festival, which was the Korban or Sacrifice, the people should offer nuzzers to the governor only, and that that would be considered as sufficient. But, notwithstanding this prohibition, there were

some of the members who thought it was doing no good to leave money in the pockets of an Hindustanee, and who consequently continued to take the nuzzers. And many poor people made these voluntary offerings, who were ill able to spare them, lest they should incur the displeasure of the members of council by withholding them.

The fifth cause is, the great difference betwixt the English way of giving public audience to suitors, and the Hindustanee mode of receiving them in open durbar*, which has been immemorially observed in this country. Our illustrious sovereigns of Hindustan, those renowned princes who were studious of justice and equity, used to make a regular distribution of their time, and to allot certain days in the week, and certain hours in each day, for their different occupations. In the division of their time, two important things were principally considered: the first was the examination and regulation of the affairs of the revenue and executive government; the second was the deciding upon the rights of individuals in litigated questions, and the administering of distributive justice to the people. For some of these purposes two days in the week were set apart, and in these days they appeared publicly in great pomp and grandeur, they were surrounded at some distance by their ministers and principal officers of the court, and in that manner they gave a general audience, where every suitor might present his petition himself, and speak to his sovereign with perfect freedom. And as those princes did not reside con-

* Soon after our author wrote, Mr Hastings reversed the custom of public durbar, which has been continued by all his successors. These issues were held twice a week at Calcutta.—T

usually in one place, but made every year a circuit of the country, they were enabled to hear with their own ears, and see with their own eyes, the actual circumstances of their subjects, and condition of the state.

But matters are very differently regulated now. The English rulers dislike appearing in public darbar, and when they do so, they betray the utmost uneasiness, impatience, and even anger, on finding themselves surrounded by crowds, and on hearing the clamorous complaints of those who are aggrieved and distressed. Hence it follows as a natural consequence, that they are totally ignorant of the real state of the country. Hence multitudes of people are deterred from seeing their rulers, and are neither treated with any of that benignity, nor supported with any of that munificence, which might be expected from men, who now sit on the throne of kings.

"The only condition," says SADI, "on which a ruler can live happy, is, that he be completely master of the circumstances of his subjects."

If our English rulers, in imitation of those to whom they have succeeded, would set apart certain portions of their time for the laudable purposes I have mentioned, and, at stated periods, give audience to all people indiscriminately, it is certain they would gain the hearts of their subjects. It is true, that this would be attended with expense, and at first with some trouble, from the English being wholly un-

accustomed to such a practice, yet they would be amply repaid, in the numerous and reciprocal benefits which would result from it. May God grant therefore, as a favour to them, as well as to us, they would attend to this recommendation, so that they might become acquainted with the true character of the inhabitants of this country! By this means, too, they would acquire a personal knowledge of individuals, be able to appreciate their abilities and merits, and appoint them to offices accordingly. It is only by having public audiences, that princes and rulers can, in this country, observe the characters and dispositions of men. No accurate judgement can be formed of any person, until his behaviour has been noticed under various circumstances, and until one has heard him converse on a variety of subjects, especially in the present times, when such specious appearances are assumed, and when men are so much exposed to envy, artifice, and slander.

The sixth cause is, that the English government engrosses the whole commerce of the country, and the native inhabitants have been thereby deprived of many of those advantages which they formerly enjoyed. Our ancient princes, after the tumult of conquest had subsided, and they had resolved to make this country their home, appropriated to themselves the whole of the conquered territories, the revenues, and tributes.* When they had made this appro-

priation,

* That the Mussulman sovereigns of Hindustan considered themselves the sole proprietors of all the land in their dominions, is here unequivocally asserted. In truth, this fact has never been denied by any Asiatic writer. It was never called in question, until after the English conquest of Bengal, when the artful and interested zemindars, taking advantage of the disturbances which prevailed, and of a disposition on the part of the English to favour their claims, as being analogous to the case of landed property in Europe, asserted that they were the actual proprietors of their zemindaries, which

priation, they established a large body of pensioners, on whom they bestowed jaghiers, altungahs, and amlacs. The jaghiers and altungahs were granted to the younger princes of the imperial family, and to distinguished military commanders, whose valour and achievements had contributed to complete the subjugation of the country. The amlacs were set apart for religious and charitable purposes — Those that were consecrated to religious uses, that is to the maintenance of priests, were called *waqfs*, those that were given in charity as a provision for decayed families of distinction, and for aged physicians who had benefited society by the great cures they had performed, were denominated *aimas*. Besides these provisions, large sums of money were distributed yearly amongst the industrious peasantry, manufacturers, and artificers of all sorts, to encourage them in their useful labours. This bounty was not confined to the Mussulmans, but was bestowed alike on all the various tribes of people, and all the religious sects that existed within the imperial dominions. Various means of livelihood, and many roads to preferment were open to the people. From eight hundred thousand to a million of men, were kept in constant pay, in the service of the emperor, either under his immediate command, or that of the subahdars, (the governors of the provinces,) and they all enjoyed a comfortable livelihood. As to the trade and commerce of the country, it was left open to the whole world

Now compare all this with the state of the country under the government of the English. In consequence of the undue power assumed by the zemindars, and of the oppressions practised by the native officers employed by the English government, a very small number of men possess jaghiers and altungahs. With respect to charity lands, great abuses prevailed, but thanks be to God! there is now, in this country, such a man as Governor Hastings, who is reforming these abuses, and the poor people who have suffered by them will at last be rewarded.

A great many different descriptions of people are now idle, owing to the English government not finding sufficient employment for them. The province of Bengal, for instance, used to feed and pay upwards of 50,000 cavalry, to which several thousand merchants were attached, for the purpose of supplying the army with necessaries, by the sale of which they earned a certain income. But now there is no cavalry establishment whatever and the foot soldiers, maintained by government, are comparatively very few. Hence a vast number of men, who used to perform military service, are deprived of a livelihood. The merchants and artificers too, who used to follow the army, are without employment. In some particular trades, thousands of artificers, with their families, are reduced to beggary, in consequence of the English having no desire, nor indeed any use for their workmanship, which was formerly employed to decorate the palaces of our princes,

our

which they held by hereditary right. Hence some ingenious men, then employed in the civil service of the Company, were led to investigate the nature of zemindary tenures; and being prepossessed with an idea, that the spirit of these tenures was the same as that of the feudal tenures of Europe, they presented their own interpretations of Hindustanee words, to the direct evidence of intelligent natives, as well as to the plain meaning of the zemindary funds, and by this means reasoned themselves into a conviction, that the zemindars were in reality independent landholders. — T

our subahdars, and great officers of state. These poor men do not find any sale for their goods amongst Hindustanee of noble families for they are, for the most part, so distressed in their circumstances, that they cannot afford to purchase them. As to the general commerce of the country, it has totally changed the staple commodities, in which all men formerly had an equal privilege to trade, are now monopolized by the government itself. Some of these evils governor Hastings is now endeavouring to remove, but it is a task which will require all his abilities, and which must necessarily take up a very long time. There is one advice which I shall venture to offer. Were the English to entertain, in their service, a body of Hindustanee cavalry, consisting of several thousand men*, it would prove of the utmost importance to them in their wars with the Mahrattas and Seeks, especially if proper means were used to inspire the men with a zealous attachment to their masters, and to excite in them a spirit of emulation. But, besides the military services of such a corps, its establishment would be productive of other advantages. It would give employment to a considerable number of the poor people whom I have mentioned, and promote the good order and prosperity of the community, in the same proportion that it would increase the strength and stability of the English power.

The seventh cause is to be found in the overgrown power of the zemindars, and in the mistaken confidence placed in them by government. It is an undeniable truth, that the zemindars are a refractory faithless class of people, whom nothing but present interest can bind,

and who always require to be superintended in the exercise of their duties, with the most unremitting strictness. This fact is attested not only by the concurrent opinions of all men of sense and knowledge in Hindustan, but by the practice of our most distinguished princes, who made it a standing rule—"never to confide in the word of a zemindar." Those princes provided against the refractory disposition of the zemindars, and deterred them from disobeying or resisting the orders of government. They treated them indeed with great severity, but it was necessary to do so, in order to prevent them from oppressing the husbandmen, and thereby injuring the revenues. It was partly for the purpose of repressing the zemindars, that so many soubdars were stationed throughout the empire, with such numerous trains of officers and dependants. But in opposition to the ancient policy of this country, as well as to the most approved opinions, the English have thought proper to compare, and to place on the same footing, the zemindars of Hindustan and the landholders of England. Those landholders, as I am informed, generally possess in their own right several thousand *begabs* of land, from three to ten miles in circumference, they are men of education and honour, they live in splendid houses, and pass their whole time in the tranquil enjoyment of their own private fortunes. It is to such men that our English rulers have compared the zemindars of Hindustan, who have accordingly been thought worthy of esteem and consideration, and have been invested with full powers over their zemindaries. These men make use of their

their new authority to plunder and oppress the peasantry, and although the English do not believe that they are forming conspiracies against the government, it is certain that they only wait for a fit time and opportunity to display the standard of rebellion.

The eighth cause is the dilatory manner in which the proceedings of the supreme council, as well as of the subordinate departments of government, are carried on. This tardiness I have already had occasion to notice. It arises from the English being always more occupied in their own private concerns, than in the affairs of the country, in which last, there is such a multiplicity of business, that no time would be sufficient to discuss and dispatch it, unless a better arrangement were made in the mode of conducting it, than that which at present exists. But whilst I am writing these lines, I hear, that a committee has been appointed by Mr Hastings for the special purpose of hearing the petitions of suitors at stated periods, in conformity with the ancient custom of Hindustan so that the poor people will now have their complaints attended to, and their grievances redressed.

The ninth cause exists in that custom of the English, of appointing men to offices, according to rank and seniority, instead of talents and merit. If, as has been already intimated, Englishmen of capacity were sought for to fill the public offices, and a dewan of credit, knowledge, and experience, appointed to attend each, who should not be removed unless guilty of some flagrant misdemeanor, it is certain that the condition of the people would be greatly ameliorated. It will be

requisite, however, that the English officer, when fully satisfied of the zeal and fidelity of this superior dewan, should listen to his advice in all matters of importance, and not suffer himself to be misled by moonshoes and other dependants. — Mr. George Vanostart and Mr. Law invariably acted in this manner. If it should ever be thought necessary to establish a subordinate council in any of the districts, it ought not to consist of more than two or three members for many rulers never fail to produce confusion in business, and likewise great want of confidence in the minds of us Hindustanees. It is impossible for the people of this country to place any reliance on a number of governors. [Our author here digresses into a recommendation respecting the appointments of soldiers and cutwalls, pointing out the qualifications which those officers ought to possess, but as this digression is entirely a repetition of what he has already said on the subject, it would be superfluous to insert it.] Were these things attended to, and put in practice, the people of God would vie with each other in their encomiums on such beneficent rulers, and offer up their thanksgivings to Heaven for so great a blessing.

The tenth cause is the partiality which the English shew to their own countrymen, and even to the meanest of their native dependants. As they now rule over this country, it is incumbent on them to administer justice with strict impartiality, and according to ancient maxims and usages. Such conduct would do credit to their national character, as well as gladden the hearts of the Hindustanees. It would effectually secure to them their exten-

the conquests, establish their dominions on a solid basis, and spread renown throughout the East.

The eleventh cause is the establishment of what is called the *Supreme Court of Judicature*. In the administration of justice amongst the natives of Hindustan, it seems very important to adhere to the laws and usages of the country. Men willingly submit to laws which are established and understood, however rigid and severe, but they consider it a great grievance to be governed by laws they do not at all comprehend, although such laws may possess much intrinsic excellence, and may be accounted a blessing by the people for whom they were enacted. This is the idea which the Hindoostanees entertain of the English court of justice that is established at Calcutta. — That tribunal has jurisdiction over all the English in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa over all the native inhabitants of these provinces, who may have disputes with Englishmen; and over all the inhabitants of the city of Calcutta, of whatever description or religion, both in civil and criminal matters*. The proceedings of this tribunal are so long, and so intricate, that no Hindoostanee can possibly comprehend them. On the first complaint lodged by one person against another for debt, the defendant is obliged to give security for double

the amount of the demand, and if he cannot find such security, he must go to prison, where he may remain his whole life, unless the complaint be withdrawn, or he procure money to pay the debt. Besides this grievance, the expense attending suits in the English court is enormous. To get the bare statement of a case translated into the English language, costs as many double fees (a gold mohar), as there are lines in the translation. It is also considered as a great hardship, that on the first summons from the court to appear before it, whether on account of a charge brought against oneself, or as an evidence on the trial of another, should the charge be ever so trivial, or should the person called on be in reality no witness in the transaction, he must, notwithstanding, immediately leave his home and his family, and repair to Calcutta, a distance, perhaps, of a month or two months journey; and if, before his arrival, the sitting of the court be over, he must remain until the next term, as it is called, without any means of subsistence whatever. Such troubles, such inconveniences, and such delays, no Hindoostanee ever before saw or heard of.

The twelfth cause is discoverable in that custom of the English executive government, of deciding in private those matters which our princes used formerly to adjust and settle.

* Upon the establishment of the supreme court in 1774, its jurisdiction was of the extent which our author describes; but in consequence of the inconveniences and hardships to which the natives were thereby exposed, an act of parliament was passed in 1782 to amend and explain the original act by which the court was constituted. By this last act the authority of the court was confined to Europeans, native Christians, and Armenians, residing within the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. But within the city of Calcutta, its jurisdiction, as a criminal court, was continued over all descriptions of people whatsoever, and in its civil capacity the Hindus and Mussulmans might apply to it for redress, if both parties of their own accord, chose to take the benefit of the law of England. By the act of parliament of 1793 the procedure of the supreme court, in respect to the trial of the Mussulman and Hindu subjects of Great Britain is more particularly defined, and its authority, in regard to them, still further limited — 7.

settle in open court. In matters, for instance, concerning the protection of private property, or the punishment of such persons as insult the modesty of virtuous women, and disturb the peace of families in cases of this sort, the accusers and the accused ought to be confronted before the governor and council, or the subordinate magistrates and councils of the districts, so that the innocent may find redress, and the guilty be detected and punished, according to the rules of equity, and the ancient usage of Hindustan.

Having now offered these opinions, I shall say with SADI, "I recommend you to God, and am gone, and should you shew no inclination to listen to my recommendation, even then the recommender has done his duty, and there lies no reproach against him"—"The pointing out the right way was my task—This was all which it belonged to him to perform."

* * We understand that some gentlemen who have been in India entertain a notion that the Seir Mutakharin is not the production of a native of Hindustan, nor originally written in Persian, but that it is entirely an English fabrication, compiled by a Frenchman of the name of Mustapha, who adopted the Mahomedan faith, and who resided many years in Calcutta. This conjecture is totally destitute of foundation. It is true that Mustapha, who talks Persian with great fluency, translated the Seir Mutakharin into broken and unintelligible English, and that he printed

his translation at Calcutta in 1789, in three volumes quarto. The original Persian work was unquestionably written by Gholam Hussian Khan, a man equally known in Hindustan, by the respectability of his family, and the reputation of his talents. He was well known to SIR WILLIAM JONES, who, in his discourse to the Asiatic Society on Asiatic History, speaks of him and his work in the following terms:—"For modern Indian history we have ample materials in Persian, from Ali of Yezd, to Gholam Hussian, whom many of us personally know, and whose IMPARTIALITY deserves the highest applause, though his unrewarded merit will give no encouragement to other contemporary historians, who, to use his own phrase in a letter to myself, may, like him, *considerer pl une truth as the beauty of historical composition*."

Of this history very few copies have been made. We believe that two only have been brought to England. The one of these, at present in our possession, belongs to the valuable collection of Richard Johnson, esq., the other is amongst the Asiatic manuscripts which Sir William Jones presented to the Royal Society, and which, in his letter to Sir Joseph Banks that accompanied them, he requests all men of learning may be admitted to inspect and peruse. We should have printed the original of that chapter of the Seir Mutakharin, here presented to the public, were it not for the space which it would necessarily occupy, to the exclusion of other matter.

The English know so little of this place and its trade, that it will require a particular description, as the trade may be much improved, particularly for the import and consumption of British manufactures, such as broad-cloths, cutlery, ironmongery, jewelry, and toys.

The Portuguese have principally enjoyed the trade and profits of this place. There have been some speculations made by British merchants from Calcutta, and which always turned out to advantage.

The Menam, (the chief river,) by which ships enter Siam, discharges itself into the gulf of Siam, and is rendered difficult of access, and account of a bar, to cross which it is necessary to have a pilot.

The winter here is dry, and the summer wet, occasioned by the different monsoons, which act here as in the bay of Bengal, viz the north-easterly monsoon bringing in dry, and the south-westerly monsoon bringing in heavy clouds, thick weather and rain.

The southerly monsoon is therefore the season for ships to go to Siam, as it is a fair wind to cross the bar, and the northerly monsoon to leave the bar, and proceed to India through the Straits of Malacca.

Bangkaev, situated on the river near the bar, is the principal place of trade; and the king is the chief merchant; for his revenues are paid in elephants teeth, Lapan, and aquila wood. This is the best part of the Malay coast for pro-

curing that exquisite sauce, called ballichong, which the eastern epicures so much seek, value, and regale upon. It is made of a composition of dried shrimps, pepper, salt, seaweed, &c. &c. beaten together to the consistence of a tough paste, and then packed in jars for sale, use, or exportation.

Siam, near the shores, (the only places where Europeans have access to,) is very unhealthy. The land seems to be formed by the mud descending from the mountains, to which mud, and the overflowing of the river, the soil owes its fertility, for in the highest places, and parts remote from the inundation, all is dried and burnt up by the sun, soon after the periodical rains are over.

The arts have been in more repute, and better attended to formerly, than at the present time. Few travellers will omit noticing the many casts, at this place, both of statues and cannon, of an immense calibre and length, as well as many other curiosities, many of them in gold.

The mountains produce diamonds of an excellent water, (little, if at all, inferior to those of Golconda, though not so large,) sapphires, rubies, and agates.

They have tin of a very fine quality, of which they make tinned-ague, steel, iron, lead, and gold; they have copper also of a fine quality, but not in great plenty.

The low grounds produce rice in great quantities, and on the higher grounds, that are not inundated, they raise wheat. They have

many medicinal plants and gums, tal of jessamine, sack, benzoin, crystal, emery, antimony, cotton, wood, oil, varnish, cinnamon, coffee buds, and iron wood, which is much used by the natives, Malays, and Chinese, as anchors for their vessels. They have also great quantity of white beetle nut, which is exported to China, by the junks and Portuguese ships, who have enjoyed almost uninterruptedly the whole trade of this place, and the coast of Cochinchina, from the Ridang Islands to Macao.

They have also the fruits known in India, as well as the durian, mangosteen, and tamarind, which are remarkable for thriving here.

The animals are horses, oxen, buffaloes, sheep and goats, tigers, elephants, rhinoceroses, deer, and some hares.

There is poultry in great abundance, with peacocks, pigeons, partridges, snipes, parrots, and many other birds.

They have insects and vermin, as peculiar to other parts of India.

The sea yields them excellent fish of all kinds, particularly flounders, which are dried and exported to all the eastern ports, and they have extraordinary fine lobsters, small turtles, and oysters. Here too are very fine river fish, particularly the beanie (or cockup), silver eels of a very large size, and mangrove fish, so much esteemed in Calcutta.

From the humidity of the soil, it is almost unnecessary to observe, that the chief disorders to which Europeans are subject, are fluxes, dysentery, fevers, and agues.

No private merchant here dare trade in tin, tutenagut, elephants teeth, sand, or Japan-wood, without leave from the king, which permission is seldom granted, as he

monopolises these articles to himself, and pays in them for any goods he purchases, at the highest prices they will bring at most markets in India.

The following are the general prices for elephants teeth from the king in payment.

	pecul.	equal to	ucalls.
2 teeth to the	pecul.	equal to	120
3 do	do		112
4 do.	do.		104
5 do.	do		96
6 do	do		88
7 do.	do.		80
8 do	do		72
9 do	do		64
10 do	do.		56
11 do	do		48
12 do.	do		40
13 do to 20 or 30 do			32

thus falling eight ucalls in each pecul, as the number of teeth increases. But if you purchase with ready money, instead of receiving them in barter (or payment) for goods, you will buy each quality eight ucalls per pecul cheaper than the above prices; and still lower, if you have permission to trade with the christians, or private merchants.

In purchasing Japan wood, it is customary to allow five catties per pecul for loss of weight, and as each drift is weighted by the large or five pecul dorchin, you are allowed 25 catties, which, if it is the first sort, should not be more than 16 to 18 pieces second for 22 to 24 pieces, and as the number of pieces increase, the price falls in proportion.

After you have settled with the ministers what part of your cargo the king is to have, (which is commonly called a present, unless he asks particularly to buy any thing,) some of the principal merchants of the place are called to value them,

and as they are valued, you are paid, by the king, as a present, in the fore mentioned goods, at the highest prices they will bear

It may not be deemed superfluous here to observe, that a complaisant behaviour, and a cheerfulness of disposition, are absolutely necessary, particularly if you have (as all traders must have,) a point to carry Presents, (as they are called,) but in grosser language bribes, properly applied, gives the officers of government and the people in power the true tone and relish to serve you, as you will have frequent occasion to call upon them in their official capacities

Every application for a permit to purchase any description of goods costs $10\frac{1}{2}$ ticalls this permit only serves for one house, and one time

Elephants teeth (any sort)	4 ticalls per pecul
Tin	2 do per bhar
Sapan wood	4 do per 100 pecul
Lead	2 mace per bhar

It from any part of India, (as Bengal, the Coromandel, Malabar, or Guzerat coasts, Bombay, Surat, &c) you pay the following customs before you sail

Measurement, if above 8 fathoms, or 18 feet beam, to the king,	10 ticalls.
To the barcola, (or first shabunder)	10 do
To the second shabunder	10 do.
For your arrival at the bar	$10\frac{1}{2}$ do
To pilots and entrance	$10\frac{1}{2}$ do
To pass the two tobangoes (or chop houses), each	$10\frac{1}{2}$ do,
To each permit	$10\frac{1}{2}$ do
To a permit to measure	$10\frac{1}{2}$ do
To a permit to open your bales	12 do
To a permit for leave to sell	$10\frac{1}{2}$ do.
And on going away, to each of the two tobangoes	20 do.

At the place where they insist on your landing your guns, 20 ticalls, with some other charges which are trifling.

The duties upon your imports are 8 per cent. except dates, kisses, almonds, and some other trifles which are excused.

Vessels from Malacca, Palambang,

of weighing, so that if you are about receiving any quantity of goods of the same quality from different merchants, agree with them to send it all to one house, and make one day for weighing off the whole in the merchant's name at whose house it is weighed. Thus mode will save the expence of a multiplicity of permits, and quicken dispatch. Upon each of these weighing days you must have three of the king's writers, the first and second shabunder and the linguist to each of these daily, you pay one-quarter ticall, but it will be your interest to give them some trifling presents.

Elephants teeth, tin, sapan wood, and lead, purchased from the king, are free of all customs, but if bought from private merchants, they pay as follows

For registering inwards	12 ucall
Two permits to pass the tobangoes, each	10 ucall
If the vessel has no goods, she will pay 1 ticall per covid (of 14 ucall)	

but if she has trade, she pays 2 fresh port clearance from Malacca, as
typalls per covad. it must appear obvious the great in-

I would advise all vessels from indulgences she will enjoy, and the sav-
India, going to Siam, to take a ing in the measurement and charges.

*An Account of an EXPLOSION of a METEOR near BENARÉS, and
of the falling of some STONES at the same Time, about fourteen
Miles from that City By JOHN LLOYD WILLIAMS, Esq F.R.S.*

[From the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, Part 19, 1802.]

A circumstance of so extra- ordinary a nature as a fall of stones from the heavens, could not fail to excite the wonder, and attract the attention, of every inquisitive mind.

Among a superstitious people any preternatural appearance is viewed with silent awe and reverence, attributing the causes to the will of the Supreme Being, they do not presume to judge the means by which they were produced, nor the purposes for which they were ordered, and we are naturally led to expect the influence of prejudice and superstition in their descriptions of such phenomena, my inquiries were, therefore, chiefly directed to the Europeans, who were but thinly dispersed about that part of the country.

The information I obtained was, that on the 10th of December 1798, about eight o'clock in the evening, a very luminous meteor was observed in the heavens by the inhabitants of Benares and the parts adjacent, in the form of a large ball of fire; that it was accompanied by a loud noise, resembling thunder, and that a number of stones were said to have fallen from it, near Krakhut, a village on the north side of the river Goomty, about fourteen miles from the city of Benares.

The meteor appeared in the western part of the hemisphere, and was but a short time visible it was observed by several Europeans, as well as natives, in different parts of the country.

In the neighbourhood of Jaunpoor, about twelve miles from the spot where the stones are said to have fallen, it was very distinctly observed by several European gentlemen and ladies, who described it as a large ball of fire, accompanied with a loud rumbling noise, not unlike an ill discharged platoon of musquetry. It was also seen, and the noise heard, by various persons at Benares. Mr Davis observed the light come into the room where he was, through a glass window, so strongly as to project shadows from the bars between the panes, on a dark coloured carpet, very distinctly, and it appeared to him as luminous as the brightest moonlight.

When an account of the fall of the stones reached Benares, Mr Davis, the judge and magistrate of the district, sent an intelligent person to make inquiry on the spot. When the person arrived at the village, near which the stones were said to have fallen, the natives, in answer to his inquiries, told him, that they had either broken to
pieces,

pieces, or given away to the *teskhar* (native collector) and others all that they had picked up, but that he might easily find some in the adjacent fields, where they would be readily discovered, (the crops being then not above two or three inches above the ground,) by observing where the earth appeared recently turned up. Following these directions, he found four, which he brought to Mr. Davis. Most of these the force of the fall had buried, according to a measure he produced, about six inches deep, in fields which seemed to have been recently watered; and it appeared, from the man's description, that they must have lain at the distance of about a hundred yards from each other.

What he further learnt from the inhabitants of the village, concerning the phenomenon, was, that about eight o'clock in the evening, when retired to their habitations, they observed a very bright light proceeding from the sky, accompanied by a loud clap of thunder, which was immediately followed by the noise of heavy bodies falling in the vicinity. Uncertain whether some of their deities might not have been concerned in this occurrence, they did not venture out to inquire into it until the next morning, when the first circumstance which attracted their attention was, the appearance of the earth being turned up in different parts of their fields, as before mentioned, where, on examining, they found the stones.

The allusion to the collector of the district, Mr. Erlikar, a very intelligent young gentleman, on seeing one of the stones, brought to him by the native superintendent of the collection, was also induced to send a person to this part of the country to make inquiry, when re-

turned with several of the stones, and brought an account similar to that given by the person sent by Mr. Davis, together with a confirmation of it from the *cazy*, (who had been directed to make the inquiry,) under his hand and seal.

Mr. Maclean, a gentleman who resided very near the village of *Kiakhu*, gave me part of a stone that had been brought to him the morning after the appearance of the phenomenon, by the watchman who was on duty at his house; this, he said, had fallen through the top of his hat, which was close by, and bored itself several inches in the floor, which was of consolidated earth. The stone-mass, by his account, previous to its having been broken, have weighed upwards of two pounds.

At the time the meteor appeared, the sky was perfectly serene, not the smallest vestige of a cloud had been seen since the 11th of the month, nor were any observed for many days after.

Of these stones I have seen eight, nearly perfect, besides parts of several others, which had been broken by the possessors to distribute among their friends. The form of the more perfect ones, appeared to be that of an irregular cube, rounded off at the edges, but the angles were to be observed on most of them. They were of various sizes, from about three to upwards of four inches in their largest diameters; one of them measuring four inches and a quarter, weighed two pounds twelve ounces. In appearance they were exactly similar externally, they were covered with a hard black crust or incrustation, which in some parts had the appearance of varnish, or bitumen, and on most of them were fractures, which, from their being covered with a matrix

matter similar to that of the coat, seemed to have been made in the fall, by the stones striking against each other, and to have passed through some medium, probably an intense heat, previous to their reaching the earth. Internally, they consisted of a number of small spherical bodies, of a slate colour, imbedded in a whitish gritty substance, interspersed with bright shining specula, of a metallic or pyritical nature. The spherical bodies were much harder than the rest of the stone: the white gritty part readily crumbled on being rubbed with a hard body, and, on being broken, a quantity of it attached itself to the magnet, but more particularly the outside coat or crust, which appeared wholly attractable by it.

As two of the more perfect stones which I had obtained, as well as parts of some others, have been examined by several geodesists well versed in mineralogy and chemistry, I shall not attempt any further description of their constituent parts, nor shall I offer any conjecture respecting the formation of such singular productions, or even record those which I have heard of others, but leave the world to draw their own inferences from the facts above related. I shall only observe, that it is well known there are no volcanoes on the continent of India, and, as far as I can learn, no stones have been met with in the earth, in that part of the world, which bear the smallest resemblance to those above described.

Of the INDIA COMPANY of FRANCE. Translated from a Work just published at Paris, by M. GARONNE

[We have taken this interesting Article from the *Annals of Public Economy*, by HENRY REDHEAD YORKE, Esq. a very useful and well-conducted Journal. In the REVIEW Department of our Register we shall, in due time, give the Public a complete analysis of M. GARONNE'S Work.]

Of all the memoirs which have appeared for the last two or three months on the commerce of India and the means of pursuing it advantageously, we do not know any that has been better received by the public, than that of M. Garonne.

This consideration induces us to give an abstract which shall make known its object and principal points.

We shall first observe, that we do not find in this memoir of M. Garonne that severe style, that stateliness, those marks of the hostility of party, which at different times have characterised the memoirs written on this subject, par-

ticularly when the privileges of the India Company are discussed. It then appears as if each author possessed exclusively the secret of the commerce of India, that the other writers had deceived themselves on every thing, and that the whole of human reason was confined within the limits of two or three brains. This pretension to infallibility will be very far from meeting the success it formerly experienced.

The *Historical and Political Memoir on the Commerce of India*, is the work of a man who seeks truth, and who does not think a question clearly decided so long as he sees on either side enlightened persons

remain in doubt, and who are not able to take a decided part

Treating the question in this point of view, M. Garonne replies with reserve, and yet in a satisfactory manner, to the arguments of those who think that for the good of the state and for the interest of commerce, it is only by means of a privileged company that the commerce of India can be explored.

He inclines to the opinion of those who regard this commerce as prejudicial to the progress of our industry, particularly in the fabrication of fine muslin, since the facility of procuring them at a low price from India, must necessarily check the efforts of such of our manufacturers as would wish, in imitation of the Swiss, to apply themselves to this species of labour.

But from this circumstance he only draws a conclusion, that the manner of carrying on this commerce should be that which will do the least possible injury to our manufactures, and he thinks it is in the liberty of commerce this question lies.

He afterwards contrasts the brilliant situation of the British Company and possessions in India with our situation in the same country, and from thence concludes, that should it even be proved by the success of the English and Dutch Companies that the commerce of India is by its nature an exception to every other species of commerce, and cannot be carried on but by an exclusive company, yet that it is necessary to wait for a more propitious period before we think of such an establishment.

We must confess that the consequences deduced from the success of the foreign companies does not appear to us clear, and perhaps

even an opposite conclusion might be drawn.

We also do not think that M. Garonne has been correct in his conclusion, when he says, that if we create a privileged company, we shall injure our interior industry; because that company will seek to augment as much as possible the sale of muslins, cotton, cloths, and other stuffs from India. For it seems to us that a free commerce would have the same effect, and perhaps even with greater velocity.

In other respects these remarks are not intended to give an anticipated preference to one system rather than to another, our wish in making them was only to point out those arguments which appeared weak, and on which it is unnecessary to dwell on so important a discussion.

We refer the reader to the memoir for what the author says of the possibility of bringing the manufacture of muslins to perfection in France, and by that means diminishing the importation of those from India, and we shall pass on to the reasons he assigns for establishing the preference which liberty of commerce deserves rather than exclusive privileges.

Besides the political advantages which result from the establishment of a privileged company, say the advocates for that measure, such an association can with greater ease unit a considerable mass of capital, and give more vigour and extent to its commerce than individuals can do.

M. Garonne doubts the truth of this assertion, and cites the house of Rabaud, of Marseilles, who, after the suppression of the privileged company, were able to organize a free company, which had a negotiable

enable capital of eight millions of livres

He might have added, that at this moment we see the company of the Isle of France preparing rich and numerous adventures by the strength alone of individual adventurers united

A privileged company, add the same persons, will afford means for a more considerable marine establishment, and which, as a body, may become more immediately useful to the state

We shall find the same advantage, says Mr G. in the crews of private merchants ships, which being less numerous, will furnish seamen better exercised, and more able mariners. He cites a fact in proof of this assertion

A privileged company may keep agents on the spot who can prepare their cargoes by fire hand, can give the necessary securities, direct the investments, &c

Reply—Private commerce can maintain agents at less expense, and perhaps more attached to their interest than those of a company. Before the privilege granted in 1785, the house of Barard, of L Orient, and many others, had established agents concerned with them at Pondicherry

The company of the Isle of France, of which we have just spoken, has a house with active, intelligent, and assiduous agents at the Isle of France

Perhaps we may further say, in favour of M Garonne's opinion, that the choice of commercial agents, by individuals, will in general be more enlightened, and much less liable to be selected by favour than those of a privileged company, not that this inconvenience is more particularly connected with the nature of a privileged company, but

for other reasons, which it is not necessary to point out

A privileged company will prevent that competition which in the India trade can only be attended with fatal consequences in the purchase of merchandize and the providing of cargoes

This argument, in the minds of those who prefer a privileged company, seems the strongest and the most important

We, on the contrary, think it the weakest and the least important, besides, it proves too much

The author of the memoir endeavours to reply to a fact, which he draws from an example in the commerce of negro slaves

The company established for this commerce transported, between the years 1725 and 1786, eleven thousand three hundred and sixty-six negroes to America. During this interval the free traders transported 29,040, from 1786 to 1741 the company carried 2757, the free traders 61,949

Here, says Mr G a competition did not do any injury to the formation of the cargoes, or to the commerce of the negroes

This reasoning is fair, and even if there should be some difference, either more or less in this statement, it would not be against the reasoning in favour of a competition.

A company will inspire more confidence and will procure a capital at a lower rate of interest

M Garonne does not deny the possibility of this, but he observes, with reason, that a greater economy in the conduct of their adventures will balance this inconvenience in favour of private commerce.

The presumed advantage of a privilege will induce a greater number

the of foreigners to place their capital in the hands of a company.

The answer M. Garonne makes to that objection seems to us somewhat hypothetical.

"It is certain that what offers the best security will inspire the most confidence, now a new East India company, or a new East India trade, taken generally, in the state France now is, will not inspire more either of the one or the other, until by the effects of peace, the success of the first operations shall have secured that confidence but then the capitals of foreigners will become useless to us by the quantity of money which will then come into circulation, money which has been accumulating for the last ten years by the cultivators, who from simple farmers are now become proprietors*."

We should be obliged to insert the whole memoir of M. Garonne if we were to let nothing remain unknown of the reasons he produces in favour of a free commerce, and against the establishment of an exclusive company.

We shall pass on, therefore, to the plan he proposes to form a central committee for the commerce of India.

This idea, the adoption of which would in a certain degree supply the want of a council of commerce, and which is to be found in some foreign establishments, has been suggested to the author by a reflection of the Abbé Raynal. When the India company shall be suppressed, that writer said, it would be necessary to substitute sensibly and by degrees private merchants

in their room; and it would be necessary to put these merchants in a way to acquire that positive knowledge in the various branches of a commerce to which they must hitherto have been strangers, and afford them time to form connections with the factories, and, in a word, to guide them in their first expeditions.

It is to fulfil this object, it is to present to commerce, to the merchants, perhaps even to government itself, some fixed plans, that M. Garonne proposes a committee for the commerce of India, charged to collect and to circulate all information on that head, to watch over, direct, and administer the commerce of India, and propose the proper means to encourage, to extend, and make it prosper.

This institution, like all those of the same nature, is susceptible of more or less objections; but, however, on the whole, we see not any thing that can be urged against it that is unanswerable. It seems necessary, if the commerce of India, if the commerce of the exterior in general, and that of the colonies, are to be resumed, that an administration, central, elevated, and sufficiently powerful, should be the regular protector and centre of such commerce, empowered equally to protect and to encourage it.

It seems to us, that in all these affairs, experience, the wisdom of ages, the example of rich and powerful nations, are the guides which deserve to be followed, in preference to any specious plan presented on the ground of an ill-established theory.

As

*We do not sufficiently reflect on the immense quantity of specie which has been accumulated in the country since the farmers are become proprietors of the rich domains, the revenues of which were formerly spent in the cities, and supported industry and commerce. There are no other means to draw it out but a resumption to great maritime and commercial speculations.

As to the question of a company, without doubt, free and well-directed associations, supported by a solid credit of proprietors and directors, cannot fail to carry on a good and useful commerce.

But we also do not see any thing to object, for the present at least, to the institution of a company, not exclusive, but protected and encouraged by government, in which

every ship owner and merchant may join on certain conditions, and independently of which it shall be equally lawful for any one who pleases to carry on the commerce of India on his own account and risk.

We hope to be able again to take up this question, at the same time declaring, that in this we are not guided by any private or particular views.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE EDITOR

ON

LITERARY AND MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS

To the EDITOR of the ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER

SIR,

SOME time ago I communicated to you an account of a Hindu woman burning herself at the funeral pile of her husband at Poonah, in 1786, which, though attended with circumstances sufficiently horrid, has been exceeded by an instance of a more recent date, in the self-immolation of the two widows of Amcer Jung, the late regent of Tanjore of which the following is an authentic and circumstantial narrative

The Regent died on the 19th April 1802, about ten o'clock, *a. m.* The moment he expired, two of his wives adorned themselves with their jewels and richest cloaths, entered the apartment in which the body was laid, and, after three prostrations, sat down by it, and announced to the whole court, which had assembled around it, their determination to devote themselves to the flames

The youngest of the women was the regular wife, and about twenty years of age, and without children, the other was a wife of inferior rank, aged twenty-six, having one child, a daughter four years old. The fathers and brothers of both were present in the assembly; they made use of the most pressing and affecting entreaties to avert them from their purpose, but without success.

The British Resident at Tanjore, having been apprised of the intention of these ladies, and not being able to be personally present at the residence of the late regent, had sent his hircarrah to the spot, with orders to use every possible effort, short of absolute force, to prevent the horrid sacrifice. When the relations of the ladies

ladies found their entreaties of no avail to induce them to relinquish their purpose, the hircarrah was sent for; but his threats of the displeasure of government had only a temporary and feeble effect. The Mahratta chiefs observed, that the Company had never interfered in their religious institutions and ceremonies, that the sacrifice in question was by no means uncommon in Tanjore, that it was highly proper to use every art of persuasion and entreaty to induce the women to relinquish their resolution, but, if they persisted in it, force ought not to be used to restrain them. The women laughed at the menaces of the hircarrah, when he told them that their fathers and brothers would be exposed to the displeasure of government. The younger widow observed that it was not the custom of the English government to punish one person for the act of another, and pointing to her father, who had actually thrown himself at her feet in an agony of grief, asked the hircarrah if he thought any other inducement could alter her resolution, when the affliction of her father failed to move it. The young brother of the other widow went into the women's apartments, and returned with his sister's child in his arms, which he laid at her feet, but such was the resolution of these astonishing women, that not a single expression of regret, not a sigh or tear could be drawn from them. Any one of these weaknesses would have disqualified them from burning with the body; and the efforts of the relations were strenuously and constantly directed to excite them, but in vain. In answer to an observation of the hircarrah, that if the late regent had been aware of their intention he would have forbidden it, they said they had formed their resolution a year before, and communicated it to him, who, after several ineffectual attempts to dissuade them, had consented to it.

The hircarrah, however, determined to protract the performance of the obsequies, if possible, until the arrival of the resident. The women waited with patience until seven in the evening, taking no other refreshment than a little beetle occasionally. They then sent for the hircarrah, and told him that they suspected the cause of the delay, and were resolved, if the procession did not immediately set out, to kill themselves before him. Their relatives

relatives now gave up the point in despair. The other chiefs who had taken no part hitherto now interfered, and said they had a right to be indulged, and should not be restrained. The hircarrah retired, and the procession set out. The younger and regular wife mounted the pile on which the body of the deceased regent had been placed, and they were consumed together. The fate of the other, who was not entitled to this distinction, was, in appearance, more dreadful. A pit eight feet deep, and six in diameter, had been dug a few yards distant from the pile; it was filled with combustible matter, and fire set to it. When the flames were at the fiercest, fire was applied to the pile in which the young widow and the body of the regent had been enclosed. The other, unsupported, walked thrice round the pit, and, after making obeisance to the pile, threw herself in the midst of the flames, and was no more heard or seen!

October 16, 1802

EPITAPH ON TIPPOO SULTAUN,

WITH INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

To the EDITOR of the ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER.

SIR,

Calcutta, Feb. 1802

HAVING been favoured by a Friend with the accompanying Epitaph, which he transcribed from a paper placed over the humble tomb of Tippoo Sultaun, I have the pleasure of submitting it, with some introductory and general reflections, to your readers. Nothing can more forcibly prove the liberality and manly spirit of the British nation, than the respect which we invariably shew to the remains of a fallen enemy. In no one instance that I can recollect was this attention and forbearance more completely evinced than in the case of this monarch. It has been wisely said, that charity hides a multitude of sins; and that the grave is an impenetrable shroud which ought to cover a number of crimes. When we arrive at that "bourne whence no traveller

returns," we also reach a tribunal from which there is no appeal. In the page of history, it may be salutary to mark the actions of a tyrant with the indignant expressions which they naturally excite; but it never can be magnanimous to heap invectives on the dead. No; we ought, on the contrary, to learn an awful lesson of religion and morality from every event of the present description, and reform our own lives accordingly, by a timely belief in that Providence whose finger we can discern in many circumstances which relate to the object of this epitaph. If the instability of human grandeur that all have lately witnessed both in Europe and Asia, with their own eyes, has not produced the powerful effects which it ought among ourselves, let us no longer wonder why the days of miracles, and the sufferings of our Saviour and the Apostles, did not open the eyes of their contemporaries to the important truths which were then revealed. Not much more than half a century has elapsed since the agents of the honourable Company were employed in soliciting the boon of a few villages from the lieutenants or viceroys of Shah Alum's ancestors. Which of us naturally weighs this matter, or reflects that the same personage has been actually deprived of his eyes, and virtually of his empire, in our own times? What vicissitudes the next fifty years will produce is a secret that the womb of time may bring forth in warnings, perhaps even nearer home. Nations, like individuals, are apt to become intoxicated with fortune, and to grow confident from success, unless they consider that exaltation is often the prelude to a terrible downfall, and avert it in good time by virtuous deeds of clemency and justice. If the deceased sovereign of our lately acquired empire here termed it, perhaps arrogantly enough, the *Khodadad**, we should no less humbly continue the name, and learn to deserve its preservation in our hands by the timely practice of that resignation to Providence, and those virtues to which Tippoo was in our opinion a perfect stranger. Posterity will decide on his character according to the documents which reach them, and as there are various ways of telling the same story, we may rest assured that his own countrymen will not fail to term our facts aspersions; returns,"

* *Khodadad*, signifies "God-given."

while we shall doubtless brand their assertions as falsehoods. The words, sinner and sinner, rebel and patriot, king and usurper, justice and criminal, are too frequently applicable to the same persons, according to circumstances. We should patiently wait the final and unerring decision of that upright Judge alone, before whom all must appear, for the perversion of those offices and talents with which, for wise and inscrutable purposes, certain individuals have been entrusted.

How Tippoo will settle this account, or vindicate himself, is a point on which we can assert nothing without arrogating a right that belongs not to man. It behoves each of us rather to weigh seriously, while we are able, in what manner we shall individually adjust our own concerns, and exculpate ourselves in the sight of that Being, who may yet teach those who rashly condemn others, that they themselves are condemned, and the former acquitted for ever. In the beautiful mausoleum erected by Hyder-Ally, near Seringapatam, which will long remain a monument of British discrimination and justice, are interred the above personages: in the centre, the mother of Tippoo on the right hand, and Tippoo himself on the left. A tumulus of mason work, in the ordinary form, covers the latter, and opposite to it, on the outside of the door, appears, in a conspicuous situation, the following inscription, the last line of which, analysed agreeably to the Ubiq, demonstrates that Tippoo Sultaun fell in a holy war, in the Hijrah (year) 1213.

That every one of your readers may form a competent idea of the subject on which I have taken up my pen, you have herewith a sketch of the tablet, exactly as it will appear to the person who may be induced, by curiosity or accident, to visit the spot where these three distinguished characters are interred. After entering the portico, and immediately casting the eyes up, over the outside of the inner door, the inscription will be seen elevated, and precisely in this form, supposing the spectator to view it from the ground floor of the gallery, or lobby marked A here.

<p>نیو سلطان چو کرد حرم چاد</p>	<p>سال تاریخ او شهر بکفرین</p>
<p>حق با و منصب سوارات داد -</p>	<p>حاجی دین ش زمانه برقت ۱۲۱۳ سفره بر عهد القادر شهر</p>

dominions, who will not admit that, however Tippoo may have stained his life by unworthy deeds, his death was glorified by heroic actions. It is confidently reported, that when he heard that Sy-yud Ghaffar, his bravest commander, was killed by a cannon shot, and, moreover, understood our army were advancing to the breach, he repaired to that quarter himself, and afterwards fought like a man who was resolved to live or die a king. At an awful pause, when one of our bravest officers was in the very act of animating the British grenadiers, there is some reason to believe that Tippoo himself took a deliberate aim with a rifle, and shot the gallant fellow dead on the spot. In short, the fall of Tippoo is in reality what his bard elegantly alludes to, the summit of all his actions, and, among the Mussulmans will be honoured with the name of martyrdom, let us think or say what we please to the contrary. To be just to the memory of a foe who no longer exists, is the characteristic of our nation, and I trust the present detail can offend the feelings or injure the interest of none. The grave cancels all obligations, and the person who either can, when dead, carry his rancor with him, or, while alive, can extend it there, must indulge sentiments which cannot be enviable, and never should be imitated. I recollect many years ago, reading with a prejudice and horror not easily to be erased from my memory, on the tomb-stone of a person who was buried in an episcopal church, a solemn advice, from the dead to the living, never to trust a Presbyterian, or make one of them a friend. Such general and indiscriminating antipathies and reflections are unpardonable in society, and terrible from the grave.

After this preamble, I shall make no apology for the annexed paraphrase, in the oriental style, of the above inscription, which will give some idea of it till an abler pen compresses the translation within the bounds of the original. I do not pretend to preserve the numerical powers in this version though, if it could be done without too great a sacrifice of time, the reader might see one cause for the Indians adopting it, viz the greater brevity of the one in one line of words than in four lines, such as the stone.

When Tippoo vowed to raise the Crescent's fame,
And on the holy war Fate seemed to frown;
He, Sultan-like, preferred a deathless-name,
And left an earthly—for a Martyr's crown.

Mark here the date of that exchange below,
Sealed by his blood in Shuteer's brilliant lines;
Whence future ages shall admiring know,
"A heavenly star, our Faith's Defender shines

Had the last line contained one M, two C's, an X, and three P's, the produce would have been just MCCCXIII the date required on the principles of an Ubiud, if such a chronological enigma existed now among us.

I am, Sir,

Your^s obediently,

JOHN GILCHRIST

A few OBSERVATIONS ON PERSIAN POETRY

To the EDITOR of the ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER

SIR,

Calcutta, 1802

I HAVE the pleasure of offering, at the shrine of Apollo, an Ode, translated from his peculiar favourite, which deserves to be more ably sung. What an author, whose name I have forgot, remarks concerning the taste of the modern Greeks, may with truth be applied to the Persians. "Their prose is soaring to the vicious affectation of poetry, their poetry is sinking below the flatness and incapacity of prose." The Oriental scholar will perceive the justness of this observation, and will allow that it may be attached to almost every Persian poet, except the inspired Hafiz.

We have been amused by a learned dissertation on the concealed beauties and mysterious meanings of Persian words, which, I

it would appear, are never to be taken in a literal sense. Thus, *fagbur*, a goblet, contains the pure spirit of salvation, and, according to the Mussulmans, characterises Mahommed, wine inculcates the remembrance of the Deity, who is personified under the appellation of a *Saqe*. But as many of these latent beauties are of difficult access, much useless, and sometimes fruitless labour has been exhausted in attempting to remove the rubbish by which they were surrounded, that the divine emanations of the author's heart might pierce the mist with renovated splendor.

I will not oppose so large a body of men as the Mussulmans, yet some few verses can be adduced to alter or change, the apparent meaning of which would defy their ingenuity. we can attribute the defence which a native makes, to the tender regard which he entertains for the honor of a venerated author, but there can be no necessity for our voluntarily sacrificing both sense and truth at the same altar.

I particularly notice a couplet which had nearly proved fatal to our favourite poet, who, by adding, however, another stanza, transferred all the approbrium to an unbeliever.

کر مسلماني از انيست که حافظ دارد
و اي کر از بي' امروز بود فرداي

" If the Mussulmah faith be similar to Hafiz's,

" Woe! if after this life there be another "

The verse which he prefixed was this :

اين حد يشم چرخش آمد سحر که ميگفت
بدر ميکرده بادف و ني تر ساني

" How appropriate was this verse, which in the morn an Infidel sang, accompanied by the tabor and lute, at the door of the banquet "

It is an observation worthy of remark, that the schisms which finally separated the Greek from the Latin Church, originated

by the use of the preposition *from* which particle has created much dispute among the two prevailing sects of Mussulmans

The *Uhli shuruh* insist that the Deity created all things; the *Uhli tusuwuof*, or Soofees, that he exists in all things We may picture to ourselves a fanciful scene between these contending parties, when they meet with one of the faithful, whose theological principles have not taken a deep root The one ringing an incessant peal in his ears, *af humu ost*, the other violently screaming, *humu uz ost* We may suppose that he who had the best lungs, would triumphantly bear away his proselyte Hafiz was a notorious Soofee, he fully displays his principles in the accompanying distich

دریس آیند نه طوطی صقتم دانسته اند
 آنچه استاد ار را گفت بلوه میلویم

* Take a parrot * they detain me, whatever the Creator at first in secret revealed, say, and I will repeat "

We perceive by this that he scorned the mediation of the prophet, though he outwardly agreed to the absurd doctrines of his countrymen Not desirous of becoming a martyr, he did not dissent from a religion which he despised, or, what is more probable, he was unwilling to create that anarchy and confusion which the propagation of any new religion necessarily occasions

S W.

* The method of teaching a parrot to talk is really ingenious They place the animal before a glass concealing themselves, they repeat a few words the animal hearing a voice, and perceiving its own image, conceives it to be another bird, and thus endeavours to imitate the sound The above verse relates to this custom.

To the EDITOR of the ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER.

SIR,

Calcutta, 1802

I HAVE lately looked into the *Mookhtusurool Moohawuree*, a work much spoken of among Anglo-Persian scholars, but in my opinion an impudent plagiarism of that noble production, the *Ferbeenge Jebangeeri*. Among his other desiderata quoted by Lord Teignmouth, Sir William Jones takes special notice of a translation of this work, and conceiving myself equal to the task, I would gladly undertake it, provided there be sufficient encouragement. It will fill, perhaps, more than both Richardson's folios, and take me two years to finish it to my wish. We have in Europe Golius's and some other excellent Arabian Lexicons, but no decent Persian Dictionary, for Richardson, not pretending, I conceive, to a knowledge of this nice language, in removing Turkish words from his laborious and partial translation of Meninski, has dropt much of the purest Persian, and given to his English throughout an Anglo-Latin meaning.

Besides, the introduction to this work would afford us such a grammar and syntax of the Persian tongue, as the institution of the College, and the turn the young men have lately taken to study this language radically, render absolutely necessary, and which Sir William Jones's Grammar (a jewel in its way) cannot well, in our improved state of this sort of literature now-a-days, supply. Moreover, the dictionary and grammar would afford Europe such a fund of the sublime, the pathetic narrative, and descriptive, in its many elegant and choice examples of poetry and prose, as it has not witnessed since the revival of literature.

I send you a translation of the seventh chapter of the *Dibajeh*, which I believe is pretty correct, and as it is a subject deserving of publication, you are at liberty to insert it in your work, should it come within your plan.

در بیان ضمائر الہدیہ چہ فرہنگ جہانگیری

EXTRACT of the FERHENGJE JEHANGEERI

THE formative personal pronouns are six in number, three single and quiescent **ش** **ت** and **م** and three double letters, the first letter of each of which is also quiescent **ید** **ند** and **یم** all six enter into the composition of words for the purpose of expressing their meanings **ش** subjoined to substantives, has the power of the third person singular of **شدن** and **بودن** and is synonymous with **او** as **آمدش** and **رفتش** his slave, his going, and his coming, and added to the active verb it is synonymous with **اورا** as **میگویندش** they say to him, &c **ت** subjoined to substantives, has the power of the second person singular, and is synonymous with **تو** as **رفتنت** **غلامت** and **آمدنت** thy slave, thy going, and thy coming; and added to the verb it has the oblique import of **ترا** as **میگویندت** they are saying to thee, also **زوت** and **کوت** are used; the first signifying from him to thee, and the second he that to thee; as Nezami, with his usual energy, says,

نباشد پادشاهی زوت بہتر
ہم اورا بند کی کن کوت بہتر

“No sovereign can deal so graciously as he does by thee; also shew thy obedience that he may deal by thee more graciously”

م subjoined to substantives, verbs, and adjectives, has the power of the first person singular, and is synonymous with *as* من *as* آدم کوهرم and فاضلم my gem, I came, and am eloquent and where it precedes the verb it takes the oblique sense of مرا *as* داد کوهرم and بخشید خدمتم he gave me a gem, and bestowed on me a professorship, as the heroic Ferdosi says,

بیاده از انم که تنک آدم
که با چون بومردی بجنگ آدم

“Am I such a soldier as would run myself into danger, that I should enter the lists with such a warrior as thou art?”

On some occasions, after the verb, م has also an oblique sense, as Sadi pathetically says,

تولا مردان این پاک بوم
بر انگیننختم خاطر از شام و روم

“Affection for the good folks of that blessed land withdrew my attachment from Syria and Rome.”

Moreover, where a meem has immediately preceded in the text, this م is sometimes dropt, as Anwari says,

انقصت باز لشتم و آمد بخانه زود
در باز کرد باز به بست از بس اسوار

“In short, I returned and quickly entered my house; I opened the door, and shut it again securely”

گفتم که گلی بحینم از باغ
کل دیدم و مست شد از بوی

"I will pluck, I did sav, a rose in the garden, the rose I put my eye on, and was intoxicated with its sweet smell."

نر subjoined to substantives, verbs, and adjectives, takes the power of the third person plural, as **آردند** سرو **آندند** and **آیدند** تو **آیدند** they are men, they came, and they are rich **ید** that of the second person plural, as **آیدید** سرو **آیدید** and **آیدید** تو **آیدید** ye are men, ye came, and ye are rich, and **یم** that of the third person plural, &c as **آیدیم** سرو **آیدیم** and **آیدیم** تو **آیدیم** we are men, we came, and we are rich

N B The reverse of us, the Persians begin with the third person singular or plural.

Whenever any one of these six particles is subjoined to a word whose final letter is a **ت** in order that two quiescent consonants may not coalesce, a hemzah with a fatah is inserted between them, as **گفته اند** کرده **ام** نام **ات** جامه **اش** ب **ب** ته **ایم** **آید** **و شنیده** **اید** **his garment, thy book, I have made they have spoken, ye have heard, and we have bound, and whenever** **ش** **ت** the one as the personal pronoun and sign of the third person singular, and the other as the sign of the second person singular, are declined in the plural, thus is formed

کچھ اتیان ہم نمکین دل کباب شان
می خورده اند و خون شہدی کباب شان

"All your wanton ogle are like salt sprinkled upon their grilling hearts they have drank wine, and the blood of Shahids they covet for a relish." And the fascinating Hafez,

عمرتان باد اور ار ای سائیان برم جم
کر چه جام مانشد بر می بدروان شا

"Live for ever, O ye cup bearers of the banquet of Jem! notwithstanding that my cup was not filled with wine during your administration."

Some have remarked that this alef of the personal pronoun is legitimate and radical, and though from its frequent occurrence it has been found convenient to drop it, yet, on necessary occasions, it is resumed, and many admit that these particles are posted thus without their alefs for the purpose of completing such words as required a $\frac{1}{2}$ ha, and have an alef inserted to prevent the coalescing of two quiescent letters, but this last assertion stands in need of more discussion. اما قول اخیر را حجت

Nevertheless the س and ت so necessary for the construction and completion of the sentence, offer this special benefit that whenever this syllable, which in the assumption of the hemzah with a fatah prevents the coalescing of two quiescent letters, is added to either of the six formative personal pronouns, it has been deemed proper to mark orthographically the passages where such words occur. Most of us must have observed that it occurs in every Persian detail, such a copulation among the limbs of a sentence as has a reference to بوده باشد and بود هست and such like, where the first limb of the sentence is complete, but in order to finish the sense of the other limbs, a reference

must be made for that necessary limb, the verb, to what preceded as: for example, on the opening of that most excellent and moral work, Sadi's *Gulestan*, of which, by-the-by, a good translation is much wanted.

منت بر خدایر اغر وجل که طاعشن موجب قربت
 است و به بشکر اندرش مزید نعمت هر تقي که
 فرو میرود قد حیات است و چون بر می آید مفرح
 ذات پس در هر نفسی دو رحمت موجود است و
 بر هر نعمتی شكري واجب

" Let there be thanksgiving to the Deity, glorious and great, our obedience to whom bringeth us nearer to his bounty, and our sense of gratitude towards him giveth latitude to his generosity; every inspiration of the breath prolongeth life, and its expiration exhilarateth the soul, therefore does each respiration include a two-fold benefit, both of which demandeth our individual acknowledgement "

Now, in the course of this passage, three references are to be made from the posterior to the anterior limb of the sentence, in order to perfect the sense; for which purpose we must suppose them respectively to be written *نعمت است مزید* and *شكري واجب است* and *مفرح ذات است* the augmentation of his bounty, and is the exhilaration of the soul; and an acknowledgment is necessary After this manner we say, *که زيد کتب است و منجم* that Zeid is a writer, and Manjam is a writer; *که منجم بمعني منجم کايب است* for Manjam means that Manjam is a writer

I shall quote one more passage from the 9th chapter, which shews that the ن and not the تن and نون is considered by Persian grammarians as the sign of the مصدر infinitive

در بیان حرف نون حرف نون مفرد ساکن آفاده
معنی مصدری کند مثل کردن و گفتن و این نون
البتہ بعد تائی فو قالی یا زال غیر مقوط باشد و
نون را بیند ازند و افاده همان معنی کند لکن بر این
تقدیرا کشر با کلمہ دیگر کہ ضد او باشد مسنعل
میشود چنانکہ گفت و شنید آمد و رفت و داد و ستد

In explanation of the letter ن the letter ن single and quiescent, has the import of the infinitive, as کردن and گفتن to do, and to speak, and thus ن necessarily follows the supreme ت or the unmarked و the word also (thus formed) drops the ن yet it retains the same meaning thus circumstanced, it is still used with other words, whose meaning are respectively the converse, as he spoke and listened, he came, and went, and he gave, and took away

POETRY

A DESCRIPTION OF AN ORIENTAL BANQUET,

AN ODE IN ARABIC,

By a Native of Damascus

لما مجلس ما منه لهم مد حل
ولا منه يوماً للبصرة مخرج
نصبي اصناف المحاسن كلها
فليس لباعي العنس عنه معرج
عناء الى العنان انتهى من العنا
به العنن يصعو والهجوم معرج
نصف له حلم الحلم صباه
و يصو الله الناسك المتخرج
وروص كان العطر عاده فاعندي
يصوع مسكي النسيم ويارج

تري بكت الا هار منه كاه
 كواكب في افق سر و سرح
 وتذكرني الاحباب منه مدابع
 من النور منها برحس و نفع
 تراه كها يروى الملك بظرفه
 اغر عصص ما ترا لطرف ادعج
 عرب ايمان الدل والحسن لم يزل
 يعرب اصداعا له و يصولج
 و معسوق نارنج بربك احمرارة
 حدود عذارى بالعباب بريح
 كؤس كها بهوى المعوس كاه
 سبل الاماني و الهبات بريح
 كان العناني والصواني لباطرى
 يحوم سباء سائران و انرح

A PARAPHRASTIC TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE.

TURN, gen'rous youth, whom social joy delights,
 A bow'r of bliss your wand'ring steps invites,
 Here mirth perpetual charms the passing hour,
 And care excluded flies our festive bow'r

Here beauty shines in varied charms confess,
 Our ardent eyes proclaim th' enraptured breast;
 Say, does thy mind to bliss supreme aspire;—
 Enter, and satiate every fond desire
 Responsive to the lyrist's golden strain,
 Our youthful hearts all sordid thoughts disdain;
 Oh! listen to the sounds, how sweet they flow,
 Refine our joys, and banish ev'ry woe
 O'er willing slaves, here beauty's daughters reign,
 Each youth, enchain'd wears love's eddy chain,
 The dervise wand'ring to this blest abode,
 Forgets religion, and resigns his God

Behold a bow'r, with richest foliage crown'd,
 Whose dew-form'd brilliants dart their rays around;
 Soft, panting zephyrs whisper thro' the trees,
 And musky odours float upon the breeze.
 Bright as the blazing wonders of the sky,
 Earth's rival blossoms fix the wand'ring eye,
 Fairest of flowers, the violet here appears,
 Her languid eyes, the white narcissus rears
 All hail! ye fragrant daughters of the spring!
 Rous'd by your charms my ravish'd soul takes wing!
 In each soft plant I trace some tender fair,
 Some dear lov'd object of my youthful care
 Like *Hinda's* cheeks, the purple violet blooms,
 The rose, like *Mara*, breathes divine perfumes;
 Oh! wert thou here to view this blissful sight,
 How would thy bounding heart confess delight,
 Pleas'd wouldst thou think my darling fair was nigh,
 With her soft, languishing, impassion'd eye.
 Fair nymph, whose ebony tresses unconfin'd,
 In wanton ringlets wave to the wind,
 In the carnation's hues methinks I trace,
 Resentment mildly glowing in her face,
 Her's is each charm that decks the blooming plant,
 And in her form divine perfection reigns.

In order rang'd, the various wares lie,
 Bright as heav'n's orbs, with China's richest dye;
 Haste to our banquet, see the bowl a full brim,
 Where frolic mirth, and smiling friendship swim
 Quaff the pure stream, the wide capacious bowl,
 Well suits the temper of the generous soul

and Translation of this Ode is given by Sir WILLIAM JONES, in his
 Story of the Persian Language—See Sir W's Years's Works, vol. 2 p. 311)

A VERY ANCIENT CHINESE ODE

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY JOHN COLLEINGS, ESQ.

Quoted in the Tá Hsi of Confucius.

(A Copy of which is preserved in the Bodleian Library.)

The following Ode has been translated into Latin by Sir WILLIAM JONES, who informs us, in his Treatise on the Second Classical Book of the Chinese, that the Ode is taken from the 1st Vol of the SHI KING. "It is a Frag-
gyrick," says he, "on VUCAN, Prince of Guoy, in the Province of Honang, who died near a Century old, 756 Years before the Birth of Christ. The Chinese Poet might have been cotemporary with Homer and Hesiod, or at least must have written the Ode before the Iliad and Odyssey were carried into Greece by LACURGUS."

SEE how the silvery river glides
And laves the fields bespangled sides!
Hear how the whispering breeze proceeds
Harmonious through the verdant reeds!
Observe our prince thus lovely shine!
In him the meek ey'd virtues join!
Just as a patient carver will
Hard ivory model by his skill,
So his example has impress'd,
Benevolence in every breast
Nice hands to the rich gem, behold,
Impart the gloss of burnish'd gold;
Thus he in manners goodly great,
Refines the people of his state.
True lenity, how heavenly fair!
We see it, while it threatens, spare!
What beauties in its open face!
In its deportment—what a grace!
Observe our prince thus lovely shine!
In him the meek ey'd virtues join!
His mem'ry of eternal prime,
Like truth defies the power of time!

ON THE APPROACH OF SPRING

AN ODE FROM HAFIZ

We present our Readers both with a Latin and English translation of this Ode. The Latin is from the elegant pen of Sir WILLIAM JONES — The English, which is executed with considerable taste and spirit, by JOHN COLLEGE, Esq.]

A POETA ADMIRABILIS HAFIZ

IAM rosa purpureum ~~caput~~ explicat Adsit amici,
 Suavis voluptatum cohors
 Sic monuere senes
 Nunc læta simul, at citius læta avolat ætas,
 Quin læta mutemus mero
 Stragula nectareo?
 Dulce gemit zephyrus ridentem mitte puellam,
 Quam molli in amplexu tenens
 Pocula læta bibam
 Tange chelyn. Sævit fortuna, at mitte querelas;
 Cur non canoros barbiti
 Elicimus modulos?
 En! florum regina ariet rosa Fundate vinæ,
 Quid amoris extinguat facem,
 Nectareos latices
 Sævè loquens Philomela vocor qui fiat ut umbrâ
 Tectus rosarum nexili
 (Veris avis) taceam?

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

NOW is the season, roses gay,
 Light purple tinctur'd blooms display;
 When fires thus jovial youths revive,
 To the fair gardens of delight
 "Time will your sprigh'ly locks destroy,
 "Then give the present hours to joy
 "Assemble all!—convivial join,
 "The sacred carper * se'l for woe!
 "And while you feel the sunning breeze,
 "Which whispers through the waving trees,
 "Pray that beside you may be laid
 "Some playful laughter-loving maid
 "And to her health and charms divine,
 "Quaff glasses of gaily ring wine
 "Is fortune cruel?—Then go suit,
 "To querulous complaint, the lute;

"From

* Upon which the Mahomedans prostrate themselves at the time of prayers

" From the touch'd strings make music float,
 " On air in soft melodious note *
 " When first you see in fragrant bowers
 " The rose—resplendent queen of flowers !
 " Then let the goblets brimful shine,
 " With bright nectareous racy wine !
 " Wine can the tender pang remove,
 " And cause forgetfulness in love
 " The sweetly warbling nightingale,
 " With melody fills every dale
 " How can the cease, sweet bird of spring !
 " Mid budding roses perch'd, to sing ?

 HAFIZ

ساقیا بر خنر و درده جام را
 خاک بر سر کن هم ایام را
 ساغر من بر کشم نه تار سر
 بر کشم این دلق ارزق فام را
 مگر چه بد نامیست، نمود عاقلان
 مانمی خواهم ننگ نام را
 باده درده چند ازین ناد غرور
 خاک بر سر نشن ناخر جام را
 درد آه سنده نالان من
 سوخت این اقمردگان خام را
 محرم راز دل شیدا بی خود
 کس نمی بینم ز خاص و عام را

بادل را می مرا خاطر خوش است
 کز رلم یل باره برد آد ام را
 ننکرد دیگر بسرو اندد چمن
 هر که دید آپسرو سیم اندام را
 صبر کن حافظ. بلنخر روز و شب
 حاقبت ورزی بیای کام را

TRANSLATION

ARISE, arise, my Hebe rise,
 Cast earth upon each care and pain
 Give me a bowl, and with thine eyes,
 Expel misfortune's gloomy reign

What though these prudes malign our fame,
 In fame like theirs we seek not bliss
 Drink deep, my girl, and drink a shame,
 To ev'ry wretch who rails at this

They scoff me, if by sighs I show,
 The flames, my lips shall ne'er reveal
 Because their breasts from high to low,
 Are worthless of the pains I feel

These hallow'd pains then let me keep,
 From such a source their fountain flows
 And yet a while my sorrows sleep,
 To think from whence my sorrows rose.

For, ah! what cypress can compare,
 Its stature with a form like thine?
 Its grateful branches waving fair,
 Strive for the palm it must resign

Hahz, have patience, will you say,
 Lovely but dainty maid
 My breast has learnt but to obey,
 Its toils may yet be over paid.

HAFIZ.

فاش میگویم و از گفته خود دلشیدم
 بنده عشقم و از هر دو جهان آزادم
 طایر گلشن قدسم چه دهم شرح فراق
 که درین دامه مکه حادث چون افتادم
 من ملک بودم و فردوس برین جایم بود
 آدم آورد درین دیر خراب آبادم
 سایه طوبی و دلجوئی و حور و لب حوض
 نبهوا اسر کوا تو برفت از یادم
 بیست بر اوج دلم جبرالف قامت درست
 چکنم حرف دیگر باد نداد اسنادم
 گو کب نخت مرا بهج منجم نشناخت
 یارب از مادر کیتی بچیہ طالع زادم
 تاشدم حلقه بگوش در میخانه عشق
 هر دم آید عجم آ تو بمبارک بادم
 می خورد خون دلم مردمک چشم و سراست
 که چرا دل بجگر کوشه مردم دادم
 پاک کن چهره حافظ بسرزلفت ز اشک
 در نه این سیل دادم جرد بنیادم

TRANSLATION

WITH pleasure I talk of my pain,
 To the world I my secret confide
 For the slave of love's powerful chain,
 Is released from all trouble beside

But, alas! who shall give me the pow'r,
 Ev'n the half of my woes to declare?
 I'm the bird of a sanctified bow'r,
 Say how did I fall in the snare?

I once was an angel of light,
 Yes, Eden has been my abode
 Nor should I, had Eve slept aright,
 Have e'er trod this disastrous road

You ask me, how can I forget,
 Fair Tooba's heart ravishing tree,
 And the Hoories with eye balls of jet,
 I forget them, my charmer—for thee!

'Tis true—on the page of my heart,
 Thy name I can only explore
 For Love, when he taught me this art,
 Though with chastisement, taught me no more.

As yet no diviner has told,
 What complexion my fortune has got,
 Be it thine then, my fair, to unfold,
 What stars have determin'd my lot

Thee, Love, since I first understood,
 New pains were my portion each hour:
 My heart has run currents of blood,
 Since first I experienc'd thy pow'r.

My cheeks are with weeping defil'd,
 Give thy tresses to wipe it away;
 Or Hafiz's roundelay wild,
 In silence for ever 'twill lay.

SADIQ

TURKISH VERSES,

Addressed to the SULTAUNA, Eldest Daughter of Sultaun ACHMET the THIRD.
By ISRAHIM BASSA the Reigning Favourite. Translated by the celebrated
Lady MARY WORTLEY MONTAGUE.

I

NOW Philomel renews her tender strain,
Indulging all the night her pleasing pain,

I sought the groves to hear the wanton sing,
There saw a face more beauteous than the spring

Your large flag eyes, where thousand glories play,
As bright, as lively, but as wild as they

II

In vain I'm promis'd such a heavenly prize
Ah! cruel Sultaun! who delay'st my joys!
While piercing charms transfix my amorous heart,
I dare not snatch one kiss, to ease the smart

Your large flag eyes, &c

III

Your wretched lover in these lines complains,
From those dear beauties, rise his killing pains

When will the hour of wish'd for bliss arrive,
Must I wait longer? can I wait and live?

Ah! bright Sultauna! maid divinely fair!
Can you, un pitying, see the pains I bear?

IV

The heaven's relenting hear my piercing cries,
I loathe the light, and sleep forsakes my eyes,
Turn thee, Sultauna, ere thy lover dies

}

Sinking to earth, I sigh the last adieu,
Call me, my goddess, and my life renew

My queen! my angel! my fond heart's desire!
I rave—my bosom burns with heavenly fire!
Pity that passion which thy charms inspire.

}

world beyond the tropic, and might with equal propriety be called *variable winds* :

In explanation of the first, our author seems to have added nothing to the theory of the celebrated Dr Halley. The sun moving from east to west, the point of greatest rarefaction of the air by the heat of the sun must move in the same direction, and the point of greatest rarefaction following the sun, the air must continually rush in from the east, and make a constant east wind. On the same principle, the wind must be to the northward of east, on the north side of the equator, and to the southward on the south, because the air towards the pole "being less rarefied than that in the middle, it follows that from both sides it ought to tend towards the equator. This motion, compounded with the formerly easterly wind, answers all the phenomena of the general trade winds, which, if the surface of the globe were sea, would undoubtedly blow all round the world." The rarefied air ascends, when "it must disperse itself to preserve the equilibrium, that is, by a contrary current the upper air must move from those parts where the greatest heat is, to by a kind of circulation the N E trade wind below will be attended with a S W above, and the S E with a N W wind above." The constancy of the phenomenon at a distance from land in tropical regions certainly renders it probable that the cause is referable to the motion of the sun, or of the earth, yet the hypothesis of the celebrated philosopher has its difficulties, which are by no means removed by the familiar illustration of the air rushing below from a cold room into a hot, whilst heated air makes its exit above,

Waving, however, this discussion, for which our limits would afford an inadequate space, we proceed to consider the anomalies produced by the interposition of land and mountains.

The flat and sandy west coast of Africa on both sides of the equator becomes so intensely heated, as to occasion a constant current of air from the Atlantic, blowing in direct opposition to the perennial winds of the same latitudes. This, however, prevails in the middle of that ocean between the two great continents, and hence the advantage to navigators of passing the equator in about eighteen or twenty degrees west.

When the sun after the equinox, in his southerly progression, has rarefied the atmosphere of the southern hemisphere, a current of cold air from the north rushes in to supply its place, and meeting with the perennial wind in its course, is modified into the N E monsoon, which prevails in the Gulf of Bengal during six months of the year. It commences in October, but gradually losing its force, the alternate land and sea breezes occasioned by the alternate rarefaction of the air over the land and sea, produced by the vicissitude of night and day, prevail on the coast. The S W monsoon fits in when the sun has acquired about 20° N declination. "This change or repulse of air appears to be put in motion by the same means as that which comes from the opposite quarter for as the sun's altitude increases daily in the northern hemisphere, the extensive body of land in the N E part of Asia must become much hotter than the ocean, and consequently a considerable degree of rarefaction will be produced on that part of the continent, whilst, at the same season,

ACCOUNT OF BOOKS,

an immense body of cold air will come both from the Indian Ocean and the continent of Africa, in the southern hemisphere, to restore the equilibrium." The theory appears somewhat deficient in explaining the cause of this monsoon coming from the west, the N E part of Asia is not more heated than the N W the current from the south should experience the same modification by the perennial as that from the north, and the alternations apparently should be N E and S E. But we have already said it is not our intention to institute an analysis of the system of the learned Halley, which Col Capper has only illustrated in most instances.

The S E and N W monsoon which prevail alternately amongst the islands to the eastward of Java, and which Dr Halley considered as an extraordinary anomaly, are attributed by our author to the rarefaction occasioned by the heat accumulated on the continent of New Holland, whilst the sun remains in the southern hemisphere.

"From the 15th of May to the beginning of August, the S W monsoon is extended, or rather elongated, from Yambo to Suez, notwithstanding the latter is almost beyond the tropic. This wind is called by the Arabs the khumseen (hivv), being supposed by them to precede the overflowing of the Nile about fifty days." This phenomenon Col Capper imputes, with much probability, to the rarefaction of the air at that season over the rocks and sands of Arabia Petrea.

"In Greece, particularly in the Morea, which is almost surrounded by the sea, the etesian winds, according to Aristotle and other Grecian writers, blow about forty days, with their predomi which precede

them, as their name itself implies, about eight or ten days, making about fifty both these together correspond nearly in their commencement and duration with the khumseen wind in the Arabian Gulf. But the summer etesiae in Greece, and the Morea, come from the N W and the khumseen from the S W." When the sun has rarefied the atmosphere of the southern countries of Europe, the wind will move from the sea to the land in the mild Faonius the northerly direction of the etesian is produced by a current of air from the frozen Alps, modified by the western breeze from the sea.

"The harmattan blows in January and February from the interior of Africa between Cape de Verd and Cape Lopez, towards the Atlantic Ocean. It generally blows twenty four or forty eight hours together. It is said by Mr Morris to stop the progress of fluxes, intermittent fever, and all epidemic diseases." This wind our author brings from the chains of mountains in lat 12 and 15 degrees north, and which meeting with the perennial in its course, becomes a N E wind.

The causes of the general winds prevalent in the northern parts of Europe are thus indicated:—"Soon after the vernal equinox, when the sun begins to diffuse only a moderate warmth throughout the northern regions, the Atlantic Ocean being at that time much warmer than the land, the current of air will then begin to move from the E and N E and produce the easterly winds which blow during the latter end of March, all April, and part of the month of May, in a direct line across the British islands to the ocean, but in the course of the month of May, when his declina-
tion

tion increases to 15 degrees and upwards, his influence will then be considerably felt in Germany, Poland, Russia, and even Siberia. The whole continent, to its northern extremity, by the sun being at this time almost constantly above the horizon, daily becomes warmer, so that by the end of June, or the beginning of July, these countries are probably as hot, or even hotter, than the more southern countries of Europe. From the end of May, therefore, to the end of August, the atmosphere over the whole northern part of the continent will be considerably rarefied, and consequently the ocean in summer being infinitely cooler than the land, the interior current of air will then generally move from the Atlantic lying to the S. W. of these islands, to restore the equilibrium to the N. E.

Our extracts have probably been already sufficient to furnish our readers with a competent idea of the manner in which Col. Capper applies the principles of condensation and rarefaction to elucidate the phenomena of the winds, and they will possibly see reason to coincide in the justice of our introductory remarks. Our author has, however, diversified his treatise by a considerable variety of extraneous matter, he has been particularly copious in etymological digressions, whence he has deduced historical inferences, from both of which we find ourselves compelled to dissent. We should not, indeed, have adverted to the subject, had not the authority of the author, as an Oriental scholar, rendered it necessary to anticipate the mistakes into which others might be led by reasoning from his premises. Thus in his note on the origin of the names of countries—

“Guzeret is probably derived

from the Persian or Arabic word *Gexeret*, an island.” The name of this province is unquestionably Sanscrit. “The word Malabar is not known but by adoption to the nations of the western peninsula.” The proper name of that country is Malava, and the natives are acquainted with no other. “Edrifi remarks, that the inhabitants of Cour, by which perhaps is meant Cape Comorin, are Malays. The most cursory inspection of Edrifi’s map is sufficient to shew that by that name he understood the Comora islands, and probably also Madagascar. The words monsum (monsoon) and tufan, a hurricane, which our author says are Persian, are adduced to prove that the Persians were the earliest navigators of the eastern seas, but the truth is, both of these words are Arabic. Col. Capper labours to establish “a great similitude between the customs, religious ceremonies, laws, and languages of the Tartars, the Saxons, and the English.” But what is not a little singular, it is from the Persians, whom, without any proof, he considers as Tartars, that most of his analogies are derived. The only custom mentioned as similar, is the Tartar method of burying the dead traces of which are to be found in our burroughs in England. The proof on which he most relies is the analogy of language. “Numberless are the single Persian words precisely the same in sound and sense with the English, and evidently received by us from the Saxon, *mader*, a mother, *brader*, a brother, *dufter*, a daughter, *barber*, a barber,” (this is a mistake, *barber*, in Persian, signifies only a barbarian,) &c. “But without dwelling on similar single terms, which abound in both languages, we will cite the word *Wittenage*—

mote, as an instance of a compound word of high political import, that has the same sound and signification both in Persian and Saxon. In the former it is derived from *ruetten*, a native country, and *gemmetet*, an assembly. According to Blackstone and Hume, it is the assembly of wise men, but in both languages it literally means the national assembly. Hence it appears that a great similitude may be traced between the customs, religious ceremonies, laws, and languages of the Tartars, the Saxons, and the English. Here we must observe that all the Tartar dialects are radically and entirely different from the Persian dialect, that not one of the words above enumerated would be understood by any Tartar

nation, but we must add, that the words of which the Colonel has made Wittenagemote, are not even Persian, but pure Arabic, though it were impossible they should ever signify a *national assembly*, but a *collection of habitations*, even in that language. The similarity between the Gothic and Persian languages is a long admitted fact, but most of the words mentioned by the Colonel are common to them with the Sanscrit.

Though the theory exhibited in this work be in many respects incomplete, and in some, we believe, inconsistent, yet it comprehends some valuable facts, and several ingenious conjectures on a variety of interesting phenomena.

The PERSIAN MOONSHEE By FRANCIS GLADWIN, Esq — 4to pp 386.
DEBBERT, 1801

MR GLADWIN, whose judicious and accurate translations have so ably elucidated the history and civil institutions of the Mogul emperors of Hindustan, has in the work before us, conferred no inconsiderable obligation on the Persian student. The first part treats of the grammar of that language, and delivers, in a concise and perspicuous style, many rules which Sir William Jones thought it unnecessary to comprize in his elegant summary. The whole is entitled to much commendation, and cannot fail of being eminently useful to those for whom it was intended. In this more ample form, perhaps it might have been proper to have given the original Persian terms of grammar, as well as those borrowed from the Arabians. In page 70, we wish Mr Gladwin

had stated the authority for asserting that "the letters

ص ض ط ظ ع occur not

in Persian words, but are peculiar to the Arabic language. Formerly the

words شیت and حد were

written شیت and حد but

modern authors, in order to lessen the confusion occasioned by mistakes in the diacritical points, introduced these letters." This assertion we have often heard, but rather think it requires confirmation, the whole Persian alphabet was borrowed from the Arabians, and we presume at the same time; but at any rate, if the

the assertion be well founded, it is not to modern authors, but to modern transcribers the charge is imputable, since the Shah Nama, composed in the 16th century, in pure Persian, without any admixture of Arabic, exhibits in every line words containing some of the above letters.

The various specimens of penmanship in the different hands furnish admirable models for the exercise of student, and are executed with equal correctness and delicacy. We are surprised Mr Gladwin omitted to insert the method of notation adopted in Persian accounts, which must have been of inestimable value to the gentlemen employed in the revenue department, and is by no means easily acquired.

The *Pend Nama* (or book of precept,) of the celebrated Sheikh Sadi, follows the grammar, in a character as once beautiful and accurate, accompanied by a literal translation. It contains exhortations to the practice of piety and virtue, and dissuasions from their opposite vices: the maxims are trite and common place, possibly, however, they may be on a level with the apophthegms of the seven wise men of Greece, but the writers of England will scarcely be disposed to admire propositions coming in the form of truisms.

* ADDRESS TO THE SOUL.

* Forty years of your precious life have elapsed,
And (alas!) your disposition has not
altered from the state of childhood.
You have done all things through
thoughtlessness and vanity.
Not an instant have you acted in conformity to righteousness.
Place not reliance upon perishable life.
Think not yourself secure from the
spoils of Götter.

Some forms of petition, bonds of caution, &c. are next exhibited in the Shekeshch, or common running hand, and this is succeeded by a very copious collection of anecdotes and bon-mots, some of which discover an acuteness and dexterity of repartee not often surpassed. We will indulge ourselves by inserting a few specimens of Asiatic pleasantry.

"A certain man went to a *dirveish*, and proposed three questions. First—Why do they say that God is omnipresent? I do not see him in any place, show me where he is. Second—Why is man punished for crimes, since whatever he does proceeds from God? Man has no free will, for he cannot do any thing contrary to the will of God, and if he had power, he would do every thing for his own good. Third—How can God punish Satan in hell fire, since he is formed of the element, and what impression can fire make on itself? The *dirveish* took up a large clod of earth, and struck him on the head with it. The man went to the *cazi*, and said, I proposed three questions to such a *dirveish*, who flung such a clod of earth at me, as has made my head ache. The *cazi* having inquired the *dirveish* asked, Why did you throw such a clod of earth at his head, instead of answering his questions? The *dirveish* replied, The clod of earth was an answer to his speech: he says he has a pain in his head, let him show where it is, when I will make God visible to him: and why does he exhibit a complaint to you against me? whatever I did was the act of God, I did not strike him without the will of God, what power do I possess? and as he is compounded of earth, how can he suffer pain from that element?

element? The man was confounded, and the cazi highly pleased with the dirveith's answer.

"Once on a time a king went to take an airing, accompanied by his vizier. They came to a field, and saw some plants of wheat higher than a man. The king wondered, and said he had never before seen such long stalks of wheat. The vizier replied, O my lord! in my country the wheat grows as high as an elephant. The king smiled. The vizier said to himself, that the king thought he had told an untruth, and therefore had smiled. When they returned from their excursion, he sent a letter to some people of his country for some plants of wheat, but by the time his letter arrived, the wheat harvest was over. A year after, the plants of wheat arrived from thence, and the vizier presented them to the king, who asked why he had brought them? He said, one day last year I had represented that plants of wheat grew as high as an elephant, and as you smiled, I conceived that you doubted my veracity. I therefore brought them, to prove the truth of my assertion. The king replied, I now believe your words, but take care, another time, not to speak what you cannot obtain credit for before the expiration of a year."

The last we shall insert is solely on account of a literary resemblance, which it appears fashionable just now to trace, wherever they occur: our readers need not be reminded of the Merchant of Venice.

"A person laid a wager with another, that if he did not win, the other might cut off a seer of flesh from his body. Having lost the wager, the plaintiff wanted to cut off a seer of his flesh, but he not consenting, they went together be-

fore the cazi. The cazi recommended to the plaintiff to forgive him, but he would not agree to it. The cazi, being enraged at his refusal, said, cut it off; but if you shall exceed or fall short of the seer, in the smallest degree, I will inflict on you a punishment suitable to the offence. The plaintiff, seeing the impossibility of what was required of him, had no remedy, and therefore dropped the prosecution."

The anecdotes are succeeded by "an account of the philosophers," extracted from Mirkland, who has himself borrowed it from a work, entitled, the History of Philosophers, by Sheheryar. The Hakimian are usually understood by the Orientals to signify the philosophers of Greece, but in addition to them, we find a brief notice of Sab son of Enoch, of Aceleptades, or Esculapius, of Locman, or Astop, of Jamasp, brother of Darius Hystaspes, of Homer, and of Abuzerchemehar, vizier to Shah Nushirvan. We are surprised that Mr Gladwin should have changed the name of Sheopantus, which is written very distinctly on the opposite page, to Sankertes, in his translation.

This is followed by the Guard ul Sultaneh Shahjehan, or "Rules observed during the Reign of Shahjehan. It consists principally of the ceremonial observed at the court of that monarch, and conveys a very high idea of the splendour and magnificence which distinguished that æra of the annals of Hindustan. Through the coarse veil of inflated encomium, with which the eastern historians conceal the real merit of many of their princes, an assiduous attention to the welfare of his subjects may readily be discerned in the conduct of this amiable and able monarch. The regular distribution of his time, his benevolent

lent maxims, and the tolerant principles which contrasted his reign with his fanatic or hypocritical successor, entitle Shahjehan to rank high in the scale of Asiatic sovereigns, the flourishing condition of his extensive dominions, when the sceptre was wrested from his hands, furnishes the truest criterion to judge of his merit. Some curious particulars may be derived from this production, amongst others, we find a list of the foreign nations who had ambassadors at his court, which, in fact, comprehends all Asia, excepting the Chinese empire. We believe our readers will be gratified by a lively description of the tumults and bustle of an Asiatic camp.

"Description of the Nature, Extent, and Multitude of the Royal Camp"

"The camp, which measures the world, is a moving city, a country always in a flourishing state; and the crowd and multitude of people and cattle therein is such, that they move on, side by side, and shoulder to shoulder, and foot against foot of one another. Artificers and mechanics, to whom the market of the camp is their beloved native country, and who are said to carry their houses on their backs, march with their women, bag and baggage, with contented minds, joyfully telling stories, or singing. Whether marching or halting, they intermarry, beget and bring forth sons and daughters in the camp, and the new-born infant is brought in a basket to the next stage. The care of divine Providence, and the blessings entailed on the royal justice, are extended to all conditions of people, so that amidst this immense concourse, exceeding the bounds of imagination, the infant of one day,

and the old man of one hundred years of age, pass unhurt amongst the feet of horses and elephants. Minstrels, dancers, and jugglers of all countries, proceed singing, dancing, and beating their drums, whilst the ringing and tinkling of great and small bells, joined to the noise and clamour of men and cattle, may be heard at the distance of pharsangs; and so great is the multitude, that the line of march is two coss in breadth, and at rivers, defiles, and other places that are difficult to pass, the crowd and press is inconceivable. Over great rivers several strong bridges are thrown, and careful officers are placed at proper stations, to enable the people to pass over with ease. The number of the victorious troops and people of all descriptions is so great, that sometimes they are detained two or three days, before the transportation of the whole across a river can be completed; and sometimes, for the ease of the people, his majesty halts at the passage. Such is the bustle and confusion, that sons lose their fathers, and daughters are separated from their mothers, but rejoin them after a time. Whatever is lost by any person, the officers of the police recover, and restore to the rightful owner. After a long march, when any one does not arrive till late on a dark night, so that he cannot discover the quarters of any of his acquaintance, he passes the night under the starry vault, or the sky lamp, where he makes the necessary inquiries. On marches to Cabul and Cashmir, every thing is transported on the heads of porters, thousands of whom offer themselves for hire from Cashmir to the borders of Tatab, and carry heavier burthens than those of Hindostan, inasmuch that one of these porters will carry on his shoulders a man in a large

a large basket Many articles that are not procurable in large countries and cities, are to be found in the royal camp, it being the resort of all descriptions of people, and the repository of the choice productions of every country Merchants, dealers in grain, jewellers, bankers, and other classes of men of business, and all kinds of artisans and mechanics, have shops stored with money, jewels, merchandize, and goods of every country, and in every street and market are linen drapers, grocers, druggists, corn factors, confectioners, oil-men, cooks, jelly-makers, butchers, game-latchers, and flower-sellers, in a flourishing condition, besides other classes, such as dealers in shawls, ruffians (or fine drawers), weavers, taylors, cotton corders, uterkush, silk men, linen-printers, dyers, arm-sellers, sword cutlers, arrow smiths, bow-makers, armourers, blacksmiths, carpenters, turners, curriers, harness-makers, pack-saddlers, felt-workers, old brokers, and other retail dealers, who expose on their carpets small wares, from a looking-glass and a comb to thread and needles, and all of them with their families reside in the royal camp There are moreover other classes and tribes, as book-sellers, scribes, book-binders, paper-makers, and paper-polishers, who on marches, and on halting days, are busied in their respective vocations There is a distinct market for buying and selling slaves and horses, and all kinds of creatures that graze or fly, and other goods are exposed for sale separately In every market are established sellers and brokers. In the bazar large corn-mills are worked, so that on all sides there is noise and clamour, nevertheless no one is allowed to be guilty of violence, oppression,

or intemperance. Through the order and good management of darogahs, and other diligent officers, whether on a march or at a fixed station, the price of grain and other articles is always at the same price, without any variation; every thing being in the highest degree of cheapness and perfection Grass and fire wood are also in great plenty, and materials for every work, and servants of every description, are to be procured in the camp At the close of day, a market from all quarters is held in the midst of the camp, where all descriptions of men, soldiers, great and small, horse and foot, sitting and standing, are looking about them and every sort of goods and wares, with all kinds of necessaries for a march, are brought to this place of traffic At night, traffic is carried on with more spirit than during the day, every body being employed in some business or other In front of every shop a lamp is lighted, so that the whole face of the market is illuminated. In every place, story tellers, musicians, dancers, and jugglers of every country, exhibit their respective feats Before the tent of every ameer, lives a fakier, and on different sides of the camp are established refectories, and accommodations for the poor Chaooches and watchmen are attentive and vigilant in all parts of that great city "

Familiar dialogues, and a translation of the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of the gospel of St. Matthew into Persian, conclude the volume, to prove that these are accurate, it is only necessary to mention that the first were composed, and the last translated, by Mr Chambers.

The publication we have just analysed cannot fail of proving singularly

gularly useful to the students of Persic; the specimens it exhibits of every distinct species of composition, from the simple diction of Sadi, to the rhetorical flourishes of

the encomiast of Shahjehan, are calculated to furnish correct ideas of the different styles, and those of penmanship models for tracing the character

The BAKHTYAR NAMIH, a Story of Prince BAKHTYAR, and the Ten Viziers, a Series of Persian Tales from a Manuscript in the Collection of Sir WILLIAM OUSELEY—8vo pp. 261 DEBRET, 1801.

AZADBAKHT, king of Sistan, was a young prince of wonderful accomplishments, and his vizier one of the first generals of the age. The latter being engaged in a tedious expedition on the frontiers, sent for his daughter, of whom he was distractedly fond. The young lady set out accordingly in a covered vehicle, accompanied by a numerous cavalcade, but they had gone only a few miles, when they met Azadbakht returning from a hunting excursion. Understanding that they were going to the vizier's camp, the king was charging them with a message, when a propitious wind blowing aside the veil which concealed the fair traveller, discovered to the love-struck monarch, a spectacle which made him forget every other consideration. He then questioned the attendants, and finding she was the daughter of the vizier, determined to marry her without waiting for her father's consent, who first heard of this alliance by the letters of congratulation, which poured upon him from court. This insult the vindictive officer determined to revenge, and conducted his schemes with so much address, that Azadbakht knew nothing of what was going forward, till he found himself besieged in his palace, about a year subsequent to

his marriage. Flight was the only resource and horses being brought to a hack gate, he and the queen made their escape in the night, having resolved to take refuge with the king of Carman. In passing thro' a forest, distressed by fatigue, heat and thirst, the unhappy queen was seized with the pains of labour, and brought forth by the side of a well of brackish water, a child whose beauty illumined the whole forest. To attempt to save him, however, would have been destruction to themselves, the king wrapped him in a piece of gold brocade, and put a necklace of emeralds round his neck, after which the afflicted pair, with many tears, left him to his fate, and pursued their journey. On their arrival at Carman, they were hospitably received by the king of that country, who dispatching an immense army against Sistan, soon re-established Azadbakht on the throne. The death of the infant they considered inevitable, and therefore had made no inquiries respecting him, but Providence was more attentive than his parents to his preservation. For the king and queen had scarcely left sight of the well, when a band of robbers who dwelt in that forest came to the spot, and the chief having no son, and struck with the beauty of the infant,

fant, determined to adopt him. As he grew up, he became a prodigy of strength and valour, but uniformly refused to join the band in their plundering excursions. One day, his adopted father entreated him, at least, to be a spectator of their attack on a numerous caravan the travellers fought with a resolution which the robbers had never before experienced: the young prince beheld his adoptive father about to fall under the disadvantage of numbers, and, flying to his assistance, slew all his opponents. At this moment, however, his horse stumbled, and he fell to the ground: the travellers flew upon him, and made him a prisoner, whilst the rest of the robbers made their escape. The caravan proceeded to Sistan, and delivering their prisoner to the office of justice, he was carried before Azadbakht: the youth and appearance of the criminal pleaded strongly in his favour; but, most of all, the secret workings of paternal affection. Azadbakht pardoned his crime, and gave him the charge of his stud. The horses proposed to rush under his management, that the king thought him deserving of a higher employment, in short, after passing through a variety of subordinate gradations the king conferred on him the office of treasurer, with the name of Bakhtyar, or fortunate. His influence with Azadbakht daily increased, and at last knew no bounds, the ten viziers beheld their authority rapidly declining, and, as viziers are always envious, malicious and intriguing, they resolved to take the first favourable opportunity of supplanting the young favourite. This was not long in presenting itself. The king's treasury was situated close to the queen's apartments: one day, contrary to

his custom, Bakhtyar had drank so much wine, that, unable to find his way from the treasury to his own house, he stumbled into the state chamber, and fell fast asleep on the king's bed. Azadbakht arrived some time after to lie down, when, horror of horrors! the king of Sistan found a man lying extended on the royal couch: and this man was Bakhtyar, the last whom he would have suspected of so enormous an offence. The criminal was instantly seized, but could give no account of how he came there: his guilt, however, was manifest: but was the queen an accessory to the crime? She was immediately summoned, and declared her total ignorance of the whole transaction: violent suspicions, however, were entertained of her innocence, and next day the king determined to investigate the affair. The viziers saw that their time was now come, and waiting privately on the queen, they represented to her, that the only method of exculpating herself, was to accuse Bakhtyar of a design on her virtue. Her scruples were overcome by their reasoning: her that Bakhtyar was a robber who should have been hanged long before, and that if it were wrong, they could take it upon themselves at the day of judgement. The queen accordingly preferred her accusation, and was in consequence acknowledged innocent. Bakhtyar could only protest his innocence, without bringing any account for the circumstances which were made against him. Every day one of the ten viziers applied to Azadbakht for an order for his execution, when the criminal being sent for, always related a story illustrating the advantages of patience and mature deliberation before the infliction of capital punishment. On the tenth day, when

the king still hesitated, notwithstanding he had heard ten stories, the viziers declared their resolution of quitting his majesty's dominions, if so flagrant a crime was allowed longer to pass unpunished. This was decisive, and Bakhtyar was led to the place of execution at this moment the robber who had adopted him, happened to pass, dressed in the gold brocade and emerald necklace which the infant was in when exposed. He and his followers prevailed by their intreaties and formidable appearance to stop the execution till the king should be applied to. Azadbakht paid little attention to the robber's arguments, but his eyes were riveted on the brocade and necklace, which he instantly recognised, and further inquiring, discovered the culprit to be his own son. The queen instantly declared that her false accusation was preferred at the instigation of the viziers, and they suffered the death they had prepared for Bakhtyar. The king resigned the throne to his son, who governed for many years with justice, wisdom, and generosity, as might be supposed.

The author and age of this work are both unknown, and certainly its merits are not such as to excite much curiosity. It were superfluous to state that sir William Ouseley's translation is correct and perspicuous, as a school book perhaps it should have been more literal. We may not, possibly, find a fitter opportunity for promulgating our sentiments on translations from the Orientals. In translating poetry, the idea should be seized, and clothed in equivalent graces in the English language; in historical compositions, the style

of the original should be completely disregarded for a perspicuous detail of facts, but in tales which will only be read by students, and were probably written for their use, too strict an adherence to the language of the original cannot be attempted.

These tales are less licentious than any Oriental tales which have come under our inspection, but we cannot say less dull. The translator observes, that "whatever opinion may be formed of them by the European reader, it appears that they are popular favourites among the Asiatics, from the number of copies which have been transcribed besides three in my own possession, I have seen five or six in the collection of various friends." In defence, however, of the Asiatic taste, it might be alleged, that most of our books come from Hindustan, where the Persian is a foreign language, the most of common books, therefore, will be school books, and adapted to the taste and capacity of children. In this way, unquestionably, the innumerable copies of the *Tuti Nama*, *Bakhtyar Nama*, and *Behar Danish*, is to be accounted for.

The ten stories contained in this collection seem all to be original, excepting the seventh, which is the same with the last of the *Tuti Nama*, but we know not whether our author or Nakhshehi was the plagiarist, nor whether the risarcissements of Nakhshehi's work may not include many tales besides those of his composition. Much praise is due to the accuracy of the Persian typography, we have remarked only one error, where the king of China is inadvertently substituted for king of Yemen.

OURNEX'HAT, (id est, Secretum Tegendum.) opus ipsa in India rarissimum, continent antiquam et arcanam, seu Theologicam et Philosophicam, doctrinam, e quatuor sacris Indiarum Libris Rak Beid, Dyedir Beid, Sam Beid, Aibirbau Beid, excerptam, adverbium, e Persico idiomate. Sanskreticis vocabulis intermixto, in Latinum conversum, Dissertationibus et Annotationibus, difficiliora explanantibus, illustratum Studio et opera ANQUETIL DUFERON, Indico-plensisæ, R. Inscript et humanæ litteræ Academiæ olim Pensionar et Directoris.—Parisius. Ec Ec 1801

THE venerable author of this translation (he is now in his 79th year) is already well known to the literary world by his various productions in Asiatic politics and literature. In the first volume of our Register we had occasion to call the attention of our readers to his publication on the politics and commerce of India as connected with Europe, and we then stated our general opinion of his talents and acquirements. The work now before us confirms the idea we entertained of the feebleness of his judgment, but we are happy to add, that it furnishes, at the same time, the most unequivocal proofs of his correct knowledge of the Persian language.

The Persian manuscript, of which this work is a version, was translated from the Sanscrit original by the order, and under the immediate inspection of Darashtuh, the eldest son of the Mogul emperor Shah Jehan. That benevolent but impolitic prince distinguished himself no less by an ardent zeal for the propagation of knowledge, than by the peculiar attention he bestowed in investigating the secret sources of the Hindu religion. Instead of mixing in the factious politics of his father's court, he repaired to Benares, where he devoted his time to the study and developement of

the mystic theology of the Brahmans. Having assembled all the Pundits most eminent for their learning, he employed them in communicating and explaining to him fifty one of the holy secrets of the Vedas, several of which were accordingly translated into Persian; but these translations were chiefly made from the verbal interpretation of the Pundits, and the text of the Veda was, therefore, most probably blended with different glosses, and even with the conversations of the expositors. Whilst Darashtuh was engaged in this pursuit, he was called upon by his father to take upon him the administration of government. Just, noble, and ingenious, he carried with him into the affairs of state the same tolerant principles and generous views that distinguished him as a scholar and a philosopher, and he not only admitted into his confidence people of all religious persuasions, but patronised the learned Brahmans, and rewarded them with peculiar munificence. This conduct was well calculated to promote the scheme of his brother Aurungzebe, who had long meditated the usurpation of the throne, and who disguised his criminal ambition under a fanatical zeal for the Mahomedan religion. With this specious pretext he awakened the fears of the pious

Moslems for the sake of their faith, and armed their prejudices against Dara, who, he persuaded them, designed to overturn them. For these mean that politic and sanguinary tyrants gained the affections of the people, and his father seated him self on his throne, and finally shed his usurper on the blood of his unoffending brother.

Such a melancholy circumstance of the life of this learned and useful prince, who still sits in heaven, seemed to unfold the mystics of the Brhmannical system. Patius labours have thrown his light on this abstruse subject. Of the different letters of the Veda which he mentions were by his directions translated into Persic, the only one that has hitherto been seen by any European, is the book which M. Anquetil has now presented to the public in a Latin version. This book is called, in Sanscrit, *an Up-nisada*, of which the literal signification is *arcana*. It is a word used by the Hindus to designate an epitome of the four Vedas. The Persian translator has corrupted the word to *Up-khat*, which M. Anquetil, by a strange blunder, translates *De rebus Tegen-dum*.

Of the Persian work we have in our possession a complete copy. It professes to be a translation from the Sanscrit of an Up-nisada, and is introduced by a preface, written by Darafrukh. We shall present our readers with an English translation of this preface from the original, not as it explains the motives which induced the royal author to undertake the work, and as it is the only part of it which they could peruse with any sort of interest, or from which they could derive the smallest information.

'In the name of God! the merciful, the compassionate

Praise to that Being whose antique mysteries are comprised by all inspired writers in the purple (Dissima) in the name of God, and thanksgiving which is the commencement of all books, in the sacred Koran refers to that dread name which includes the host of angels, the inspired scriptures, the prophets and the patriarchs.

"When Dara Shekch the resigned and illustrious of God visited Cahir in the year of the Hegira 10 A D 1641 by the blessing of the most high and the unlimited efficiency of his divine will he met with 'Isa Israh the chief of the learned and the excellent of teachers the instructor of instructors the guide of guides, virtuous in the duties of christianism, may he be joined with God!

As the great and ad, relish the pleasure of seeing the learners of our sect and of hearing the full and doctrine of christianism I procured various treasures of the holy scriptures, and even compelled some myself the trust of explaining the numerous discourses which are a precious treasure daily increased, and his mind and tongue of acute perceptions and subtilty could have been unobscured by the mud date of substance and variety of the world. Now the sacred Koran is not only obscure and few at this day, but you are capable of explaining the divine and to read all inspired works; that the word of God might furnish a commentary on itself, and which is correctly expressed in one book might be explained by a reference to others the abridged by the more diffus.

With this view he perused the pentateuch the gospels, and the psalms but the unity of God was obscurely and enigmatically expressed in these works nor did he derive more instruction from the simple translations of hired linguists.

"He next desired to ascertain how it happened that in Hindustan the unity of God is the frequent theme of discourse, and that the ancient philosophers of Hind, both those who published and those who concealed their tenets, neither denied nor objected to the doctrine of the divine unity but on the contrary held it as an axiom unlike the ignorant race of the present day, who set up for philosophers though they have fallen into the track of bloodshed and infidelity denying the attributes and unity of God, and contradicting the proofs of that doctrine derived

derived from the Koran and authentic traditions these may be considered as the banditti on the path of God

In the course of this inquiry it was discovered that amongst the Hindes several inspired books were held peculiarly sacred; viz the Rik Veda the Yajur Veda, the Sam Veda and the Atharva Veda, which he had deduced from the Scriptures to the prophet of the times, of whom Adam (said by God) may be thought attend him; was the chief estate in rules and precept, and this doctrine of the unity of God is clearly expressed in those books.

The essence of the works which relate to religious rite and meditation on the unity of God is contained in the Upanishads which was crystallized by the prophets of those days illustrated by copious commentaries and explanations and has always been read and studied as an excellent pitome.

As the object of his evolution of truth (Dara Sleeh) was not the acquisition of language with the Arabian Syriac, Iraqi or Sanskrit but the proofs of the unity of the Supreme Being, he determined that this Upanishad which might be considered as a future of Unitarianism should be translated into Persian without addition, or expunging and without bias or partiality but correctly and literally that it might appear as the mysteries are contained in those books which the Hindus so carefully conceal from Moslems.

As the duty of Benares which is the seat of Hindu science was a deep industry of this explorer of truth (Dara Shikoh) having assembled the Pandits and Sants who are now the exponents of the Vedas and Upanishads, he cauled a translation to be made of this Upanishad into a more obvious secret, which comprises the object of the researches of so many theologians. This was completed in an important manner in the year of the Hijra 1060 A.D 1656. Every difficulty and every fabulous doctrine which had occurred before but could not be explained was elucidated by this ancient copulation, which, without doubt, is the first of inspired works, the foundation of truth the sea of unitarianism not only contemporaneous with the Koran but a commentary upon it.

"It seems evident that the following text of the Koran relate to this ancient book, viz. "The holy scriptures are in that book which is concealed which none can expound but the man of pure heart,

and which was sent from the skies by the preserver of mankind. Now this designation is not applicable either to the psalms, the pentateuch nor the gospel and I omit the expression "sent from the skies" it cannot apply to the book of Job. But the *Upanishads*, the original of this book is a very ancient work a mysterious fire and comprehends all the education of India that is left which doubtless refer to a knowledge of the power of God known and made good that he is a universal and omnipotent being. But the history of the earth is a lesson from it to his faithful servants and free to let the faithful attend upon having it as his gift and the pleasure of his children in his hands. It is for the people the translation of the great teaching of the world of God and if he understands he will remain free from error and anxiety, in the perpetual presence of virtue.

On this the first is attributed to this learned prince. But whether it in reality contains his genuine sentiments, limits of time doubt. The work was not promulgated in Hindustan, until after his assassination, when Aurungzbe possessed the undisputed sovereignty of the empire. It is therefore probable that it was done with the consent of the usurper, who always showed an extreme ill-attitude to justice, nor to put it to his conduct towards Dara, I need not attempt to prove the charge of apostasy when he had brought it into full light before the world. As it is not fair to apply, to the *Mahomedans* an love to equity, would be more anxious to render it agreeable to the wishes of their master, than to preserve the genuineness of the original? And this supposition receive additional weight, from the internal evidence which the preface itself exhibits, for nothing could be more suitable to the wishes of Aurungzbe, than the manifest bias which it shews in favour of the *Yahus*. On the other hand, it must be allowed that such sentiments,

though they would evince the imprudence and the impolicy, are not incompatible with the character of Dara. He was an advocate for the universal toleration of religious opinions, and had consequently absolved his mind of all the restraints and prejudices of the Moslem faith. To unravel the theological subtilties of the Brahmins, was the principal object of his ambition, and an ardent mind might imperceptibly acquire a bias for doctrines, which constantly engaged its attention.

But whatever might have been the sentiments of Dara on this subject, it is certain, that the Persian translation of the Upanishada, which is now extant, and which we are called upon to review, serves in no degree to elucidate the mysteries of the Hindu system. It consists of fables often absurd, and always puerile, in which some of the known tenets of the Vedas are occasionally discernable, in the midst of the most profound nonsense. Whether these fables be extracted from the Vedas, we are not prepared to determine; they bear no sort of resemblance to those extracts from the Vedas, which Sir William Jones has communicated to the world*, they are replete with the interpolations of the Mahomedan translator, and the Sanscrit names are all erroneously written. The Persian translator, indeed, betrays a determined intention of reconciling the Upanishada with the Koran. In order to satisfy the learned reader on this point, it will be sufficient to state, that *Brahma* is, in one place, called *Adam*, and in another the angel *Gabriel*, *Ygmu* is said to be *Michael*, and *Mahadeva*, *Raphael*.

We conceive our readers would

derive no information from an analysis of such a work as this. They already know, from the valuable writings of Sir William Jones†, that the Vedas contain the rude metaphysics and primeval doctrines of the ancient Brahmins, together with a minute account of the religious rites and ceremonial observances that have been established amongst the Hindu people, as well as of the incantations, which are by them supposed to operate as a specific for all the calamities incident to human life. It is likewise known, that the promulgation of the Vedas is referred by the tradition of the Brahmins to the remotest antiquity, and that they were arranged and divided into four portions by *Crisna*, who, on that account, obtained the name of *Vyasa*, or the *Divine*. A genuine abridgement of the Vedas, in the Sanscrit language, comprising the substance of all these particulars, would undoubtedly be a work of some value, and much curiosity, but the production of Dara Shucub, neither furnishes any new facts on the subject, nor illustrates those which are already known.

M. Anquetil is, however, of a different opinion, he has bestowed many years in translating this work, and he has introduced it to the public, in a style of importance proportioned to his labour. In his prefatory "Advice to the Reader" — he says—"Hoc opus non faciem dixerim orbis erit dito oblatam, qua tenebræ circa præmordia generis humani, religionum et opinionum procul pellantur, sed scintillam, que in cinerem perit frigidam collapsa, ignem excitet et accendat ab ortu mundi septuaginta novisque sapientia primæ Entis hominisque natura,

"tura, orbis fabricatione, temporis
"divisione, antiquarum nationum
"chronologia, scientiæ moralis
"principis naturalibus, aliisque
"notionibus ad philosophiam spec
"tantibus, testandis laboribus in
"Europa anam præbeat"

We sincerely sympathise with him, however in his concluding apostrophe; and cannot but admire the calm fortitude which enabled this venerable scholar to pursue his harmless studies in the midst of the revolutionary tempest that overwhelmed his country.

"Fru-
"dite Lector, says he, "hæc
"scripti sub æscia, dum spissantibus,
"morte gravis, ori Franciæ,
"heu! quondam splendido, retrum
"livorum suffendebat. Is frueri,
"seni indulgens, prudem viatori,
"qui, nec carcerum, nec ultionum
"fati ictum reformidans, internis
"conclusa præcordiis premere au
"det, cum veritatis et religionis
"honos, patriæ salus, hominis cu
"jusbet hostis etiam commodum,
"id postulare videntur!"

To his version of the Upanishada, he has prefixed a prolix dissertation, comprising the opinions of some of the heathen philosophers, the Jewish rabbins, and several of the Christian divines, together with the doctrines of the religious systems of Asia, in respect to the four following points, namely,

"1^{mo} Ens supremum, ejus natura
"et proprietates,"
"2^{do} Rerum productio, per ema-
"nationem, aut creationem,"
"3^{to}, Existentia mundi super
"naturalis intelligibilis, hoc mun-
"do sensibili longe antiquioris,
"4^{to} Cœli seu astrorum integram
"et corpora influxus"

But on these sublime topics of metaphysical theology, M. Anquetil does nothing more than bring together a variety of quotations

from well known writers, which are not only often discordant, but which do not lead to any definite conclusion. His own observations are thinly interspersed, and only serve to shew, that the subject he labours to investigate, is altogether beyond his comprehension.

Of his translation, we are happy to say, that it exhibits very sufficient proofs of his intimate acquaintance with the Persian language, though, by injudiciously attempting to render it literal, he has greatly added to the confusion and absurdity of the original text. Finding, from the contrariety of the Persian and Latin idioms, that it was impossible to make his version a once strict and grammatical, or even intelligible, he has inserted, within parenthesis, the proper forms of expression. The Sanscrit words, which in the Persian manuscript are written in red ink, he has introduced literally into the translation; and in order to supersede the necessity of changing them to the Latin inflections, he has uniformly marked their case by the Greek article, so that the context is diversified throughout with a motley display of Persian, Arabic, Sanscrit, Greek and Latin words.

It only remains to notice one thing more which not a little surprised us. The learned author informs the public, that he derived considerable assistance, in the execution of this laborious work, from his knowledge of the Sanscrit, of which he intends to publish a dictionary, yet, in almost every page, he betrays great ignorance of that language. We shall endeavour to shew, that the Sanscrit words, in his text, are only known to him through the medium of the Persian character. For instance, in the Devanagari alphabet, the sound of

G and of k have each a distinct representation whereas, in Persian they are represented by the same character hence GAVAGANI is written, KAPLESANI, GARCA, KARAK, GANDHARVA, KAHAKHERB, and so forth. In the next place the short vowels are omitted in the Persian, but, in the Divanigari, they are distinctly represented hence the RIK VEDA, is RAK the JAGUR, DIDJR, &c. The

diacritical points are frequently omitted hence BUDYA, knownledge is BADIA, VARUNA, the Indian Neptune, is BARAN. Numerous other examples might be adduced, but these we apprehend will be sufficient to prove that Manuquid has, at least, not availed himself of the knowledge which he professes to have of the Sanscrit language, in his version of the Upanisada.

ASIATIC RESEARCHES or TRANSACTIONS of the SOCIETY instituted in BENGAL, for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia. Vol. 6. 1801

Since the death of sir William Jones, two volumes have been published of the researches of this learned society, that was instituted at his suggestion and that flourished under his presiding influence. As the first of these appeared before the commencement of our work, it did not fall within our province to review it, but extracts from some of its most valuable papers will be found in the miscellaneous department of our preceding volumes. In our Register for the year 1800, we inserted entire, four of the most interesting tracts in the volume now before us. It will not, therefore, be necessary to give any thing more than a general character of these performances. Some of the other papers contain valuable information, but we are sorry to find in one or two of them, various hypotheses confidently advanced, with a view to invalidate the result of the former researches of the society in Hindu literature, without being supported by any other evidence than perversions of historical facts, improbable conjectures, and

fallacious arguments. We proceed to consider the different articles in the order in which they appear.

I

A Discourse delivered at a Meeting of the Asiatic Society, on the 18th of January 1798, by Sir ROBERT CHAMBERS, President.

Upon the resignation of lord Teignmouth, the learned author of this discourse was elected president of the society. In a short address, he made a few just observations on the extent and variety of the acquirements requisite for the station, on the great learning and talents of the first illustrious president, and on the attainments of his immediate predecessor in Oriental literature. He then states with much modesty, his own disqualifications, expresses the little hope he entertained of being able, at the age of sixty, to add any thing to the slight knowledge he possessed of Asiatic languages and literature; but assures the society that he would, at least endeavour to stimulate others

to the pursuit of those important objects

II.

Narrative of a Journey from Agra to Oujin in By WILLIAM HUNTER, Esq

[See this Article in the Second Volume of our Work, Miscellaneous Tracts, page 27.]

This sensible narrative gives a very pleasing and instructive account of the city of Cajeir, now the capital of the dominions of Sindher, the Mahratta prince. It likewise compiles a description of the country of the Boudels, a hardy race, whom the Mahrattas have hitherto been unable to subdue. Our traveller returned from Oujin by a different route from that by which he went thither, so that he traversed a considerable part of the extensive province of Malwa, and has thereby furnished some useful geographical and topographical information.

The ancient city of Oujin, called in the Puranas, Ujjaini and Avanti, is celebrated in Hindu story, as the place at which Viceri maditya held his court: hence it was probably fixed upon as the first meridian, by the Hindu astronomers and geographers. Mr Hunter informs us, that the site of that magnificent city is about a mile from the modern metropolis, and that, by digging eighteen feet, the ruins are discovered, consisting of an entire wall, and some columns yet unbroken. The vulgar tradition is, that the town was buried by a shower of earth: and it is remarkable that there are no vol canoes in its vicinity. The ruins of Ujjaini would seem, therefore, to have been produced by an earthquake, though that dreadful phenomenon being little known in Hin-

dustan and the circumstance of the columns being still entire furnish arguments against this supposition. For an account of the present city, we refer our readers to Mr Hunter's journal.

III.

Of the Inhabitants of the Pogy Islands, lying off Sumatra By JOHN CRISP, Esq

Along the west coast of Sumatra, at the distance of twenty five leagues from the shore, a chain of islands extends a considerable way, of which those known by the name of the Naisau or Pogy Islands form a principal part. The northern extremity of these islands lies in latitude $2^{\circ} 15'$ north, and the southern in $3^{\circ} 10'$ south. The northern and southern islands are separated by a strait, about a quarter of a mile in breadth, the longitude of which is $100^{\circ} 30'$ east from Greenwich. The depth of water in this strait is from twenty five to forty fathoms, a circumstance which renders it very difficult to pass. The high land of Sumatra is discernible from ships at anchor in this strait. The general aspect of the country, like that of Sumatra, is mountainous and woody, presenting much bold and romantic scenery. The woods abound with a species of the poon, which admirably adapted for ships' masts, and which is used by the shipbuilders in Calcutta for that purpose. The plants of these islands are the same as those of Sumatra. The sago constitutes a favourite food of the inhabitants. All the variety of tropical fruits, and the *mungus* of the other Malay islands abound here. The chief quadrupeds are, red deer, wild hogs, and several species of the monkey: there are no tigers or other beasts of prey.

The

The Pogy islands contain about 1400 inhabitants. Their houses are built of bamboos, and raised on posts. Their clothing consists of a covering made of the bark of a tree, worn round the waist, and brought across between the thighs. Beads and similar ornaments are worn round the neck. The women, like the men, wear a small piece of cloth round their middles. "Amongst them," says Mr. Crisp, "we observed some of a very pleasant countenance, with fine expressive eyes. Mr. Best, a military gentleman, with whose company I was favoured, went up to one of the villages, attended only by a Malay interpreter. He was received with great cordiality and civility, and ~~staid~~ two nights in the village. The people are divided into small tribes, each of which occupies a separate village. The author does not, however, particularize the number of tribes, and we must confess, it does not appear very probable, that in so small and rude a society, any artificial arrangement, such as he describes, can exist. Some other circumstances which he mentions, serve to increase our doubts on this head. These people have no regular form of religious worship, nor any idea of a future state. Their religion consists in propitiating the sun and moon, thunder and lightning, &c. by certain rites, such as the sacrifice of a hog or a fowl, whenever their fears are awakened by sickness or any calamitous circumstance. Their chiefs are little distinguished from the rest of the community, either by authority or property. Their pre-eminence is for the most part displayed at entertainments, at which they always preside. They

have no judicial powers whatever; disputes are settled, and crimes adjudged, by the decision of the whole inhabitants of a village, who assemble together for that purpose. The inhabitants have no property but their huts, and their weapons, which, according to usage, descends to their male children. Marriages are settled between the parents of the young persons, as in all other eastern nations, at the celebration of the nuptials, a hog is killed. Polygamy is not allowed. In cases of adultery, when the wife offends, the husband has a right to seize the effects of the paramour, when the husband offends, the wife has a right to quit him, and return to her parents; but she is not allowed to marry another. No disgrace attaches to an unmarried woman who commits fornication, "on the contrary, she is liked the better for it, and more desired in marriage for having borne a child, sometimes they have two or three, when, upon a marriage taking place, the children are placed under the charge of the parents of their mother. These circumstances sufficiently indicate a people in the very beginnings of civilization, and we are, therefore, disposed to infer, that the tribes our author speaks of, are only families, of which the men he calls the chiefs, are the elders; that these families manage their domestic economy, according to their own discretion, without any general rules and that the only principle of union amongst them, is self-defence against foreign aggression. The people called *Vadas*, (*Vuada* is a Sanscrit word signifying *wild people*,) who inhabit the central mountains of Sumatra*,

of

* These people are not described by Mr. Marsden. At the time he left Sumatra we believe, they were little known. In 1793 the late Mr. Hiram Cox and Doctor Ch. Ellis

of Java, of Ceylon, and of most of the Indian islands, exhibit many points of resemblance to the natives of the Pogy islands. Not only in their persons, but in their habits and customs, there appears to be a great affinity. The mountaineers of Sumatra live in families, over each of which the oldest man presides, they have no property, except their dress and weapons, marriage is established amongst them, but female chastity in unmarried women is not held in estimation they worship the heavenly bodies, and thunder and lightning, but they have no notion whatever of the immortality of the soul. With respect to dress, the manufacture which they use is like that worn by other tribes of Sumatras, and Mr Mariden has remarked, "that the original cloathing of the Sumatrans is nearly the same with the Otahitean cloth described by Cook, &c

These facts will serve to illustrate Mr Crisp's observation, "that the inhabitants of the Pogy islands resemble those of the islands of the Pacific Ocean," and will, at the same time, satisfy our readers, that notwithstanding the dissimilarity stated by him between these people and the principal nations of Sumatra, the former, in all probability, derived their descent from the Aboriginal inhabitants of that island.

IV

Observations on the Theory of Wells, wherein some Particulars are investigated, which have not been considered by Writers

on Fortification. By WILLIAM LAMBTON, Lieutenant in his Majesty's 83d Regiment of Foot.

As this paper does not relate to any of the objects which it is the purpose of the society to investigate, and which it is our peculiar province to review, the ingenious author will pardon us for not entering into the merits of his performance. We shall, therefore, only state the result of his observations. He is of opinion that the tenacity of the masonry in the line where the wall is supposed to break off, has not been sufficiently considered by engineers, and that the force necessary to sustain a certain mass of earth, has thereby been over rated. He exhibits a formula for obtaining what he thinks a juster measure, and, in order to ascertain the real value of his theory, he proposes to make various experiments with masses of masonry, from one to four or five years standing. This is undoubtedly a matter of importance in the science of fortification, and the principles maintained by Mr Lambton, merit the attention of engineers.

V

On the Poison of Serpents By WM BOAG, Esq

[This Paper will be found in our Second Volume, Miscellaneous Tracts, page 320.]

It was proved by Fontana, from the result of various experiments, that the *lunar caustic* was an infallible cure for the bite of serpents. He was led to the use of this remedy by no previous theory, for neither

Charles Campbell travelled through the central mountains of the island at the imminent hazard of their lives. It was, from frequent conversations with these gentlemen that we derived our information on this point. We hope in a few years to see a complete account of the various tribes that inhabit this interesting island from the pen of Doctor Campbell, who is well qualified to delineate their characters with equal accuracy and spirit.

ther before, no after his discovery does he attempt to account for its effects. Mr Boag explains the principle on which he supposes the cure to proceed, and after an attentive examination of his theory, it appears to be perfectly correct. Oxygen is a principle which enters into the composition of the blood, and performs an important part in the animal economy. The disease produced by the bite of a serpent arises from the subtraction of oxygen from the blood, the induction of cure must therefore be to supply the oxygen which we suppose to be withdrawn. To accomplish this, substances must be applied which are the most impregnated with oxygen, and which can transfuse it into the blood with the greatest facility, and these are precisely the virtues of the *lunar caustic*. Such are the general principles of his theory, but in the experiments by which he endeavoured to establish it, he has not been fortunate for all the animals bit on by a *cobra de capello* (the only snake he used) died, notwithstanding the instantaneous application of the *lunar caustic*, except one or two, in which the venom had been previously exhausted by repeated incisions. We hope, however, that Mr Boag will not be discouraged by these failures, but persevere in his experiments, the success of which would be attended with such universal utility in Hindustan.

VI

An Account of the Petroleum Wells in the Burman Dominions, extracted from the Journal of a Voyage from Rangoon, up the River Irrawaddy to Amarapura, the Capital of the Burman Empire By Captain HIRAM COX, Resident at Rangoon.

[This Paper will be found in our Second Volume Miscellaneous Tracts, p. 315.]

In consequence of the successful mission of Colonel Syme to the court of Amarapura, it was deemed expedient by the British government in Bengal, to send a commercial resident to Rangoon, and Captain Cox was chosen as a fit person to fill that station. During his residence in the Burman empire, he collected some useful information, of which his death prevented the arrangement and publication. The Petroleum Wells are described by Colonel Syme, in the Journal of his Embassy, but Captain Cox has supplied some additional information relative to a few interesting particulars. He has ascertained the existence of a stratum of coal, possessing all the properties of coal-tar, "so that nature produces, in the bowels of the earth, for the Burmese, that for which European nations are indebted to the ingenuity of lord Dunderdonald.

VII

On the Maximum of Mechanical Powers, and the Effects of Machines when in Motion By Lieut WILLIAM LAMSTON, of his Majesty's 13th Reg't.

The same reason that induced us to notice Mr Lamston's former production, in a casual and general manner, prevents us from examining the various mathematical calculations which he has brought forward in the present paper. He states, "that mathematicians, in treating of mechanics, have in general drawn their conclusions from considering the weights and power in a state of equilibrium, and have deduced their proportions from the respective distances of each from the centre of motion, or from what the velocities would be, were they put in a mov-

a moving state but he is of opinion, that in the actual application of any machine, whether simple or compound, there will be a certain ratio or proportion between the weight and power, so that in any given time the effect may be the greatest possible. The object of his inquiry, therefore, is to ascertain the precise effects of such powers as are of the most general use in the construction of machinery, such as the lever, the wheel, and the axle.

VIII

✓ *On the Religion and Literature of the Burmans* By FRANCIS BUCHANAN M.D.

Doctor Buchanan accompanied Colonel Symes's embassy to Ava in the situation of surgeon. His acknowledged abilities, as a naturalist pointed out the propriety of placing him in a situation in which he might exercise them with much advantage to science, by investigating the physical history of a country, at the period almost unknown. But unfortunately for the public and still more so for himself, instead of employing his time exclusively during his residence in the Burman empire in examining its natural productions he chiefly devoted his attention to the study of the vernacular language, the religion, and literature of its inhabitants. These objects are indeed of infinite importance, but they were not likely to receive much elucidation from Doctor Buchanan, who himself informs us, "that he is totally unacquainted with the learned languages of Asia, and that he remained too short a period amongst the Burmans to acquire any knowledge of the idiom in which their books are composed." Nevertheless he has thought his inquiries respecting their religion and literature of

sufficient value to present the result of them to an Asiatic society. And in order to enliven the tediousness of his dissertation, and to entertain, since he could not instruct his readers, he has advanced various hypotheses, that are at least calculated to attract notice from their novelty, and from the confidence with which they are urged, if not to gain converts by the ingenuity and speciousness of the arguments by which they are supported. To these we shall in the first instance advert. The following analysis will be found to contain all the principal parts of Doctor Buchanan's system —

"The superstition of Buddha or Gotama, as it is now established in the Burman empire, prevailed over all India, so late as the second century after the birth of Christ. About that period the Brahmans, who originally migrated from Egypt, introduced themselves and their religion into Northern Hindustan. They probably left Egypt on account of the persecution of the priest, by Cambyse. At the time of Christ they had gained a superiority over the worshippers of Paddha, but it was not till nine hundred years afterwards that they entirely overthrew his doctrine in its native country. Yet whilst they substituted their own dogmas, they actually retained all the principal facts known to the priests of Paddha, of Indian history and science. They likewise adopted all the idle and ridiculous legends of the sect whom they superseded, but they *"monstrously aggravated"* all the defects of these legends. "Rajahs they converted into gods, and impossibilities they heaped on impossibilities." — And, in order to conceal their origin, the "cunning Brahmans have carefully destroyed all

all the real monuments of Indian antiquity those which they now shew are spurious productions of their own invention. The sway of the Brahmans has been highly injurious to Hindustan no useful science have they diffused amongst their followers, history they have totally abolished, morality they have depressed to the utmost, and the dignity and power of the *altar* they have erected on the ruins of the state, and the rights of the subject. — To this system, however, our author admits, that the cosmography of the Brahmans furnishes a strong objection. "But," says he, "a solution of this difficulty may be given. We may readily suppose the Brahmans to have been a colony of Egyptians, who formed their first establishment in the vicinity of Bombay, and by degrees engrafted their superstition on the ignorance of the Hindus, adapting the African deities, and mystical philosophy, to the Asiatic fables, and carefully introducing the Egyptian cast and ceremonies with all their dreadful consequences." — Yet what is this but getting rid of a fair objection to one improbable conjecture, by advancing another still more improbable? Such a mode of reasoning leads one to imagine, that our author's antipathy to the Brahmans arises from a jealousy of their superior skill, in "*beating impossibilities on improbabilities*." Neither of his conjectures respecting the Egyptian origin of the Brahmans is supported by any sort of evidence. The striking affinity between the mythological systems of the Hindus and Egyptians, and the mention made in the *Scanda Puran* of Nila, a sacred river in Coshia Dwip, induced sir William Jones to hint at the probability of those systems hav-

ing had a common origin. The learned and ingenious Mr Wilford has endeavoured to prove, that the *Misra* of the Purans is actually Egypt and upon this he has founded his celebrated hypothesis of the emigration from Hindustan to that country, which he supports with much ingenuity, and very uncommon learning, but the result of the vast mass of evidence which he has adduced, proves nothing more than that the ancient Hindus had some knowledge of the countries situated on the banks of the Nile. Doctor Buchanan, in a bolder spirit of conjecture, not only ventures to maintain the converse of Mr Wilford's theory, but attempts to fix the era of the introduction of the Brahminical religion into Hindustan. This last point he labours to substantiate by the following arguments. "When the emperor Akbar conquered Cashmir, he was presented with a history of that country, which he caused to be translated into Persian and of this translation an abridgement has been preserved by Abul Fazil, in the *Ayeen Akbary*. This abridgement informs us, that when Cashmir was freed from an inundation, *Kasyapa* (it should be *Cassypa*) brought the Brahmans to inhabit the new land after a long time the inhabitants elected a man celebrated for his virtue to be their king. The name of the first successor to this king was *Orungund* (*Uengund*) who was a cotemporary with *Kasyapa*, (it should be *Casyapa*, the eighth incarnation of the deity). From Uengund to Cotadevi, the last native ruler, this history reckons 159 princes, and Cotadevi was succeeded by a Mahomedan prince Shamseddin, in the year 1342 of our era. It appears from the history that these 159 princes reigned an astonish-

ing length of time: but no number of years is assigned for the reign of the first 53 princes, and only 18 of them are named of the next 53 princes, one reigned 300 years, and all the others an incredible length of time. The safest rule in this case is to take the last three dynasties as a guide, and these give us 52 princes in 504 years, which is not quite ten years to a reign, and that is as much as ought to be admitted in eastern dynasties, where oppression *always* paves the way for revolt, where the line of succession is not clearly defined, and where an old uncle in most cases supplants the infant nephew. On this *supposition* of ten years for a reign, Uengund and Crina will be placed in the year before Christ 248. Now the Brahmans taken to Cashmir by Cassyapa could not be the Brahman sect of priests, as they cultivated the earth, and were the only inhabitants of the country, but they *must have been* one of the Brahman nations, several of whom, according to Pliny, were dispersed over India, and these again the doctor "*conjectures* to be the same with the Biamma of the Burman Rahans, because the Biamma are by them called the first inhabitants of the earth." "That this *must* be the meaning of the history of Cashmir seems plain, for, Rajah Ferneeb, (*Janaca*) the 46th prince, and who, according to my theory, lived about the year of Christ 202, *established in his reign the Brahmany rites*, and his successor Jelouk *tolerated the doctrine of Buddha*, and it was not till A D 342 that the Brahmans vanquished the followers of Buddha, and destroyed their temples."

Such is the reasoning by which Doctor Buchanan strives to explode the received opinions respecting the

antiquity of the Brahmanical system, that are founded on the prevalent traditions of the western nations of Asia, as well as of Hindustan, on the concurrent testimony of the sacred books of the Hindus, and the fragments of the journal of Megasthenes, preserved by Arrian, and on the profound researches and cautious investigations of sir William Jones. Were we to admit the correctness of the historical facts, as stated by our author, we should shew that his reasoning is presumptive and conjectural, and his inferences altogether inconclusive. But we shall demonstrate, that the passages he quotes from Abul Fazil are either misstated or perverted, and that the very history to which he appeals in support of his hypothesis, furnishes the most decisive evidence against it. We submit to our readers a literal translation from the Persian original of all the passages in Abul Fazil's abridgement of the Cashmirian history, to which Doctor Buchanan adverts.

"1. When the water that covered the vale of Cashmir had partly subsided, Cassyapa, a saint of great renown, carried thither a great many Brahmans. When the population of the country became numerous, it appeared essential to choose a ruler. Accordingly the wise and experienced assembled for that purpose, and selected the most distinguished amongst them for that station, &c. * * * * *

"2. When the regal power devolved on Aloca, the uncle's son of Rajah Janaca, *he abjured the religion of the Brahmans, and adopted that of Jina, or Buddha, to which he continued constantly attached*. His son Rajah Jeluk was respected as a just prince, he subdued the adjacent country as far as the sea, he procured from Canay, then

then the principal city of Hindustan, seven learned Brahmins, whom he appointed to the chief offices in his kingdom. The Hindus relate several wonderful adventures of this prince. In his reign the religion of Buddha continued to acquire an ascendancy.

* * * * *

"1. In the reign of Rajah Nerka the worship of Buddha was proscribed, and his temples levelled with the ground, &c. &c.

In another place Abul Fazl states "*one hundred and thirty eight princes*" to have reigned between Uengund and Coradert. He also states, that Calapa was himself a Brahman, and it is evident, from the first passage above cited that he introduced the Brahman priests into Cashmir, not for the purpose of cultivating the land, as Doctor Buchanan asserts, but for that of choosing a king. The doctor's calculation, which reduces to *ten years* the average reigns in Asiatic dynasties, is entirely fanciful, and is not justified by the history of any oriental nation with which we are acquainted. Had he examined Ferishta, and the subsequent historians of Hindustan he would have found, that notwithstanding the civil commotion and foreign warfare, which unceasingly prevailed whilst the Afghan dynasty sat on the throne of Delhi, the princes of that family reigned, on an average, *sixteen years*, that the princes of the house of Timur, from the elevation of Baber, to the death of Aurungzebe, reigned, on an average, *thirty five years*, and that even amidst the distraction which has existed since the accession of Mahommed Shah, the reigns of his descendants furnish an average of *twenty years*. If, therefore, we take the history of these dynasties as a criterion, twenty years to a reign may be

allowed as a general average, and upon that estimate it appears, that Uengund reigned 2018 years before Christ, which, according to the William Jones's chronology, is the era of his contemporary Christa. With regard to the proscription of the religion of Buddha in Cashmir, our author asserts, that it took place in A. D. 310. Yet the historian, whom he takes as his guide in this discussion, informs us, that many centuries subsequent to that event, Cashmir was conquered by Virramaditya. Now, as all our Indian antiquaries agree in placing the reign of that monarch in the first century before Christ, Doctor Buchanan is bound, either to disprove their calculations, or to admit his own to be totally fallacious.

These observations, together with the passages we have translated from Abul Fazl, will enable our readers to judge of the accuracy of Doctor Buchanan's statements, and to appreciate the value of his researches. But as he must have consulted Mr Gladwin's translation of Abul Fazl, and as that translation, though a work of considerable merit, is confessedly defective in some parts, we shall examine what allowance he is entitled to claim from the mistakes of his authority. The most material sentence quoted by the doctor, is that which relates to Rajah Janaca, or Jenneh. "*Rajah jenneh,*" says he, "*the forty fifth prince, and who, according to my theory, must have lived about the year of Christ 202, established in his reign the Brahmany rites.*" Now the sentence in Mr Gladwin's translation, from which he takes this alleged fact, is *whatum* as follows—"*Alphawg, (that is Asaca,) the nephew of Rajah Jenneh, established*"

ed during his reign, the Brahmany rites, and substituted in their stead, those of Jven, (that is Jina or Buddha) The mistake here is so obvious, that it seems hardly possible any person of common sense should have been misled by it for the sentence will admit of no meaning whatever, unless the word *abolished*, or some synonymous term, be put in place of *established*. That this is an oversight of Mr Gladwin there can be no doubt, not only because the sentence as it stands is mere nonsense, but because the word *abolished* is the literal signification of the Persian original. Whether the learned doctor, in reading this sentence, was really blinded by the prejudice which he has imbibed against the Brahmins, or whether he intentionally perverted its evident meaning, in order to assist the construction of his favourite hypothesis, we shall leave our readers to determine.

That the superstition of Buddha had at one time acquired an extensive ascendancy throughout Hindustan, particularly in the peninsula, is a fact admitted by the Brahmins themselves, and proved by its being still the prevailing worship in the island of Ceylon, as well as amongst many of the tribes who inhabit the mountainous tracts of Mysore and the Carnatic, but that the Brahmanical religion had previously been established in those countries, appears uncontested from the towns and villages being in the present day all named after the Hindu deities, and from the numerous ruins of Brahman temples that still remain, on which the sculptured figures of those deities are distinctly seen. The evidence of these facts is in no degree invalidated by the ingenious arguments of the late learn-

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ed Mr. William Chambers, in his account of the ruins at Mavalipuram; for his arguments only prove what is perfectly reconcilable with our opinion, namely, that so late as the ninth century of the Christian era many of the nations of the peninsula were worshippers of Buddha, and likewise that one of the inscriptions at Mavalipuram is in a character which is not only unintelligible to the present race of Brahmins, but which bears not any resemblance to any character hitherto discovered, except the Balic, in which the sacred language of the Siamese is written. But, as the sculptures which adorn the walls of those Pagodas, represent the Brahmanical deities, as well as the personages celebrated in the Sanscrit poem of the Mahabharat, which the Brahmins consider as sacred; and as these sculptures, which we have ourselves minutely inspected, bear every appearance of having been executed at the same period with the buildings and excavations, the single inscription in an unknown character, instead of furnishing any evidence against the antiquity of the Brahmanical system, proves indisputably, that the temples at Mavalipuram, raised in honour of that system, are the production of a very remote age. Nor is the justness of this inference at all lessened by the character of the inscription being now unintelligible; for that circumstance proves nothing more than that a particular alphabet, once used by the ancient inhabitants of the Carnatic, who, by the deities they worshipped, must have been Brahmins, has in a long succession of ages become at first obsolete, and thereby, in the usual course of things, at last altogether unknown. These points admit of the fullest demonstration, were this a

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fit occasion for discussing the subject at large.

With respect to northern Hindustan, it is sufficient for our present purpose to state, that the most satisfactory evidence is now before the public, of the Brahmanical system, with its division of castes, being established there, as completely as it is in the present day, at the period of the invasion of Alexander, 20 years before the birth of Christ. The extracts which Mr Wilford has translated from an historical Drama in Sanscrit, intitled "the Mudra Râchasa, (*see Mr Wilford's Dissertation on the Chronology of the Hindus, Asiatic Researches, vol. 5*) furnish decisive proofs, that Chandragupta, king of Prachi and Magada, mentioned in the Vishnu Purân, is the Σανδράγου τον τρυφον βασιλέα described both by Strabo and Arrian, on the authority of Megasthenes, who resided seven years at his court. The account given by these historians of the character of that monarch, as well as of his people, and of his capital of Παλιμπόλις, called by the Hindus Bahuputra, corresponds so exactly with the stories in the Mudra Râchasa, that the accuracy of the Grecian narrations cannot reasonably be questioned. On the other hand, the description given in the Mudra Râchasa, of the Yavans, answers so completely to the Greeks in every material point, that either the drama itself, or the stories on which it is founded, must have been composed, if not in the reign, at least in the age of Chandragupta. The accuracy of Strabo and Arrian in these particulars, being thus attested, their authority in all the rest of the information which they give respecting India, is entitled to much additional credit. Now both these

writers state, that in the time of Megasthenes (290 years before the birth of Christ) the religion of Brahma universally prevailed throughout all the countries situated between the rivers Indus and Ganges, that according to the tradition amongst the Brahman priests and philosophers, their religious system had been immemorially established in India, and that Crisna, whom they call Κρίσνα, was then worshipped at Μεθόρα, on the river Ινδός, by which is meant Mathura, on the river Jumna, where Crisna is worshipped in the present day. Yet in the face of this evidence, Dr Buchanan ventures to assert, that the Brahmanical religion was first introduced into Hindustan about the second century before the Christian era. The doctor complains of his want of books, and intreats the indulgence of his learned readers on that account. But was he under the indispensable necessity of presenting his dissertation to the society at a particular period? or was he impatient to impart to the world the mighty discoveries he had made amongst the Barman priests? Prudence at least should have taught him to pay more respect to his readers, than to attempt to explode received opinions respecting a system of theology, which has engaged the attention of the most distinguished philosophers and historians of every age, without previously consulting all the authorities and evidence on which those opinions are founded. Had he requested some friend in Calcutta to procure for him a copy of Arrian, he might have saved himself the trouble of floundering for a recondite meaning in the *vita multi partita* of Pliny, when the real one was sufficiently obvious. *Namque, says Pliny,*

Pliny, *vis a mitioribus populis In
dorum multis partibus degitur*, &c
&c For the remainder of the pas-
sage we refer our readers to Pliny's
Nat Hist l b c 17. But in Ar-
rian's *Indica*, he would have found
an account of the different casts of
the Hindus, so plain and perspi-
cuous, that neither dulness could
mistake, nor ingenuity pervert it.

We refer our readers to the pas-
sage beginning with—*Ἰνδοὶ δὲ
οὗτοι αὖτε οὐκ ἔστιν ἑνὶ γένει, ἀλλὰ
πολλοὶ καὶ ἕτεροι*—*Ἰνδοὶ*
ἔστιν ἡμεῖς ἰστέον γένος, &c. The
facts which this passage contains,
are likewise mentioned in the 15th
book of Strabo and in a cursory
manner by Diodorus Siculus, by
Justin, on the authority of Trogus
Pompeius, and by Plutarch, in his
Life of Alexander.

Doctor Buchanan's observation,
that the "Brahmanical system has
been more injurious to morality
than any other ever invented by the
craft of designing men," is com-
pletely falsified, not only by the
fragments of the Journal of Vegas
thames, cited by Strabo and Arrian,
but even by the Mussulman histo-
rians, all of whom agree in prais-
ing the flourishing condition of
Hindustan, under the government of
its native princes, the immense
wealth of its inhabitants, the mild-
ness and politeness of their manners,
the considerable acquirements which
they had made in science, the regu-
larity with which justice was ad-
ministered amongst them, and the
good order which universally pre-
vailed. But the drama of Sacontala
affords the most indubitable
testimony, that the Hindu people
were susceptible of the beauties of
moral sentiment, and the sym-
ptoms of delicate love, at the period
at which it was composed. That
people must have attained a consider-

able degree of refinement, who
could admire the elegant dialogues
between Dushmanta and Sacontala.
With regard to the present race of
Hindus, every man who has resided
long amongst them, and who is
qualified to judge of their charac-
ter by a sufficient portion of good
sense and penetration, and an ac-
curate knowledge of their language
and usages, will admit, that their
morals, notwithstanding their avar-
ice and chicanery, are far superior
to those of their Mahomedan
neighbours, or of any other nation
in Asia.—As to the epithets of
"crafty Brahman", "sneaking Brah-
man", "mean Brahman", "cheating
Brahman", &c &c which our au-
thor so profusely bestows, they are
suitable enough to the idle prating
of a youth on his first arrival in In-
dia, but are utterly unworthy of a
grave doctor, who aims at a place
amongst the investigators of Asiatic
history and science.

We now proceed to the more im-
mediate subject of the dissertation
before us. We should not have de-
tained our readers so long in ex-
posing the fallacy of an hypothesis,
which is maintained by such ground-
less and feeble arguments, had we
not observed, that it has already
misled a writer* of considerable
reputation.

In our review of Colonel Symes's
interesting narrative of his embassy
to Ava, *see Asiatic Register*, vol.
3 *Account of Books*, p 1, and, in
our extracts from that work, will
be found a much fuller and more
pleasing account of the religion and
literature of the Burmans, than in
the ponderous treatise before us.
Doctor Buchanan has added no ma-

* See Pinkerton's *modern Geography*,
article *Hinducism* in which there are a
variety of errors, that in our next volume
we shall point out to our Readers.

terial fact to the information furnished by colonel Symes. But he has introduced into his Dissertation, a translation of three tracts, written originally in Latin, which colonel Symes procured from Vincentius Sangermano, an Italian missionary, residing at Rangoon. The first of these is a cosmography compiled by this missionary, from several Burman writings, the second is a translation by him of a small treatise in the Burman language, originally written by a late Zarado, or king's confessor, with a view to convert the christians, and the third is a translation of the Burman book of ordination. The observations which Doctor Buchanan has interperfed throughout these tracts, serve to embarrass rather than explain them, and the two

last are so obviously interpolated by the Romish missionary that they are wholly unworthy of attention. But the Cosmographia Burmana may excite some curiosity, from the resemblance which it bears to an episode in the Mahabharat, entitled the Khetra Nermana. We have been forestalled on this point, by a learned friend of ours in the Edinburgh Review, who has we think succeeded in shewing that the Burman Cosmography, as it is called, is a mutilated transcript of a Sanscrit poem. That our readers may be enabled to form their own opinion, on the subject we submit to them the following extract from the Burman treatise, together with a literal translation, of corresponding passages in the Khetra Nermana.

From the Cosmographia Burmana

"The inhabitants of the northern island differ totally from those of the others, for they neither practise agriculture, commerce, nor any other profession. There grows in their island a tree called Padezabayn, on which, in place of fruit, hang precious garments of every kind so that from these trees, the inhabitants are supplied with all manner of clothing. Neither have the inhabitants of Unabegra any need to cultivate the ground, as the same Padezabayn produces a certain excellent kind of rice, which has no husk. Women there are not subject to the common sexual infirmities, and bear their children without any pain. When the time comes they bring them forth in the streets, and there leave them. Thence no one knows his own relations; as also because all the inhabitants are of the same form and colour. As soon as a person dies, the body is deposited in a

From the Khetra Nermana

"1 North of Meru, and south of Mount Nila (the Riphean mountains) lies the island of Curu, venerated by the pious.

"2 There the trees bend with delicious fruits, there a thousand flowers diffuse an exquisite fragrance.

"3 From one tree named Kharsa exudes a vegetable milk, sweet as ambrosia: its leaves supply vesture, its fruits nourishment to the natives.

"4 The inhabitants are white and lovely, the women fair as the nymphs of Paradise: they usually produce twins.

"5 These twins grow together, their aspects and qualities are similar, and like a pair of turtles one cannot be distinguished from the other.

"6 Robust and healthy they live in continual enjoyment, free from care, and as their birth was certain

From the Cosmographia Burmana

certain place, when very large birds, distressed by *ja e* for that purpose, carry it away to another part of the island, and there devour it. These islanders are very handsome, especially the women, who excel in softness, suppleness, and elegance of limbs, &c. &c.

From the Khetra Nermana.

contemporary, so they both die at the same instant

" 7 The huge bird *Bharunda*, of enormous strength, lifts up the *coise*, and then drops it in the river, &c. &c."

An attentive comparison of these extracts, will most probably be sufficient to satisfy our readers, that the Burman cosmography is a mere copy of a fable in the Mahabharata. Were it necessary, we could easily shew innumerable other points of coincidence between them. From a collation of all the parts of both, it appears evident to us, that their occasional discrepancy only arises from the interpolations of Sangermano, with which the Burman document abounds. Hence then we are supplied with an additional proof, to those mentioned in our review of colt Symes's embassy, of the sacred language and literature, as well as the laws of the Burmans, being derived from Hindustan. With regard to the tradition prevalent amongst the Rahanas, that they received their religious and juridprudential system from Ceylon, it were useless to give any opinion. We are not informed of the means by which this system was conveyed from thence to Ava, whether it was transported across the gulph of Bengal, or whether it travelled through Hindustan. Mr Knox, who lived twenty two years in the kingdom of Candy, in Ceylon, does not mention any such tradition being known there. Baldaeus indeed tells us, that the Cingalese priests suppose themselves to

be the descendants of the crew of a Chinese vessel, that was shipwrecked on their island many thousand years ago. But stories like these are current in every Asiatic nation, and furnish no ground for any rational conjecture. The Cingalese and Burmans are worshippers of Buddha, and the Pali is said to be the sacred language of both nations. But in their fundamental institutions there is a most important difference. In the Burman empire, the distinction of castes is unknown, in Ceylon, it has been immemorially established*, not only on principles, but by divisions and subdivisions, conformable to those of the Brahmanical system. This circumstance at once shews the improbability of the Burmans having received their religion and laws from Ceylon, and strongly corroborates the evidence already mentioned in proof of the Brahmins having been settled in that island as well as in the Indian peninsula antecedent to the dissemination of the Buddhian belief.

After filling one hundred and fifty pages with this prolix and desultory account of the religion of the Burmans, Dr Buchanan concludes his dissertation with a few unimportant particulars relative to the state of science, literature, and

* See Knox's History of Ceylon part iii chap. 13 page 64.

the fine arts, amongst that people. From these, however, we shall make one extract, both because our author is doubtless well qualified to judge of the subject to which it relates, and because it will give our readers an adequate notion of his manner of writing, which is pretty much upon a level with his manner of reasoning. With this we shall close our strictures on his performance.

"On medicine," says the doctor, "the Burmans have several books. They divide diseases into ninety-six genera, and of these several are subdivided into many species. (Why did not the doctor ascer-ain their names?) Their books contain descriptions of all the ninety six diseases, with various recipes for their cure. Of the animal kingdom, mummy is a favourite medicine. The Burmans are acquainted with the use of mercury in the cure of the venereal disease, but their manner of giving it is neither certain nor safe. They make a candle of cinnabar, and some other materials, and setting fire to it, the patient inhales the fume with his nostrils. The patient is, however, rarely able to persevere long in this course, as it always produces a want of appetite and extreme languor. The greater part however of the Burman remedies are taken from the vegetable kingdom, especially of the aromatic kind, nutmegs being one of their most favourite medicines. They are well acquainted with the plants of their country, and for a vast number have appropriate names. On the whole, however, the practice of their physicians is almost entirely empirical, and almost every one has, or pretends to have, a number of private recipes, on which the success of his practice

chiefly depends. *I was oft tempted by wandering stories concerning the efficacy of these nostrums, in order to induce me to purchase the secret, which some of them pretended to have been handed down from their fathers for several generations.* Indeed I found a great spirit of illiberality among my brethren of trade: nor were they exempt from imposing on the weakness of the sick, by a pretension to supernatural powers. In spite however of all these indirect means of influence, I found them deservedly not in possession of an honourable estimation among their countrymen. One curious custom relating to the Burman physicians may be mentioned. If a young woman is dangerously ill, the doctor and her parents frequently enter into an agreement, the doctor undertaking to cure her. If she lives, the doctor takes her as his property, but if she dies, he gives her value to the parents: for in the Burman dominions, no parent parts with his daughter, whether to be a wife, or to be a concubine, without a valuable consideration. I do not know whether the doctor is entitled to sell the girl again, or if he must retain her in his family, but the number of fine young women *which* I saw in the house of a doctor at Myeda, makes me think the practice to be very common.

"In surgery, the skill of the Burmans, I believe goes no further than dressing wounds, and setting bone. Of late indeed they have introduced from Arakan the art of inoculation for the small-pox. This practice has however not become general, as a very great proportion of the people's faces are pitted by that disease."

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The remaining articles in this volume are, *A Narrative of a Journey to Srinagar*, which is inserted entire in the second volume of our Register, *A Description of the Excavations at Ellore*, *Remarks on some Antiquities on the West and South Coast of Ceylon*, *Observations on Mount Canasus*,

by Capt WILFORD, and a *Dissertation on the Antiquity of the Surya Sidhanta*, by Mr J BENTLEY. As our account of these papers would occupy a space much beyond what our limits admit, we must reserve it for our next volume.

(To be continued.)

ESSAYS by the Students of the COLLEGE of FORT WILLIAM, in BENGAL. To which are added the THESES pronounced at the public Disputations in the Oriental Languages, on the 6th February 1802.

IN the second volume of our work (*Chronicle*, p. 104,) we inserted the original plan for the foundation of this seminary, and at the same time expressed our opinion of the extensive utility which such an institution was calculated to produce. Amongst the State Papers, in our present volume, will be seen the principles and sentiments by which its noble founder was governed in forming so comprehensive and splendid an establishment, and which render any observations of ours on that subject wholly superfluous.

Under such enlightened patronage the college could not fail to flourish, and the progress which the students have made, not only holds out to their parents the most flattering and consolatory prospect, but furnishes a strong argument in favour of the institution. That time which the junior civil servants of the Company formerly wasted in idleness, or abused in dissipation, is now devoted to the cultivation of their minds in the study of useful and elegant acquirements. The essays and theses which have been transmitted to us are equally creditable to the students, and their learned instructors. The de-

clamations are connected and perspicuous, and in the disputations in the Persian, Bengalee, and Hindustanee languages, we have not, after an attentive perusal, been able to discover more than a few slight errors. The following extracts will enable our readers to judge of the general merits of these juvenile exercises.

From an Essay on the Advantages to be derived from an Academical Institution in India. By Mr W P ELLIOT.

After an appropriate exordium, Mr Elliot proceeds in the following strain:—"Immense territories in India have been now nearly half a century in the possession of the British, yet it is a melancholy reflection, that their improvement has been by no means proportionate to such a lapse of time. But we may confidently hope that the period is now arrived, when every year shall add new happiness to the Indian subject, new glories to the British character. No liberal or feeling heart can have seen without the most sincere delight, the noble efforts lately excited for the diffusion of science and knowledge, and India will

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long have cause to remember with gratitude, the conqueror, whose first care is to render the conquered civilized and happy.

"But if we have much to teach, we have also much to learn. Asia was, of all parts of the world, the first peopled, the first civilized. While the European world were borders of barbarians, learning and science flourished in high perfection in the East in some branches, probably, to a greater degree of excellence than has ever been since attained. Here we may expect traces of primeval customs and manners, and here seek the origin of all ancient institutions. Numerous as have been the exertions of a few individuals, it must be perceived how very inadequate they have been as the attainment of so great an object as that of collecting the rich treasures of knowledge, scattered over almost every part of Asia. The poets, historians, and statesmen of the East claim our admiration and respect, for the flowery elegance and classic purity of their language, their dignified notions of morality, their deep and extensive knowledge of mankind and the energy and sublimity of their sentiment. The history, ancient and modern, of so vast a region cannot fail of being peculiarly interesting, though, like all others, frequently involved in darkness and fable. The singularity of their rites and ceremonies, customs and manners, so what we know of those of former times from the sacred writings, is extremely striking, and their superstitions will, in many instances, be discovered flowing from the primeval religion, but through corrupted channels. Their antiquities present an ample field to the curious traveller, wherein he may trace the progress of the arts, and the gradual and declension of

empires; and in astronomy such striking proofs of their former knowledge are yet extant, as with reason to astonish the most learned of the moderns.

The principal and necessary qualification for the attainment of eastern knowledge, and the diffusion of our own is an early and well grounded acquaintance with the languages of the East, and such an insight into the manners and customs of the people, as will teach us to respect prejudices which we cannot remove, and entitle us to their confidence, by rendering us indulgent to their failings.

But we have other and more important duties to perform, which equally demand these qualifications. The British dominions in the East are of a considerably greater extent than the united kingdoms, their population larger, in more than the same proportion, and they comprise a variety of nations, who differ in their religion, laws, manners and customs. To give life to this uninformed mass, to harmonize these jarring materials, and render them an efficient part of the Empire, requires the utmost energy of every individual composing the government, and a knowledge of the subject suited to that energy. The numberless losses which have befallen the Company in the various departments of revenue and commerce, and the ill judged measures which, in many instances, have alienated from the government, the confidence and good will of large bodies of men, may generally be traced to a defective knowledge of the languages, or of the genius and prejudices of the nation, in the individuals concerned in the particular transactions.

A servant of the Company in India

India should consider well the new relations in which he is placed. He can scarcely propose to himself a situation of any consequence, in which the comfort and happiness of a vast number of people, sometimes even their lives, will not be found to depend, in some measure, upon his judgment and conduct. He should further consider, that he is among men, who, from education and religious prejudices, have acquired a strong antipathy to European customs and manners, and that among them he is to vindicate the honour of his country, and to support the dignity of the British character. But by what means can this knowledge and those qualifications which are requisite for the regulation of his public conduct, be attained? The civil servants of the Company arrive in this country at a season, when, newly emancipated from the shackles of scholastic restraint, they first taste the sweets of liberty, or, in the words of an elegant Persian writer,

از بادی بدانی ست د از
شراب کامرانی سر
خوش

In the warmth and fervor of youth, elated with their prospects, possessing liberal allowances, and finding full means of gratification, they are naturally led to give the reins to their desires, and to indulge themselves in amusements and pleasures of every kind. They conceive that the time of their being called into active life is at some distance, and that it is yet too early to think seriously of their duties. But pleasing as is this delusion, it must be remembered that habits acquired in youth seldom lose any of

their power in more advanced life; that there is the season of improvement, and that the opportunity once lost can never be recalled. The most luxuriant plants will wither without a proper culture; the most flourishing vines require pruning; and those which in rearing demand the most tender and judicious care, produce at last the choicest fruit.

A literary institution must appear the most certain and effectual method for checking the progress of dissipation and thoughtlessness, and directing the ambition of the junior civil servants to its proper object, that of rendering themselves competent to the arduous duties which they may be hereafter called upon to fulfil, and of becoming worthy and efficient members of society. Nor are any restraints requisite, but such as every gentleman may submit to without any derogation from his character, restraints from the power of injuring themselves or others. And when once a suitable object offers itself to their pursuit, that youthful impetuosity which before hurried them with rapidity into the vortex of pleasure, will now encourage them with equal success in the paths of science. Emulation will also be found to produce the most beneficial effects. Not only is it of service in schools and universities, it will be found in every stage and every state of life to have called forth the noblest efforts of the human mind, efforts which without it had never been excited, or but in a very inferior degree.

A principal qualification required of the young men is a knowledge of several languages, with which they have not, till their arrival in the country, the least acquaintance; and how necessary a regular system

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of instruction is to the attainment of this object, those who are best acquainted with the languages will readily acknowledge. A laborious and unremitting application has in some instances supplied the deficiency; but it has been in those instances, such an application, as very few could, and still fewer would afford. Numberless objects of pursuit present themselves to the studious man on his arrival in India, and unless he should be directed in his choice by those who have had better opportunity of judging than himself, he would probably waste his time on objects of comparatively small importance, to the neglect of those which have the principal claim to his attention. With the languages are intimately connected the manners and customs of the various nations of India. Their laws and usages, by which to the great honour of the British, they still continue to be governed, form another and very important branch of study. Besides these, a knowledge of so many different subjects is requisite to the proper discharge of the duties of a Company's servant, that no longer less than ten or eleven years of diligent study and attention can qualify a young man for the situations which he may probably be called upon to fill.

If a knowledge of the general principles of science and literature be esteemed indispensable in England, surely it is not less so in India, and it is highly worthy of a liberal and enlightened government, to encourage the prosecution of those classical studies which have met with an early interruption in England, as well as of those more refined sciences and polite arts, a knowledge of which, though not of urgent import to the transaction of the Company's affairs, performs the chief pleasure and delight of the scholar and the gentleman.

In a moral point of view, the advantages of an academical institution will be equally conspicuous. Pleasures and amusements, unless restrained within moderate bounds, soon lead to extravagance and licentiousness. Coming into the country at an early age, it can hardly be expected that young men should have any strong and fixed ideas of the truth of their religion; and whatever they may have, are too often obliterated, by a constant intercourse with men, who are, perhaps, as deficient in moral principle as in their knowledge of the true religion. Nor is this all. A very short course of dissipation places them in the power of men, who want not the inclination to render them instrumental in the perpetration of the most dishonest and unworthy actions, to the disgrace of their country and the dishonour of the religion which they profess. As we believe our religion to be infinitely more pure than that of India, and our morality more refined, it is incumbent on us to shew that our actions are not at variance with our ideas, and to evince the truth of that religion by displaying its efficacy on our conduct. The paths of vice hold out so many and such powerful allurements, that nothing but a firm and solid foundation of religion, integrity, and morality can resist their power. It becomes therefore a primary object of the proposed institution, to which, in the very beginning, the progress of dissipation and vice, to instil the principles of religion and virtue, to enforce the necessity of order and industry, and to warn the inexperienced of the dangers and snares which await them in the passage through life.

I cannot omit to observe two circumstances, which will tend very greatly to conciliate to the British

tish government the good will and esteem of the natives of India, and which may be ranked among the principal advantages of this institution.

The first is, the great patronage which is hereby extended to natives of learning and abilities. India has been long descending, by slow degrees, into the gulf of barbarism and ignorance, and learning and the arts have been gradually falling into disrepute and obscurity. The impulse which this institution propogates to itself, comprehending the languages, literature, arts, and sciences of all the more polished nations of Asia, will not fail, in a few years, to assemble the most learned men from all parts, by affording them suitable encouragement. Nor does it end here: the student will come into active life with a taste for Eastern literature, and extend that patronage to happily begun the shoots of science will again spring up and flourish, and the East will regain its once well merited celebrity.

The other circumstance I had to mention is, the connection which will be afforded to the natives of India, of the earnest desire of the supreme government, that they may not be ruled by men ignorant of the genius of the country and its inhabitants, but by those who, from a regular course of diligence and study, have attained a perfect knowledge of the subject. This will inspire a confidence that the laws will be administered with justice and impartiality: that every respect will be shewn to their usages and customs, and every indulgence to their prejudices; in fine, they will cease to consider themselves as a conquered people, and unite with one soul in a general wish for the permanency and prosperity of the British Empire.

Translation of a THESIS in the Hindustani Language By Mr W B BAYLEY

POSITION—The Hindustanee is the most general & useful language in India.

The language, which in my proposition I have specified by the name of Hindustanee, is also frequently denominated Hindec, Oordoo, and Peltia. It is compounded of the Arabic, Persian, and Sanscrit or Bikhia which last appears to have been in former ages the current language of Hindustan.

Owing, in some measure, to the intercourse of the merchants of Arabia with this country, but more particularly to the frequent invasions of it by the Mussulmans, and their ultimate settlement in it, a considerable number of Arabic and Persian words became engrafted on the original language of the native, and our mixture arose as a new language. Hindustanee, I take more than a picture on an artist's canvas.

Poetry is not fitted its present state and situation, and the court of Delhi made choice of it as the medium in all affairs depending on colloquial intercourse. Hence its influence gradually spread abroad so wide, that it became universal. And the courts of the Mussulman princes. Many of the native Arabian authors also grew familiarized to it, and used it in all concerns, the validity of which did not depend upon written documents.

As the intercourse and communication of the Mussulmans with the natives of India, was greater or less, according to certain circumstances and situations; the Hindustanee naturally varied considerably, with respect to the prevalence of one or the other of the languages composing

composing it. This circumstance will sanction a division of it into three distinct dialects, namely, the pristine, or country, the middle, or familiar, and the learned, or court dialect, each of which are respectively useful in different districts, situations and families.

In the first, or pristine dialect, there is a smaller admixture of foreign words; hence this is more nearly related to the original dialects of the country.

In the second, or familiar dialect, the number of foreign words bears nearly an equal proportion to the original ones.

In the third, or court dialect, Arabic and Persian words are by far the most numerous.

It is unnecessary for me to explain the various moral and physical crises which have rendered the Hindustanee less prevalent in some parts of India than in others, since they must be evident to every reflecting mind. This circumstance, however, by no means invalidates my proposition, for although I can grant that particular dialects are spoken by the inhabitants of several districts and provinces of India, yet I assert, that no one of them, taken individually, is so generally useful and necessary as the Hindustanee. Nor will my assertion appear too bold when it is considered that, however extensive a country may be, and how numerous soever the dialects spoken in it, still the language of its court and metropolis will always be most generally known and understood, and must of consequence be that most worthy of attention and cultivation by foreigners.

I shall now advert to a few arguments, which I trust will be convincing and satisfactory proofs of the truth of my proposition.

In the whole of the vast country of Hindustan, scarce any Mussulman

will be found, who does not understand and speak the Hindustanee.

Every Hindu also, of any distinction, or who has the least connection either with the Mussulman or the British government, is, according to his situation, acquainted, more or less, with this language.

It is moreover the general medium by which many persons of various foreign nations settled in Hindustan, communicate their wants and ideas to each other. Of the truth of this indeed we ourselves are an evidence, as are the Portuguese, Dutch, French, Danes, Arabs, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, Persians, Moguls, and Chinese.

In almost all the armies of India, this appears to be the universally used language, even though many of the individuals composing them, be better acquainted with the dialects peculiar to their respective districts.

Nearly from Cape Comoria to Kabul, a country about 2000 miles in length, and 1400 in breadth within the Ganges, few persons will be found in any large villages or towns, which have ever been conquered, or much frequented by Mussulmans, who are not sufficiently conversant in the Hindustanee and in many places beyond the Ganges, this language is current and familiar.

An accurate knowledge of the customs and manners of a nation, depends principally on an acquaintance with its colloquial language, and in no country perhaps is this knowledge more essential or a more desirable object of attainment than in Hindustan, the inhabitants of which differ so widely in religion, laws, customs and prejudices.

When the conquerors and rulers of a country are unacquainted with the current speech of their subjects,

the natural consequences must evidently be injustice on the one part, and disaffection on the other.

Although in the popular language of any country, there may be a deficiency of books of science, still that language is the most proper and necessary for conducting the affairs of civil government and commerce, of military, as well as judicial concerns. I may here observe, that many centuries have not elapsed since the learning, laws, and religion of our own country were preserved and studied in a foreign language, that language has however been superseded by the English, a sufficient proof that the current language of the country was deemed most worthy of cultivation and study.

Although the Hindustanee language does not boast of very many prose compositions, or works of science, yet how many elegant tales and beautiful poems have been composed in it! How universally are commercial and military concerns, and even political correspondence of the highest consequence, conducted with it, and carried on in it! And in this place, I may ob-

serve, that the instructions of the learned natives, and all their disputations and arguments on subjects of literature, are conducted in it; and that in every case where a native of this country wishes either to compose or to dictate any thing to be written, he constantly arranges his ideas, and explains his meaning in the Hindustanee.

Lastly, a correct and general knowledge of this language greatly facilitates the acquisition of many others, and is the only mean by which we can effectually prevent injustice and imposition.

It the assertions which I have here made be founded on truth, what argument can be brought to invalidate my proposition? The conclusion from the premises is this, that to the merchant, the traveller, the civil and military officer, the philosopher and physician, in short, to every one who carries on concerns of any moment in India, the Hindustanee language is more generally necessary and advantageous than any other. And on this account, it ought to be the most cultivated and esteemed.

A New Theory and Prospects of the Persian VERBS, with their Hindustanee Synonyms, in Persian and English. By JOHN GILCHRIST pp 85 Calcutta 1801

The intelligent and laborious author of this opusculus, is already well known to the servants of the East India Company, by his copious and valuable dictionary of the vernacular dialect of the northern provinces of India. The present work is an attempt to facilitate to students, the acquisition of the Persian language, in which, though he professes himself "a novice," we have not discovered any inaccuracies imputable to that source.

The Persian, with many other languages exhibits a simple or radical form of its verbs in the imperative, which, by a regular grammatical process, is inflected through all the varieties of time and person, by certain additions, and sometimes alterations. The latter, which constitute the anomalies, are usually dependent on, and indicated by the terminating letter, and they are certainly not more numerous, (we think much fewer) than occur in most

most other languages. How many of these shall be erected by grammarians into distinct conjugations, whether with sir William Jones and the native philologists we shall admit of thirteen, whether with Mr Gilchrist we shall reduce them to eleven, or with greater boldness ex truncate, with Mr Gilchrist, all but two, ought in our apprehension to be regulated solely by the facility which their respective methods may afford to students.

With regard to Mr Gilchrist's theory, we shall explain it in his own words.

It cannot be concluded that the short *ā*, or as I mark it *u*, has been considered the essence, origin, or source and perfection of existence and motion both mental and corporal, it will not therefore be deemed unreasonable to suppose that, by subjoining it to the perfect tense, a past participle is formed. When *u* acquires the stability of a letter, it insensibly connects itself to *n* whence perhaps the infinite *un*, now under consideration.

Now all this we are no sure that we comprehend. Why Mr Gilchrist should mark the short *ā*, *u*, in what language this signifies essence, what *u* is before it acquires the stability of a letter, and whence its predilection for *n* more than for *p*, are all above our comprehension.

The analogies derived from the mysticism of the Brahman, and from the analogous forms of the *amśwara* and *visarga* of the Sanscrit, with that of *o*, (which he also calls *u*), are altogether irrelevant, since the first is formed from the initials of the Hindu trinity, and the last are exemplified in the Devanagari alphabet, as conjoined with its first letter, never appearing but in conjunction with others. But to proceed.

Un, thus obtained, when affixed to

the perfect tense, gives the *Perfic* infinitive, whence, by an hypothetical declension, all the parts of the verb may be deduced. But

'When mental and corporeal existence were palpably combined, another infinitive, to wit, the material, may have become requisite, and we may reasonably presume that *ist un*, *ist un*, &c. were introduced accordingly. We all know, that in several languages the letters *f* or *s* a Persian must write them *ist*, *ist*, *d* note stability, *ist on*, &c. *n y*, we cannot be ignorant that this very *istun istun* in question, is the final syllable of several verbs yet extant.

This attempt to illustrate, on philosophic principles, the formation of the *Perfic* infinitive, is not, in our opinion, peculiarly happy, and it leaves the other inflections of the verb as arbitrary as they were before. For why does *n* indicate the first person, *s* the second, and *d* the third? It is the misfortune of scholars resident in India, that from their limited access to European publications, they are apt to consider as important discoveries, opinions long ago promulgated, and sometimes forgotten, in Europe. The learned but unfortunate M. Gebelein de la Tour du Pin, constructed an etymological dictionary of the Latin and many other tongues, on principles very similar to those of Mr Gilchrist. The application on those principles to oriental languages were a work which might deserve, but probably would not excite, a considerable portion of interest: yet the results of this philosophic analysis applied to *Perfic* or Hindustanee, would be more uncertain and less valuable than those derived from original (or what in the present state of philology must be considered original) languages.

A GRAMMAR of the pure and mixed East Indian Dialects, with Dialogues affixed, spoken in all the Eastern Countries, methodically arranged at Calcutta according to the British system of the Shanscrit language, comprehending Interjections, Explorations of the Compound Words, and circumlocutory Phrases, necessary for the Attainment of the Idiom of that Language calculated for the Use of Europeans With Remarks on the Errors in former Grammars and Dialogues of the mixed Dialects of Moors, or Moors, written by a French European, together with a Refutation of the Assertions of SIR WILLIAM JONES, respecting the Transfer of Al-hau to and several Sentiments of Oriental Poetry, published in the ASIATIC RESEARCHES, by HERASIM LEVBIERF 4to pp 100, 3/ 1s DEBBETT, 1801

IN the singular title which Mr Tebudeff has prefixed to his still more singular work, he has omitted to inform us what, and how many, languages he professes to treat of. At the beginning we find a stanza inferred from a modern Bengal poem, intitled *Vidya Sandara* the rules are applicable solely to the Moorish tongue, and in the vocabulary we find a column appropriated to what the author styles, "The civil Shanscrit Bengal language." The incongruity of such a term may be illustrated by supposing an Italian vocabulary to be styled one of the civil Latin Italian language. What this writer means by asserting that the languages he treats of, are spoken in all the eastern countries, it is not easy to conceive. Still less, what reference his perplexed arrangement bears to

the profound and philosophical system of the Hindoo grammarians, and least of all, what portion of his work is calculated to facilitate the acquisition of the Sanscrit language. Although the Hindustanee grammars (we have not seen Mr Gilchrist's) hitherto published, are unquestionably very defective publications, we think that a beginner will derive more useful information from either Hadley's or Ferguson's, than from the work under review. Our readers will be much obliged to defend Sir William Jones from the attacks of Mr Tebudeff, whose observations originate in neglecting the Bengal pronunciation for a standard of orthography, whilst Sir William has adopted the more classic diction of Benares and Mathura.

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THIS ingenious author is intitled to an apology from us, for having so long delayed to call the attention of the Public to his valuable work. We beg to assure him and our readers, that it has not been neglected, and that our review of it has only been postponed in the expectation of procuring some interesting manuscripts, by which we hope to be enabled, not only to give a more ample exposition of the important subject on which he treats, but to illustrate and enforce many of his arguments. We, therefore, rely on the indulgence both of our author and the public

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